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ABSTRACT

The aim of this grammar is to analyze in some detail the mechanisms of the Aleut language as represented by older speakers and by earlier sources, and is intended for both students of Aleut and linguists in general. An introductory chapter gives background on the language's history, linguistic documentation, Aleut dialects, and outside influences. Subsequent chapters address these topics: phonology (phonemes, phonotactics, internal and external sandhi, contours, and expressive features); morphology (inflection and word classes, derivation/postbases); and syntax (subject and predicate, object, oblique terms, addition and removal of terms, construction of indefiniteness, noun phrases, temporal adverbials, verb phrases, conjoined predicates, clauses of purpose, linked clauses, anterior, conditional, participle clauses, report clauses, sentence connections). Some crucial structural differences from the cognate Eskimo language are discussed in the final chapter. (Contains 52 references.) (MSE)

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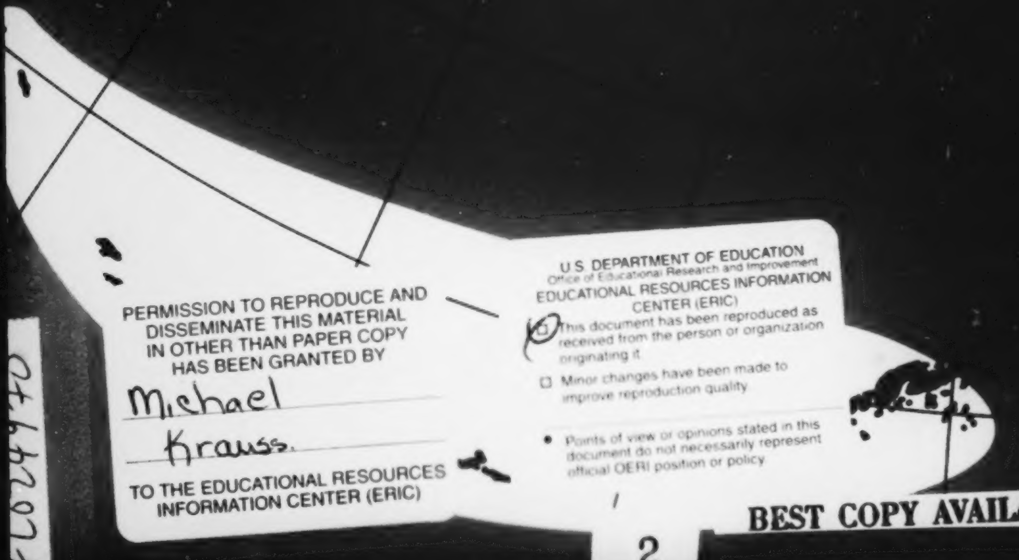
Aleut Grammar

Unangam Tunuganaan Achixaasix̂

A descriptive reference
grammar of the
Aleutian, Pribilof,
and Commander Islands
Aleut language

by

Knut Bergsland



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FOREWORD

The Alaska Native Language Center is pleased to present this *Aleut Grammar,* a major landmark in Aleut and Alaska language study, by Knut Bergsland, Professor of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Oslo, 1947-1981. It is particularly appropriate that the event of this publication should take place during the bicentennial year of Ivan Veniaminov, St. Innocent, who wrote the first Aleut Grammar in 1834, published in 1846 in Russia. Though an English translation of that appeared in 1944 and is still available, Jochelson's 1912 and 1919 articles (in Russian) represent the only significant advance beyond Veniaminov until 1978 and 1981 when Bergsland and Moses Dirks published very basic grammars of Eastern and Atkan Aleut for Aleutian secondary schools. The present grammar, on the other hand, is the first grammar of the language in depth and detail. It is the culmination of many years of dedicated study (in his spare time for many of the years), beginning in 1950, by the senior scholar of the Aleut language in academe. As such, this is primarily a descriptive reference grammar. Its classroom use would be at the high school and university levels. We publish it as Number 10 in ANLC's series of major research works. It is a scholarly work documenting and explaining in depth and breadth the particular structure and intricate workings of the Aleut language. Given the present state of the Aleut language, this book is and will no doubt remain the definitive grammar of Aleut. On the basis of this grammar, together with Bergsland's *Aleut Dictionary,* future scholars and teachers of Aleut will be able to write the lessons and exercises needed for teaching the language at various age and skill levels.

For linguists, on the other hand, students of language more generally, we expect that this book will represent another kind of challenge and opportunity. Bergsland's goal was to present Aleut grammar not according to any preconceived or externally conceived pattern, but as much as possible according to the structure and dynamics of the Aleut language itself. This book will show that the very nature of Aleut syntax is so special that currently dominant types of linguistic theory may not accommodate it without significant revision. (In particular, linguists may find traditional tree structures fundamentally inadequate to the task of describing the facts of Aleut syntax, given the strategies Aleut has developed to track anaphoric reference serially through sentences and larger discourse units.) In this way also, we expect that Bergsland's *Aleut Grammar* will make an important contribution to knowledge.

Michael Krauss
September 26, 1997

PREFACE

The aim of this grammar is to analyze in some detail the mechanisms of the Aleut language as represented by older speakers of our time and by the earlier sources, hopefully of interest to Aleut students as well as to students of Eskimo and linguists in general. Some crucial structural differences from the cognate Eskimo languages are discussed briefly in a final chapter. An Aleut characteristic of general interest is a reference system with double (inner and outer) subjects and chaining of clauses in complex sentences.

At the completion of this work, started nearly fifty years ago, my thoughts of gratitude go first to my many Aleut friends and helpers, late and living, who have made the work possible, and to the scholars of the past and present and their Aleut helpers (see Introduction 0.2.).

Special thanks go to Moses L. Dirks for collaboration through twenty-five years in the field and at the desk and for having seen through the manuscript of the grammar, checking the Aleut data and providing additional information.

Once again I extend my cordial thanks to Michael Krauss for invaluable help and encouragement over the many years, and to ANLC editor Tom Alton for having eminently prepared also this work for printing.

Knut Bergsland
Oslo, July, 1997

0. Introduction

0.1. Historical survey

The documented history of the Aleuts, in their own language **Unangan**, in the dialect of Atka **Unangas**, begins with the conquest of Attu, the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands, by Russian fur traders in 1745. Forty years later the Russian traders dominated the entire chain of islands and a large part of the Alaska Peninsula (in Aleut **Alaxsxa**, the origin of the name Alaska), including parts of the territory of the Pacific Eskimos called by the Aleuts **Kanaaĝin**, in Atkan **Kanaaĝis**, Koniags. The Russians called all these people Aleuts, Russian plural *Aleuty*, a name reportedly transferred in 1745 by pilot Nevodchikov from the name of islands near Kamchatka (article XVIII of the instructions for the Billings expedition 1785 in Sarychev 1802 and Sauer 1802, Appendix p. 45), cf. the Koryak village *Álut*, in Russian *Olyútorskoye* (further references in Bergsland 1959:11; Lantis 1984:183).

The border between the Unangan and the Kanaaĝin on the Pacific coast according to Veniaminov (1840 I:231 / 1984:116) was Kupreanof Cape, in Aleut **Alaxsxim Yaĝa** 'Alaska Cape' or **Yaagam Yaĝanaa** 'Tree Cape' (1910, J 17:24), about 1060 nautical miles east of Attu. On the north coast of the peninsula the border was in the region of Port Moller.

At the time of the Russian conquest there were probably more than two hundred Aleut settlements or villages (**tanadgusin**, **tanadgusis**) along the coasts of the Alaska Peninsula and the larger Aleutian Islands. According to Russian sources from the period 1768-1840 and some later information (references in Bergsland 1959:11-14), the people were divided into the following eight groups (the names are given here in the modern orthography):

(1) **Qagaan Tayaĝungin** 'People of the East' (at least thirty-four settlements): the people of (a) the Alaska Peninsula (**Alaxsxa**); (b) the Shumagin Islands (**Qagiiĝun**); (c) Sanak Island (**Sanax̂agin** pl. Samwell 1778) and the islets north of it (**Qutxin**); and (d) Unimak Island (**Unimax**) (according to Veniaminov 1840 II:2 a separate group, pl. **Unimgi[i]n**).

(2) **Qigiiĝun** 'Near-Easterners' (some forty settlements): the people of the eastern part of the Fox Islands, viz. the Krenitzin Islands - Ugamak (**Ugangax̂**), Tigalda (**Qigalĝa**), Avatanak (**Awatanax̂**), Akun (**Akungan**), Akutan (**Akutanax̂**), Unalga (**Unalĝa**) - and the eastern part of Unalaska Island (**Nawan-Alaxsxa, Nagun-Alaxsxa, Awan-Alaxsxa, Agun-Alaxsxa**), from Sedanka Island (**Sidaanax̂**) through Wislow Point (**Tachiqala**) northwest of the modern Unalaska Village (so Veniaminov 1840 II:3 and H. McGlashan of Akutan to G.H. Marsh 1952).

(3) **Qawalangin [qawa-** 'east, east side'] (at least twenty-eight settlements): the people of the western part of the Fox Islands, viz. the western part of Unalaska Island and Umnak Island (**Unmax**) with Samalga (**Samalĝa**).

(4) **Akuuĝun** 'Those Over There (to the side)' (eight settlements): the people of the Islands of Four Mountains (**Uniiĝun**), notably Chuginadak Island (**Tanax̂ Angunax̂** 'Big Island', the eastern part, and **Chuginadax** 'Simmering' with Mount

Cleveland), Kagamil (**Qagaamila**), Herbert Island (**Chiĝulax̂**), Yunaska (**Yunax̂sxa**), Amukta (**Amuux̂tax̂**).

(5) **Niiĝuĝis** (some thirty-six settlements): the people of the Andreanof Islands, notably Amlia (**Amlax**), Atka (**Atx̂ax̂**), Adak (**Adaax**), Kanaga (**Kanaga**), and Tanaga (**Tanax̂ax**, referred to the next group by W. Dirks Sr. as understood in 1952).

(6) **Naahmiĝus** 'Western Neighbors' (at least three settlements): the people of the Delarof Islands, from Ilak Island (**Iilax̂**) through Amatignak Island (**Amatignax̂**) (so Netsvetov 1840, W. Dirks Jr. 1984).

(7) Eastern **Qax̂un**, Atkan **Qax̂us** (at least ten settlements): the people of the Rat Islands, notably Amchitka (**Amchixtax̂**), Semisopochnoi Island (**Un(i)yax**), and Kiska (**Qisxa**).

(8) **Sasignan** (A **Sasxinas**, E **Saxinan**) (numerous ancient settlements, exact number unknown): the people of the Near Islands, Attu (**Atan**, A, E **Atux̂**), Agattu (**Angatux̂**), and the Semichi Islands (**Samiyan**, A **Samidas**, E **Samidan**).

The number of Aleuts at the time of the Russian conquest has been estimated at 12,000 to 15,000 (Veniaminov 1840 II:177 / 1984:246; Lantis 1984:163) or 8,000 to 10,000 (Liapunova 1987:87). Within the first fifty years of the Russian occupation the Aleut population appears to have been reduced to less than one third of the pre-contact number. The incomplete census made by the Billings expedition 1791-92 has 1178 male persons, while priest-monk Makariy's list of baptized Aleuts 1796 has 2440, 1135 male and 1305 female (see Bergsland 1997). As causes of the reduction Veniaminov (1840 II:182 ff. / 1984:248 ff.) mentioned first, for the period until 1760, the internecine wars between the Aleut groups and wars with the neighboring Eskimos, and second, for the period from the arrival of the Russians until the Billings expedition in the 1790s, the mistreatments by the Russian fur traders, promyshlenniki; a third cause, diseases brought by the Russians, was as yet of less importance (see further Lantis 1984:163).

The Russian domination, aiming at the production of furs, changed the Aleut economic and social life. The settlements or villages were concentrated for more efficient exploitation, and Aleut hunters were also taken on Russian ships beyond their ancient territory. In the 1790s, according to the census of the Billings expedition 1791-92 (abbreviated: B.) and priest-monk Makariy's list of baptized Aleuts 1796 (abbreviated: M.), the above-mentioned eight groups were represented by sixty villages as follows.

(1) Six villages, B. five with 210 male inhabitants, M. six with 264 male + 312 female = 576 inhabitants, viz. (a) Morzhovoi Village, B. 55, M. 51+53; (b) Unga, M. 53+73; (c) B. 53, M. 59+47; (d) three villages, B. 102, M. 101+139. Tax lists 1777-1791 had four additional settlements in the strait between the Alaska Peninsula and Unimak Island, one of them **Isanax̂**, False Pass (see Bergsland 1997, Census 1.2-3. and 3.4-5.).

(2) Twenty-six villages, with B. 473 m., M. 531 m. + 540 f. = 1071 inhabitants, viz. in the Krenitzin Islands seventeen villages (Ugamak, Tigalda two, Avatanak,

Akun seven, Akutan five, Unalga) , B. 291, M. 326+334, and on eastern Unalaska with Sedanka nine villages, B 182, M. 205+206. Tax lists 1780-1790 had two villages additional to the seven of Akun (Census 7.8-9.).

(3) Thirteen villages, with B. 268 m., M. 307 m. + 416 f. = 723 inhabitants, viz. in western Unalaska six villages, B. 169, M. 186+235, and on Umnak with Samalga seven villages, B. 99, M. 121+181.

(4) Not mentioned in B. or M., but one village had been moved, apparently recently, from Yunaska to a village of Umnak (Census 11.6. **Chalukax̂**, the later Nikolski, 7 m.). Tax lists 1780-1789 had in addition two villages: **Qignax̂**, presumably Chuginadak (Census 12.1.), and possibly **Chiĝulax̂**, Herbert Island (Census 12.2.). According to Veniaminov (1840 I:136 f. / 1984:73), most of the men of **Tanax̂ Angunax̂** (Chuginadak) and **Ulaĝa(n)** (Uliaga Island) perished at the hands of shipmaster Stepan Glotov in 1764, while some of the women died of hunger and the rest were resettled on Umnak.

(5) Twelve villages (Amlia two, Atka one, Chugul one, Adak two, Kanaga two, Tanaga four), with B. 231 male inhabitants. Priest-monk Makariy did not go west of Umnak and listed only 9 m. + 8 f. (in four villages), baptized previously.

(6) One village (Ilak) with B. 14 inhabitants. According to Atkan W. Dirks Sr. 1952 the Niiĝuĝis killed all the Naahmiĝus men and took their wives home.

(7) Not mentioned in B. or M. In 1776 seafarer Bragin found about thirty men with their families on Amchitka and about twenty-five families on Semisopochnoi, which was still inhabited in the early 1790's (Sarychev 1802, 2:180).

(8) One village (**Igasitax̂** of Attu) with M. 38 m. + 57 f. = 95 Aleuts baptized previously by laymen.

In 1799 the more official Russian American Company was formed from the leading private companies and in 1821 got a new charter that made the administration of the colony more orderly. The concentration of the population into fewer villages continued and the hunting of fur animals was also extended beyond the ancient Aleut territory, to the north and to the west. After the Russian discovery in 1786 of the two Pribilof Islands, St. George and St. Paul (according to Aleut tradition already known to Aleuts), Russians took hunters there, first from Atka (Black 1980:xvi), and in 1823-1826 established permanent settlements on the two islands with Aleuts from Unalaska. The Commander Islands, discovered by Vitus Bering in 1741, were settled likewise in the 1820s, Bering Island mostly from Atka, Copper Island (Mednoi) mostly from Attu (Krupnik 1987).

The colony was divided into two administrative districts, the Unalaska district, which included the territory of groups (1) through (4) and the Pribilof Islands, and the Atka district, which included the territory of groups (5) through (8) and the Commander Islands. The center of the former was Unalaska Village, **Iluulux̂**, in Russian called Gavanskoye, where a church was built in 1825. The center of the western district was a new-built village in Korovin Bay on the north side of Atka, in Russian called Nikolskoye, later Korovinskoye, where a church was built about 1825 (in the early 1860s the village with the church was moved to Nazan Bay on the east side of the island). In addition to the Russians and the native Aleuts a new social class developed, the so-called Creoles, people with a Russian father and an Aleut mother. In 1834 there were in Unalaska village 75 Russians and Creoles (38 percent of the population); in 1829 in the villages of the Pribilof Islands 47 (20 percent of the population); and probably similar numbers in the Russian villages of Atka and Attu and on the Commander Islands.

Ioann Veniaminov (1797-1879), priest of Unalaska 1824-1834, for 1834 reported 1486 Aleuts (672 m. + 814 f.) in his district, including 182 (88+94) in the two villages of the Pribilof Islands and 28 (10+18) in Sitka and elsewhere (Veniaminov 1840 I 133-301 / 1984:71-149; the table in II:202 f. / 1984:259 f., corrected for errors of addition, has 1513, 681 m. + 832 f.). The number of villages in the ancient territory, forty-five in the 1790s, was now reduced to twenty-five:

(1) Five villages with 175 m. + 218 f. = 393 inhabitants (the table has 183+230=413). The people of Sanak Island had been moved in 1823 to the Alaska Peninsula, constituting a new village, Belkovskoye.

(2) Fifteen villages with 297 m. + 357 f. = 654 inhabitants (the table has 298+363=661). By far the largest village was Unalaska Village (Gavanskoye) with 90 m. + 106 f. = 196 Aleut inhabitants, plus the seventy-five Russians and Creoles.

(3) Five villages with 102 m. + 127 f. = 229 inhabitants.

Yakov Netsvetov (1804-1864), priest of Atka 1828-1844, in his journals (ed. Black 1980) reported for 1829 eight hundred Russians, Creoles and Aleuts in his district, including 75+60 souls in the Commander Islands 1830. Of the fourteen villages in the ancient territory three or four were left:

(5) Atka and Amlia, in 1834 presumably (judging from the confessions) around 360 souls, including Russians and Creoles.

(7) Amchitka, in 1830 55 souls, resettled from Atka but brought back to Atka in 1833.

(8) Attu, in 1830 about 120 souls, the natives living in a village apart from the Russians, Creoles and Aleuts employed by the Russian American Company.

Veniaminov already before 1830 started a school for the native children and adults of Unalaska, using the catechism and the Matthew he was translating with the help of native interpreters, who also assisted in the teaching. In 1842 Netsvetov started schools at Atka and, with native assistants, at Amlia, using the Aleut books that had been published recently (see 0.2.). By the 1860s probably the great majority, if not all the Aleut adults were literate in Aleut and a large number of them probably had a good command of Russian as well (cf. 0.4.).

With the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, which separated the Commander Islands from the ancient Aleut territory, the Russian administration left but the Creoles (some of them clergymen) remained. Around 1870 (references in Bergsland 1959:11-14) the American Aleuts numbered some 2,600, including some 460 or more Creoles, a considerable increase since 1834. In the four or five villages of the East there were 597 people, including 167 (28 percent) Creoles; on the Krenitzin Islands 289; in the presumably five villages of Unalaska 595, including 171 (28.7 percent) Creoles; in the village of Umnak (Nikolski) 119; in the two villages of the Pribilof Islands 365, probably including Creoles; in a village of Amlia 120 and in the village of Atka 285, including 65 (22.8 percent) Creoles; and in the village of Attu 210, including 55 (26 percent) Creoles.

The following seventy-five years were marked by the increasing American fur and fishing business, especially in the eastern parts of the area. The U.S. censuses are difficult to interpret, because they include as Aleuts Pacific Eskimos (Alutiit) in addition to the Unangan (see Lantis 1984:163-166, 181). A partial census published by C.L. Hooper in 1897, based on records of the Orthodox Church, has for four villages of the East 296 Aleut inhabitants (Belkofski had 165); for one village of Akutan, the only remaining in the Krenitzin Islands, 59; for five villages of Unalaska 490 (Unalaska Village had 250); for Umnak 98; for Atka 128; and for Attu 78.The apparent reduction of the native population may in part be due to emigration to urban areas of Alaska and farther south.

Schools run by the Russian Orthodox Church, teaching Aleut and Russian, operated until 1912 (Unalaska), while Methodist schools, teaching English, were established in 1886 (Unga) and 1890 (Unalaska), and by 1930 several Aleut villages had federal schools (Lantis 1984:180 f.). By 1940 the majority of Aleuts had probably become bilingual, if not monolingual speakers of English. The Native Family Record Cards of the Office of Indian Affairs have for two of the most isolated villages, Nikolski, Umnak, and Atka Village, respectively 89 and 85 Aleut inhabitants. The preschool children knew no English, which shows that the home language was still Aleut. Of the people born before 1902, ten in Nikolski and ten in Atka Village were monolingual Aleut, while respectively five and eight elders and practically all the younger people were also speakers of English.

In 1942, when the Japanese invaded Attu and Kiska and bombed Atka as well as Dutch Harbor, the people of Attu were taken in captivity to Japan, where many of them died, while the people of Atka and the islands farther east were evacuated to southeastern Alaska, where many of the older people died (see Lantis 1984:166). In 1944 and 1945 the surviving people were resettled but the war also caused a permanent reduction of the ancient Aleut territory, making the islands west of Atka a restricted military zone. The eastern villages were increasingly dominated by the fishing industry (canneries), while the remaining villages to the West (Nikolski, Atka) were reduced by emigration. The accelerating Anglicization eventually caused a drastic decline of the Aleut language.

The people of the Alaska Peninsula were not evacuated but the Aleuts of Belkofski were gradually moved to King Cove (with a salmon cannery from 1911). In 1970 (Lantis 1984:181) they numbered 252 in King Cove, 53 in Belkofski, in 1994 (Taff 1994) 174 in King Cove, of which ten were reported speakers of Aleut, the youngest one about sixty years old, that is, born several years before World War II. In Morzhovoi Village / False Pass the Aleuts in 1970 numbered 58, in 1994 50, of which two were speakers of Aleut. In Sand Point they numbered in 1970 265 (plus 52 in Squaw Harbor), in 1994 350, three of them speakers of Aleut (sixty years or older). In the territory of the ancient Qagaan Tayaĝungin there were thus 574 Aleuts in 1994, about the same number as two centuries earlier, but only fifteen speakers of Aleut, all born before 1935.

The resettled people of Akutan (with a whaling station from 1912), the only ones left of the Krenitzin Islanders, in 1953 numbered 92, in 1970 90, in 1995 (Hallamaa 1995) 93, of which four or five were speakers of Aleut (three of them were natives of western Unalaska), the youngest one born in 1926, while two centuries earlier there were some 660 speakers.

Unalaska was resettled in 1945, including to begin with Biorka Village and the three villages of western Unalaska, but later these people were moved to Unalaska Village (Iluulux̂), which in 1970 numbered 121 Aleuts (in 1969, according to D.M. Jones 1976, 170), in 1994 (Taff 1994) 200, of which twenty were speakers of Aleut, all of them born several years before World War II.

In 1952 the resettled Aleuts of Nikolski, Umnak, numbered 62, all of them speakers of Aleut and English; most of the people born before 1925 also could speak Russian, the older ones also write it (Berreman 1955). In 1994 they were reduced by emigration to 17, all speakers of Aleut, and in 1995 to 15 (plus nine non-Aleuts), of which twelve were speakers of Aleut, the youngest one born in 1930 (Hallamaa 1995).

The Pribilof Islands, from the beginning settled for the fur seal industry, in 1947 housed about 490 resettled Aleuts. In 1970 the village of St. George housed 156 Aleuts, that of St. Paul 428, and in 1994 (Taff 1994) respectively 150 and 510, of which respectively fifteen and forty were speakers of Aleut, all of them born before or during World War II.

In 1945 the twenty-five surviving Attuans were resettled on Atka together with some seventy returning Atkans, including ten Eastern Aleuts immigrated to Atka before the war (most of them in the 1920s). In the early 1950s the inhabitants of Atka Village numbered about one hundred, living in eighteen houses. The members of ten households were native of Atka or included only one prewar immigrant from the east or from Attu (six persons), while the adult members of three households were mainly prewar eastern immigrants; the other five households belonged to the Attuan group (including two prewar housewives from Atka), which lived in a separate section of the village (details in Bergsland 1959:15). At that time the everyday language of most or all households probably was Atkan Aleut. The preschool children and a couple of the oldest people were probably monolingual Aleut, while the rest were also speakers of English; some of the oldest people also knew Russian. A few of the Attuan adults still used their native dialect, more or less mixed with Atkan, but in the course of the following couple of decades it got lost. By 1970 the people of Atka was reduced, through emigration, to 86, in 1994 to 75, of which 45 were active speakers of Aleut, the youngest one born in 1969 (Hallamaa 1995).

The Commander Islands, cut off from the rest in 1867, according to the Russian census of 1926-1927 housed 345 Aleuts, of which 332 were reported as speakers of Aleut (on Bering Island Atkan, on Mednoi a variety of Attuan). By 1972 they were together in the village of Bering Island, numbering in 1987 280, 18.5 percent of the population (Golovko et al. 1987). The Atkan of Bering Island is now spoken by a handful of elderly people, the creolized Attuan of Mednoi by some ten people.

By 1995, according to the records (all of them perhaps not equally accurate), the number of active speakers of Aleut was thus reduced to one hundred and fifty or sixty. However, the number of Aleuts understanding their mother tongue to some extent is considerably greater, and the future effect of the teaching of Aleut started in Alaskan schools in 1972 can not be measured in figures.

0.2. Linguistic documentation.

The following are brief indications of the material used for the present grammar, rather than a bibliography of Aleut studies. A detailed list of the sources 1758-1987 is given in the *Aleut Dictionary,* pp. xxxvii-xliv.

The proper names and vocabularies recorded 1758-1825 are of considerable historical interest, not only for the lexicon but also for the phonology and to some extent for the morphology and syntax. The lexical and morphological material recorded by the famous Danish linguist Rasmus Rask in St. Petersburg 1819 was published only in 1916 (by William Thalbitzer) and had no influence upon the description of Aleut.

The study of the Aleut language as such was initiated by Ioann Veniaminov. As mentioned above, he was for ten years (1824-1834) a priest in the Unalaska district, and then for four years (1834-1838) archpriest in Sitka, where he had continued contact with Aleuts. His first Aleut collaborator was a **Qigiiĝux̂**, Ivan Pan'kov (1778-1850?), chief of Tigalda, then Semyon Pan'kov, probably a son of the former; later Pyotr Burenin, probably a **Qawalangix̂** of western Unalaska (in Kashega and Chernofski there were many Burenins in 1897), and Yakov Netsvetov (1804-1864), a Creole of St. George whose mother appears to have been the daughter of an Atkan Aleut brought to St. George by a Russian trader (Black 1980:xiv f.), 1828-1844 priest of Atka.

Soon after his arrival in Unalaska Village, Veniaminov started translating the Orthodox Catechism into Aleut with the help of Ivan Pan'kov and in 1826 had a draft ready. In 1831 he had ready a translation of *Nachatki Khristianskago ucheniya* (Elements of Christian Teaching), published in 1834 but withdrawn from circulation because of errors; an improved edition was published in 1840. In 1828 he started translating the Gospel according to Matthew and with the help of his Aleut collaborators had it ready in 1838 (in Sitka), published in 1840. For his other translations see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xi.

The first task was to adapt the Cyrillic alphabet to Aleut. After various attempts from 1826 on, the alphabet got its final shape, with the help of Netsvetov, in the publications of 1840 (see the detailed account in *Aleut Dictionary* pp. xxiii f.). By 1830 Veniaminov had grasped the basic three-vowel system of Aleut but with his Russian bias confused stress and vowel length and his accents were not an adequate notation of Aleut vowel length. The uvular stop was finally marked by a stroked *k*, the uvular fricatives by *g* and *x* with a circumflex, and the velar nasal was marked by a ligature of *n* and *g*. Grammatical speculation led Veniaminov into writing word final velar and uvular fricatives as stops.

Translating the religious books with the help of his Aleut collaborators, Veniaminov built up an Eastern Aleut grammar, ready in 1834. Together with an Aleut-Russian vocabulary, ready in 1836, it was published in 1846 under the modest title *Opyt grammatiki aleutsko-lis'yevskago yazyka* (Tentative grammar of the Aleut language of the Fox Islands). The preface, dated April 18, 1834, ends as follows: "Finally, I will tell my reader quite plainly that if I were not convinced that it is better to write so-so about what one knows and others do not know than, knowing, not to write at all, I would never have undertaken to compose a Grammar of an uncultivated language that will soon vanish completely, the more so as my knowledge of it is not quite sufficient for composing the Grammar." His linguistic background was Russian and Slavonic (also Latin), so he naturally started analyzing Aleut in terms of Russian grammar. He observed differences from Russian in the matter of parts of speech and discovered the extensive use of suffixes, analyzing them to a large extent correctly. But he missed fundamental structural features such as the anaphoric (non-reflexive) third person possessive suffixes and the different constructions of transitive verbs with a specified or an anaphoric object.

Veniaminov was also the first to publish original Aleut texts: Eastern Aleut song texts collected, written down and translated by his interpreter Semyon Pan'kov (possibly also by Pyotr Burenin), and an Atkan song and two traditional Atkan stories collected by Yakov Netsvetov (re-edited by Bergsland as appendices to the edition of Jochelson 1990).

Netsvetov, a native speaker of Aleut, helped Veniaminov with the books published in 1839 and 1840 and added notes in Atkan and translations into Atkan of one chapter of John and two chapters of the Acts. As stated in Netsvetov's prefaces, the purpose was to make the books understandable also to Atkans, **Niiĝuĝis**, rather than to launch a separate literary language, so the Atkan variants of endings were replaced by the Eastern Aleut ones, for example the Atkan plural **-s** by the Eastern **-n**, and the Atkan negation **-ulax** by the Eastern **-ulux** (written artificially -**uluk**). This is partly true also of Netsvetov's anonymous, unpublished Russian-Atkan Aleut dictionary (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xl).

The translation of religious books into Aleut was continued by two native speakers of the language: Innokentiy Shayashnikov, priest of Unalaska 1848-1883, and Lavrentiy Salamatov, Creole of Atka born 1818, sub-deacon of Atka Church from 1834, priest of Atka from 1844 (died between 1862 and 1865). Shayashnikov had ready translations into Eastern Aleut of Mark in 1860, of "Short rules for a happy life" in 1861 (published 1902), and in the following years translations of a primer and a catechism, of Matthew, Mark (new), Luke (published 1903), John and the Acts (both published 1902). Salamatov about 1860 had translated into Atkan Aleut Mark (edited in Bergsland 1959:87-104), Luke, John, a primer, and in 1862 a catechism. These works are definite improvements upon the pioneers, in the orthography (especially Salamatov's) as well as in the syntax. Having to follow very closely the Russian text, especially the verse divisions, the translators sometimes had to distort the Aleut syntax and use calques from Russian, for example the demonstrative **haman** 'that (invisible, mentioned previously)' for the Russian relative pronoun, not existing in Aleut. But being the results of very conscientious work by highly competent speakers of Aleut, these translations, used with prudence, are of great documentary value.

The more professional study of the language was initiated by the Russian ethnologist Waldemar (Vladimir) Jochelson (1855-1937). From January 1909 to July 1910 he did fieldwork in four Aleut villages: Unalaska, Attu, Atka, and Nikolski. He did not have a linguistic education (Jochelson 1919:133), and his fieldwork was to a large extent archaeological, but he had for several years worked with Siberian languages. And he got outstanding Aleut helpers: Alexey Mironovich Yachmenev (1866-1937), the chief (starosta) of Unalaska Village, and Leontiy Ivanovich Sivtsov (1872-1919), the Creole reader (psalomshchik) of the Orthodox Church in Unalaska.

The lasting result of Jochelson's work is a large body of invaluable texts (edited with a detailed introduction by Knut Bergsland and Moses L. Dirks, Alaska Native Language Center 1990). The majority are Eastern Aleut texts first written by Sivtsov or Yachmenev, most of them dictated by Isidor Solovyov, born in Akutan Village 1848, later moved to Unalaska Village, where he died in 1912; Ilarion Menshov, born 1851 in Unalaska Village; Marfa Golodova, born 1854 in Attu Village, midwife in Unalaska; Timofey Dorofeyev, born 1858 in Makushin, Unalaska, later moved to Nikolski; Arseniy Kryukov (1883-1930s), Ivan Suvorov (1877-1934), and Enafa Pletnikova, all three from Nikolski. Jochelson also recorded texts on a cylinder phonograph: Eastern stories told by Solovyov (partly transcribed by Sivtsov, partly by Dirks in 1987) and by Kliment Burenin, born 1843 in Kashega, Unalaska (transcribed by Dirks); Atkan stories told by Pyotr Khoroshev (Peter Horoshoff) (1882-1927) and Mikhail Mershenin (1871-1943), all transcribed by Dirks (Sivtsov's transcriptions are lost); and Attuan stories told by Stepan Golodov (b. 1861), Filaret Prokop'yev (1872-1910), Saveliy Prokop'yev, and by Stepan Prokop'yev (b. 1882), who also helped Jochelson and Yachmenev transcribe the texts and translate them into Eastern Aleut. The technical quality of the remaining Eastern and Attuan recordings has unfortunately prevented a coherent transcription.

Working with Sivtsov and Yachmenev on the new texts and on Veniaminov's grammar, Jochelson gained important insights into Aleut grammar. In 1912 he published a short sketch of the phonology and morphology, in 1919 a detailed criticism of Veniaminov's grammar. His phonology was rather weak, with frequent confusion of long and short vowels and of velar and uvular consonants (seen also in the texts he "polished", as he said). But he cleared up most of the nominal morphology (some details are questionable) and pointed out the fundamental difference between a verb with a specified complement, treated like an intransitive verb, and what he called "incorporation", that is the suffixal marking of an anaphoric complement. In 1919 he planned a more complete grammar when he had worked over all his texts. But his manuscript "Essay on the Grammar of the Aleut Language", finished in 1931 (see Jochelson 1990, Introduction p. 19), is little more than a translation into English of the Russian papers of 1912 and 1919. The Eastern Aleut paradigms are expanded by Atkan and Attuan variants (apparently elicited or constructed from the Eastern ones), and to the independent tenses of verbs are added some subordinative and participial forms. Also his treatment of the texts shows that he did not finish his grammatical work (see Jochelson 1990, Introduction point 8.).

In the decade before World War II the next generation of Aleuts produced several valuable texts. The first writers were natives of Nikolski: Afinogen K. Ermeloff (1890-1956), who in 1934 wrote a dramatic account of a shipwreck, and Ardelion G. Ermeloff (b. 1908), who in 1935-1936 wrote an interesting diary, both preserved in copies transliterated from the Cyrillics by Jay Ellis Ransom (then teacher in Nikolski) with the help of Rev. Gregory Kochergin. In 1937 Atkan Sergey Golley (b. 1894), hospitalized in Seattle, dictated texts to linguist Melville Jacobs (partly published in *Anĝaĝinaagamagis Tunumkaasaqangis / Told by Older People,* Atka-Anchorage, 1973). And at St. Paul in 1941 John Yatchemeneff (the son of Jochelson's collaborator) and Akenfa Ermilov (of Borka) wrote traditional stories in excellent Cyrillic orthography for John Peabody Harrington.

The Aleut Language by Richard Henry Geoghegan, edited by Fredericka I. Martin, United States Department of the Interior, 1944, is a translation of Veniaminov's book of 1846 with the addition of some suffixes and a few sentences taken from Veniaminov's Matthew (not correctly analyzed) but no trace of Jochelson's work.

After the war, in the summers of 1948-1950 and 1952 (altogether about one year), Gordon Harper Marsh (later Igumen Innocent) did fieldwork in Nikolski with Afinogen K. Ermeloff, Anton Bezezekoff (b. 1917), Fred Bezezekoff (b. 1926), and several others; in Akutan with William Tcheripanoff (1903-1992), Ignaty Mensoff (from Borka), and others; in Atka with William Dirks Sr. (1882-1967), Andrew Snigaroff (1891-1951) and Sergey Golley. In Nikolski and Atka he also worked with speakers native of Attu, and in New York with a native of St. Paul Island. With Afinogen K. Ermeloff he worked on Jochelson's texts, but he also recorded a number of new texts, in Nikolski and Akutan. His doctoral thesis, Columbia University 1956, is a grammatical analysis of the substantival morphology of Eastern Aleut with a phonological introduction, a great progress from Jochelson's work.

In the summer of 1950 (four weeks) and the fall of 1952 (twelve weeks) the present writer did fieldwork in Atka Village with William Dirks Sr. (1882-1967), his sons William (b. 1912) and Larry (1924-94) and the latter's wife Lydia (b. Nevzoroff 1926-83), Cedor L. Snigaroff (1890-1965) and his daughter Vera (b. 1927), and several other Atkans, and with a speaker of Attuan, Michael Ephem Lokanin (b. 1911 in Unalaska) (see Bergsland 1959:7-8). The speech of the younger Atkans differed from that of the elderly people by innovations such as the loss of the dual (also observed by Marsh in Nikolski) and by a marked influence from Eastern Aleut, also represented in the village. A large collection of place names and a number of short texts dictated by William Dirks Sr., and historical traditions told by Snigaroff and Lokanin, recorded on tape, were published together with older material, notably Jochelson's Attuan texts, in 1959 (new edition 1986 of Snigaroff's traditions: Niiĝuĝis Maqax̂tazaqangis).

The investigations of Aleut syntax continued in the spring of 1971 (five weeks) in Atka with Larry and Lydia Dirks, Nadesta Golley (1929-80), and others, by elicitation and with tape recordings of Sergey Golley, Phillip Nevzoroff (1907-77), John Nevzoroff (1921-86) and Larry Dirks, and Spiridon Zaochney (b. 1929). In the summer of 1973 (eight weeks) a group consisting of Nadesta Golley, Moses L. Dirks (b. 1952) and Sally Snigaroff (b. 1954) with the present writer as a consultant linguist produced for the implementation of the bilingual school program (instituted in 1972) a number of texts in the new Aleut orthography, including tape recordings of Olean Prokopeuff (1913-1976), Larry Dirks, Vera Nevzoroff (b. Snigaroff) and others. During the subsequent years more Atkan texts were produced for the same purpose (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xliii). The speech of most of the young persons differed from that of their parents by further innovations and heavy English influence (see Bergsland 1979). In 1981, together with Moses Dirks, this writer published an *Atkan Aleut School Grammar,* a simplified version of the core of the present grammar.

In the 1970s tape recordings of William Tcheripanoff, Anfesia Shapsnikoff (b. 1890s), Sergie Sovoroff (1902-89) of Nikolski, and others, were made by ANLC, Rev. Paul Merculieff, Rev. Ismail Gromoff and Ray Hudson, and Eastern Aleut texts were written for the bilingual school program by Olga Mensoff (b. in Kashega) with Moses Dirks. In the 1980s, preparing the edition of Jochelson's texts and the Aleut Dictionary, Bergsland and Dirks worked in several Eastern Aleut villages, taking notes and making tape recordings of several elderly persons, among them Sergie and Agnes Sovoroff, William Ermeloff and Dorofey Chercasen (b. 1913) of Nikolski; Nikolai Galaktionoff (b. 1925 in Makushin) of Unalaska; William Tcheripanoff and Olga Mensoff (b. 1910 in Kashega) of Akutan; Alex P. Kenezuroff (b. 1930) and Andrew Kenezuroff (b. 1939) of King Cove (formerly Belkofski); and Gabriel Stepetin (1911-92) of St. Paul (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xliii f.). In the summers of 1981-82 Minoru Oshima did fieldwork in Akutan with William Tcheripanoff, Luke Shelikoff (b. 1908) and others, and in Anchorage with Anatoli Lekanoff, Jr. of St. George (b. 1931), and in the summers of 1988-89 (about eleven weeks) and again in 1993 in Nikolski with several good speakers.
Among his publications is a paper on Eastern Aleut prosody (1994).

Atkan of Bering Island was first recorded in 1892-93 by Nikolay V. Slyunin (with the help of Veniaminov 1846), Jochelson in 1910 (texts, now lost), and Elizaveta P. Orlova in 1931 (vocabulary); then, together with Attuan of Copper Island, by Georgiy A. Menovshchikov in 1963 (based on Veniaminov 1846, published in 1977) and Evgeniy V. Golovko in 1982 (Copper Island texts published in 1988). The Copper Island Attuan with its Russian verbal suffixes and particles, which is beyond the scope of the present grammar, is discussed by Golovko and Nikolay B. Vakhtin in Aleut in Contact: the CIA Enigma. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 22:97-125.

0.3. Aleut dialects.

Before the arrival of the Russians in the 1740s the Aleut language was no doubt a dialect continuum stretching from the Alaska Peninsula to Attu. The eight groups met by the Russians (see 0.1.) probably had their linguistic characteristics as well as distinctive clothing and kayak types (mentioned, for example, by William Dirks Sr. in 1952). Each group included many settlements so there may also have been further local differences, for example in the matter of lexicon. The native order was of course greatly disturbed by the Russians who concentrated and relocated the people (and decimated many of them). But to the native order belonged not only intermarriage and trade between the groups but also intertribal wars or raids, with killing of men and abduction of women, which may have affected the geographical distribution of linguistic features as well.

According to Atkan tradition, reported by Netsvetov (in Veniaminov 1840 III:15 ff. / 1984:372) and known also to modern Atkans (N.M. 3), the Atkans (Niiĝuĝis) and the Unalaskans (Qawalangin) had lived in peace as in-laws but after a certain incident the Unalaskans started to make war on the Atkans. The latter, "unable to attack and raid the Unalaskans, in turn attacked their weakest neighbors, the inhabitants of the Rat and Near Islands, even to Attu, and in turn destroyed them." (1984:372; for the Atkan tradition about the Naahmiĝus see 0.1.).

According to another Aleut tradition, first reported from Attu by K.T. Khlebnikov in 1825 (published 1979:173), in more detail from Atka by Lucien M. Turner in 1880 or 1881, and known also to modern people (Bergsland 1959:124-126), the Atkans, having destroyed the people of Attu, came back later to check and found that only one woman had survived. They now had with them war prisoners from Umnak and had one of the Umnak men marry the Attuan woman and left two Umnak couples to live with them on Attu, thus becoming the ancestors of the later Attuans (Turner). The Attuan woman had a son but died before he had learned to speak his mother's language properly; therefore, "the Attu people until now add baby talk to their speech and their words are not deep" (1952). This is of course a folkloric myth but could quite possibly have a historical core, indicating a possible explanation of certain features of the Attuan dialect (see below).

Aleut dialectal features, isoglosses, obviously date from different times but the documentation does not allow any complete historical account. The following are indications of some major points. The dialectal differences are discussed in more detail in *Aleut Dictionary* pp. xxiv-xxx.

Eastern Aleut, the dialects of the former Russian district of Unalaska (see 0.1.), has a characteristic prosodic system with certain rules of syncopation, attested partly since the 1790s (1.2.2.2., 1.4.), while Atkan and Attuan, dialects of the former Russian district of Atka, have a typical apocopation of certain final syllables, in Atkan attested since 1780 (1.2.1.3.). Further, in certain verbal forms the anaphoric complement markers are infixed in Eastern Aleut but were suffixes in old Atkan and Attuan (2.1.9.4.2.1., 2.1.9.8). Between Eastern Aleut and the dialects to the West there are also a number of important lexical differences. But all this does not mean that Aleut should be viewed as a "Stammbaum" with two (or more) "branches".

Within Eastern Aleut it is still possible to see a distinction, more or less blurred in modern times, between the eastern **Qagaan Tayaĝungin** and **Qigiiĝun** and the western **Qawalangin** (see 01.). For example, the important verb 'to reach (in space or time), go to, etc.,' had in the East the form **hu-**, attested since 1834 (later **u-** with regular loss of the initial aspiration), in the West **nu-**, attested since 1870, from earlier **hnu-**, preserved in Atkan and Attuan (there are a few more cases like this one). A more isolated case is the word for 'kayak, single-hatch baidarka', in the East **iqa-x̂**, attested since 1834, in the West and Atka **iqya-x̂**, attested since 1768. The eastern variants are apparently innovations that did not diffuse westward.

An important point of difference between Eastern Aleut and Atkan is the representation of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut final ***-t** : Eastern **-n**, merged with the ancient nasal, Atkan **-s** (**-z-**) vs. **-n** (2.1.1.1.1-3.; 2.1.6.1.1.,3.; 2.1.7.4.). In 1834, however, Veniaminov (1846:XII f.) reported that the people of Umnak like the Atkans used the plural in **-s** and said **ngus** 'for me', Unalaskan **nung** (< ***ngun**), and **nangan** 'no', Unalaskan **kuguu**. The final **-s** is still found in some Umnak place names, e.g. **Adus** 'Caves', and was probably used also by the former people of the Islands of Four Mountains, 1760 *Unegist* = **Uniiĝus.** The innovating eastern nasal thus appears to have replaced the sibilant of Umnak within the last couple of centuries. The merger may possibly have taken place farther east and diffused to the **Qawalangin** of western Unalaska some time before the arrival of the Russians.

Attuan, as recorded in 1909 by Jochelson and in 1952 on Atka, had **-n**, found also in the name of the people 1771-1840 **Sasignan** (possibly Eastern ending), and **nung** like Unalaskan. Being clearly innovative, these items must either be due to parallel development or else have been brought from the East, conceivably in the Russian period but quite as likely earlier, as suggested by the folkloric myth.

On the other hand, the copula had in Attuan the more archaic shape **u-**, in Atkan and Eastern the innovative **a-** (see Bergsland 1986:108), attested since respectively 1780 and 1791. In Atkan, however, the **u-** is preserved in certain derivatives, e.g. **u-hli-** 'only -' (2.1.3.3.), so the **a-** must have been brought from the East before 1780, no doubt before the arrival of the Russians.

Attuan was most clearly characterized by a number of rather violent phonological innovations (cf. the "baby talk" of the myth), among them the merger of the dental fricative written **d** with the palatal approximant **y**, and the denasalization of **ng** and **m** before an oral consonant, e.g. **kigya-x̂**, Atka **kingda-x̂**, Eastern **kidnga-x̂** 'crowberry bush'; **ivya-x̂**, A **imda-x̂**, E **idma-x̂** 'content'; 1754-57 *Ibiya, Iwija* = ***Ivyaax**, ca. 1760 *Idma* = A **Idmaax** 'Buldir Island'. The Attuan denasalization here came on top of a metathesis, shared with Atkan in most cases, although not in the name of Buldir Island. The latter shows clearly that both innovations took place before the arrival of the Russians.

The dialect of the former Rat Islanders, **Qax̂un** or **Qaĝun**, if not **Qax̂us**, is practically unknown but some place names indicate that it may have shared with Attuan the merger of **d** with **y** and the metathesis but not the denasalization before oral consonants, e.g. 1767 *Im'yak* 'Buldir', *Amchigda*, A 1952 **Amchixta-x̂** 'Amchitka Island' (E ***Amchitxa-x̂**).

Before the arrival of the Russians the dialectal picture apparently was a normal one, with overlapping of various isoglosses and diffusion mainly from the East towards the West, the general direction of the military raids. The Russian conquest and administration caused a rather radical reduction, leaving for our century only three "main" dialects:

E = Eastern Aleut, viz. Eb: of Belkofski (now at King Cove), Ea: of Akutan, Eu: of Unalaska, Ep: of the Pribilof Islands, En: of Nikolski;

A = Atkan of Alaska, Ab: of Bering Island;

Au = Attuan of Alaska (now extinct), Am: of Mednoi, Copper Island (creolized).

0.4. The foreign impact

As early as 1745 on Attu, the Russians had Aleuts learn Russian, to serve as interpreters. In 1778 Captain James Cook's party found at Unalaska "about 60 Russians with a greater number of Kamtchadales" and reported that Aleut children were taken from their parents and brought up to speak the Russian language. From an early date Russian hunters lived with Aleut women, eventually marrying them, which resulted in the class of Creoles, which remained after the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 (see 0.1.). In the Russian period there must thus have been an increasing number of bilingual speakers, many of them literate in both Russian and Aleut.

Veniaminov (1846:XI) heard from many old people - whose parents must have been adults before the arrival of the Russians - that the present language differed from the old one, but they could not explain in what respect. Since the ancient Aleut way of life, including the shamanistic religion, had been wiped out two or three generations earlier, Veniaminov's informants may have had in mind primarily words. As an example Veniaminov also quoted a couple of old words.

Veniaminov remarked further that many Aleuts who knew Russian more or less used Russian words unnecessarily in their speech. In the course of time over eight hundred Russian words were borrowed by the Aleuts but in the Russian period they were generally adapted to Aleut phonology, see *Aleut Dictionary* pp. xxxiii-xxxvii. The earliest attested exceptions are the phonotactically aberrant E 1832- **xliima-x̂** 'bread' from Russian *khleb* and A 1838- (E 1870-) **stuulux̂** 'table' from Russian *stol* shaped after Aleut **qa-alux̂** 'eating place'; with foreign phonemes A 1840- **midru-x̂**, **vidra-x̂** 'bucket' from Russian *vedró*; E 1878 **spiichka-n** 'matches' from Russian *spíchka*.

According to Veniaminov (1846:XII), modal inflections of verbs, especially "independent ones" (probably verbs with modal and other postbases), were not used or even understood by many younger Aleuts of his time. This statement is difficult to assess, for judging from his Grammar Veniaminov's insights into these matters were rather limited. Quite possibly, however, the use of postbases was reduced in the Russian period, if not earlier. Of the ca. 570 identifiable postbases more than two thirds are found only in very few words or in a single one.

Veniaminov assumed that the Russian influence upon the Aleut language started from the very beginning of the Russian conquest and became more and more detrimental up to his time (nearly a century). Then bilingual speakers even used Russian word order in their Aleut speech. This phenomenon, for example the use of nominal complements after rather than before the predicate verb, is attested only in recent times, when also English influence is possible. But Eastern Aleut, from the earliest texts on (translation 1831), has nominal sentences of the Russian type, while old and later Atkan and Attuan use a copula. This innovation, naturally not observed as such by Veniaminov, may be earlier than his time. So presumably also the particle expressing hypothesis or unreality **kum**, attested in Eastern since 1826, in Atkan since 1838, an almost exact equivalent of the Russian *by*, conceivably a Russian loanword. It is of course impossible to know what other syntactical changes could have taken place during the first century of the Russian dominance, the center of which was Unalaska Village (cf. 3.1.1.1.; 3.1.1.6.2.; 3.2.2.1.; 3.2.5.1-3.; 3.3.2.3.1.). But the basic characteristics of Aleut syntax are quite different from Russian and so no doubt of much older date.

In 1834, in the preface of his grammar (see 0.2.), Veniaminov predicted the imminent extinction of the Aleut language, replaced by Russian, but it lived on. Jochelson in 1919 (p. 314 f.) thought that the language was saved by the American purchase of Alaska in 1867, when the Aleuts were left alone for several decades, but it lived on also on the Commander Islands. In his turn Jochelson predicted that, on the American side, Aleut would be replaced by English soon after his time. But the actual history could not be predicted.

By 1940 most Aleut adults in Alaska were bilingual at least to some extent. Judging from the linguistic data, however, the English influence upon Aleut speech was still limited to some words, perhaps including English higher numerals (years). The real English impact came after World War II, the most serious upheaval in Aleut society since 1745.

1. Phonology

1.1. Phonemes

1.1.1. Notation

The writing system used in this grammar, as also in *Aleut Dictionary* 1994, is the practical orthography designed in 1972 for the bilingual program in the Aleut region of what was then the Alaska State Operated School System, used in many school books and other publications since 1973. It is a modified transliteration of the Aleut Cyrillics developed by Ioann Veniaminov, for which see *Aleut Dictionary*, General Introduction **2.7.** It includes single roman letters, several digraphs and one trigraph, to be explained in 1.1.2. below. A hyphen is used in certain phrases (1.4.1.; 2.1.9.4.2.3.). In the syntax a hyphen is sometimes inserted to show the morpheme border.

In the charts, items in parentheses are found only in Russian or English loanwords, the one in italics only in Eastern Aleut and the underlined one only in Atkan and in loanwords, while the Attuan consonants are tabulated separately.

Consonants

	Labial		Prelingual		Postlingual		Glottal
		dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	
Stops							
voiceless	(p)	**t**		**ch**	**k**	**q**	
(voiced)	(b)	(d)			(g)		
Fricatives							
voiceless	(f)	***hd***		**s**	**x**	**x̂**	
voiced	(v)	**d**		**z**	**g**	**ĝ**	
Nasals							
aspirated	**hm**	**hn**			**hng**		
voiced	**m**	**n**			**ng**		
Approximants							
aspirated	**hw**	**hl**		**hy**			**h**
voiced	**w**	**l**	(r)	**y**			

Attuan

Stops	(p)	**t**	**t'**	**ch**	**k**	**q**	
Fricatives	**v**			**s**	**g/x**	**ĝ/x̂**	
Nasals	**m**	**n**			**ng**		
Approximants		**l**	(r)	**y**			**h**

Vowels, short and long

	Rounded	Unrounded	
		front	back
High	**u uu**	**i ii**	
(Mid)	(o oo)	(e ee)	
Low		[*ää*]	**a aa**

1.1.2. Phonetic description

1.1.2.1. Consonants

1.1.2.1.1. Manner of articulation

The genuine Aleut stops, all lingual, are completely voiceless, either unaspirated or weakly aspirated ("mellow") (**t k**), or strongly aspirated or affricated ("strident") (**ch q** and Attuan **tʳ**).

The more or less voiced stops, found only in loanwords, are unstable, alternating dialectally or individually with the corresponding fricatives. In old loanwords the Russian voiced stops are rendered by Aleut voiceless stops, e.g. En 1950 **tulutux̂** 'chisel' (Russian *dolotó)*; E 1805 **ka[a]nisax̂**, 1825 **ka[a]nasax̂**, 1871 **kaansax̂**, A 1840- **kaaznax̂** 'tobacco pipe' (Siberian Russian *gánza)*; for the labials see 1.1.2.1.2.1.

The voice contrast of postlingual fricatives does not obtain in contact with a voiceless consonant nor in word-final position. In Attuan there is no voice contrast.

Aspirated nasals (the aspiration escapes entirely through the nose) and aspirated approximants may end voiced before a vowel. In Attuan they occurred only in word-initial position and may be taken as clusters with an initial **h.** In modern Eastern the initial aspiration is lost (details below). The corresponding voiced items may be partly devoiced in contact with a voiceless consonant and in word-final position (before a pause), where they do not contrast with the aspirated ones.

Voicelessness and aspiration are thus an extra feature of continuants, and the marked members of the contrasts are much less frequent than the unmarked, voiced ones.

1.1.2.1.2. Place of articulation

1.1.2.1.2.1. Labial consonants

Labial obstruents in Eastern and Atkan are found only in loanwords, while the Attuan **v** corresponds with E-A -**w**-, **-mg-** and preconsonantal **-m-**. The stops are bilabial, e.g. En, A **paltux̂** 'coat' (Russian *pal'tó)*, **suupax̂** 'soup' (Russian *sup)*, **baabuskax̂** 'midwife' (Russian *bábushka)*. The **b**, however, may be fricative, with narrow stricture (A 1950-52, old speaker), or alternate with the labiodental fricative, e.g. A **baanax̂**, **vaanax̂** 'bathhouse' (Russian *bánya)*; A **biilkix̂**, **viilkix̂**, En **biilkax̂**, du. **viilkax** 'fork' (Russian *vílka* , pl. *vílki)*.

The fricatives are labiodental, e.g. E, A **fuutax̂** 'ruler; foot' (Russian *fut*), **kuufyax̂** coffee' (Russian *kófe*); **Vaskrisiiniyax̂** (A 1840 **w-**) 'Sunday' (Russian *voskresén'ye*); En **kuvurvuutax̂**, Eu **kuvruvuutax̂** 'brace' (Russian *kolovorót*). Devoiced **v**, not contrasting with **f**, in E **laavkax̂**, A **laavkix̂** 'store' (Russian *lávka* , prepos. *lávke*); En, A **kuuvtax̂** 'sweater, blouse' (Russian *kófta*); E, A **utviirkax̂** 'screwdriver' (Russian *otvyórtka*).

In older loanwords Russian labial obstruents were rendered by Aleut nasals, aspirated or voiced, e.g. E 1948- **milax̂** (< ***hmilax̂**) 'file' (Russian *pilá)*; Au 1909- **misiisix̂** 'blue fox' (Russian *peséts)*; E 1805- **luhmaatkax̂** 'shovel' (Russian *lopátka)*; E 1909 **maanax̂** bathhouse' (Russian *bánya)*; E, A **tamaakax̂**, **tahmaakax̂** 'tobacco' (Russian *tabák)*; E 1950- **mitilix̂** 'wick' (Russian *fitíl')*; A 1948- du. **lukamachix**

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'mittens' (Russian *rukavítsy)*. In contact with a labial vowel a Russian labial was rendered by an Aleut velar (both are "grave"), e.g. E 1805- **tukuulux̂**, A 1838-, Au 1892 **tukuulkix̂** 'axe' (Russian *topór* and dimin.pl. *topórki)*; E 1909 **miigux̂** 'beer' (Russian *pívo)*. Later, the new Aleut **p** could also represent the other Russian labials, e.g. En 1935 **putiilkax̂** 'bottle' (Russian *butýlka)*; A 1952 **pitilix̂** (1973 **fitilix̂**) 'wick'; Ea 1983 **piilkax̂** 'fork' (Russian *vílka)*.

The Attuan **v** was a labiodental fricative verging on a bilabial, voiced between vowels and before voiced consonants, partly or completely devoiced before a stop or **s**, e.g. **aval** 'to work' (A, E **awa-**); **aavix̂** 'blood' (E, A **aamgix̂**); **uvlal** 'to wake up' (E, A **umla-**); **avqil** 'to be angry' (E **amqilix**, A **aqmi-**); **kivs** 'to go down' (E, A **kimsix**).

The nasals are bilabial, aspirated and voiced, e.g. A **hmatal** 'to put into the bosom'; En, A **ahmasix** 'to ask'; E 1819-34, En, A **quhmax̂** '(being / something) white'; E, A, Au **matalix** 'to be such as', **uman** 'this one (invisible)'. Devoiced **m**, not contrasting with **hm**, in E, A **qamtix̂** 'scapula', **katmilix** 'to stretch (skin)', **qilam** 'in the morning'.

w is a rounded semivowel, with the back of the tongue raised, that may approach a slight initial velar stricture, e.g. E, A **wan** 'this one', **awalix** 'to work'. The **hw** occurs initially in three words and has in addition an aspiration, strongest at the beginning, but little or no friction: A **hwax̂** 'smoke', **hwaadal** 'to howl, bark (of fox)'; En 1982-84 (individual pronunciation) **hwayugin** 'shavings for making fire'.

1.1.2.1.2.2. Dental consonants.

The dental consonants are generally postdental. In Atka 1950-52 (old speakers) they were strongly palatalized before **i** (possibly due to former Russian influence), in Nikolski 1948-52 (Marsh 1956) slightly palatalized, nowadays more like the English pronunciation.

t is a voiceless unaspirated or weakly aspirated stop, e.g. E, A **tatux̂** 'pool (E); lagoon (A)', **tutax** 'ear pendants'; palatalized in A 1950 **hatix̂** 'ten', **utikux̂** 'he is going down to the shore'.

The voiced stop **d**, found in loanwords, is unstable, alternating with the fricative written likewise, e.g. En **druuvin**, A **druuvis** shots (for shotgun)' (Russian *dróbi)*; A 1973 **dimil** (1950 fricative **d**) 'to smoke (fish)' (Russian *dymí-t')*; E, A **nidilix̂** 'week' (Russian *nedélya)* vs. **idigax̂** 'something sweet' with fricative **d**. In Attuan the stop occurred in the imitative word **lividriiqax̂** 'scaled petrel', named after it is cry "lividriiq-kukudruuk" (1952).

The fricative **d** is postdental with narrow stricture, especially in initial position, where it may come close to a stop (in late Atkan actually a stop before **u**), voiced in E, A **dax̂** 'eye', **dux̂tax̂** 'fishhook', **udax̂** 'bay', **adux̂** 'cave'; in earlier Atkan palatalized in E, A **dix̂** 'soot', **adix̂** '(lower) lip'; devoiced in E, A **kdax̂** 'ice', **sdax̂** 'star', **aniqdux̂** 'child', A 1840 **asx̂atdalix** 'killing (several)' (V B 2:1). The Eastern **hd**, corresponding with the Atkan cluster **td**, is a single voiceless fricative (like English th in thin, but postdental), e.g. **ihdanulux** 'we never go out' (J 74:32; A **hitda-**).

The nasals are aspirated and voiced, e.g. A, Au **hnul** 'to reach'; En, A **chuhnilix** 'to stab'; E, A, Au **naga** 'its inside', **anax̂** 'mother'; palatalized in A **hnix̂** 'wolf-eel', **nis** 'fishrack', E, A, Au **hanix̂** 'lake'. Partly devoiced **n**, not contrasting with **hn**, in E, A **inkax̂** 'sky', **chaknax̂** 'putrid', **wan** 'this one'.

hl is an aspirated dental lateral, **l** the corresponding voiced lateral, e.g. E 1791-1870, A, Au **hlax̂** 'boy; son'; E **tahlax̂** 'slave, servant'; E, A **lalix** 'to gather', E, A, Au **ulax̂** 'house'; palatalized in E 1830-34, A **wahligan** 'here (as in this village)', E, A, Au **lilix** 'to appear'. Partly devoiced **l**, not contrasting with **hl**, in E, A **alqux̂** 'what', E, A, Au **uqlax̂six** 'to wash, bathe'; A, Au **qal** 'eating'.

1.1.2.1.2.3. Alveolar consonants

The Attuan **t**^{r} is a voiceless alveolar or postalveolar affricated stop, corresponding mostly to the Atkan voiced fricative **d** or **z** (both absent from Attuan), e.g. **t**^{r}**aĝlaka** 'to not know' (E, A **daĝlakan**), **maat**^{r}**ax̂** 'anything' (A **maaza-l** 'to get something'). It is clearly different from the cluster **tr** as in Eun 1978-, A 1952- **trubax̂** 'stovepipe' (Russian *trubá)*.

r, found in loanwords and in a few imitative words, is a voiced laminal-alveolar or postalveolar approximant with little or no trilling or friction, palatalized before **i** and partly devoiced in contact with voiceless consonants, e.g. E du. **rugax**, A pl. **rugas** 'antlers' (Russian *rogá)*; E, A **kurilix** 'to smoke' (Russian *kurí-t')*; Eun 1936-, A 1952- **kartuufilax̂** 'potato' (Russian *kartófel')*; Eu **urangaadalix** 'to meow'; En **turiikax̂** 'green-winged teal'; Attuan **lividriiqax̂**, see 1.1.2.1.2.2.

In older loanwords the Russian r was rendered by the Aleut lateral, e.g. A 1948- **lukamachix** 'mittens' (see 1.1.2.1.2.1.); E 1909, A 1840 **kaltuumilax̂** 'potato'.

1.1.2.1.2.4. Palatal consonants

The palatal obstruents are "strident" prelinguals ("acute").

ch is a voiceless affricated and aspirated stop, perhaps more palatalized than English ch, or more like the English sound, a difference between age groups in Nikolski in the 1950's (Marsh 1956), e.g. E, A, Au **chachix̂** 'cover, lid', **chuchaxsix** 'to stand upright'.

s used to be a palato-alveolar sibilant (often written *sh* by early Russians) but with younger speakers nowadays perhaps is mostly like an English s, e.g. E, A **sasax̂** 'layer'; E, A, Au **sisax̂** 'hundred', **susux̂** 'pus (in wound)'.

The Atkan **z** is (or used to be) a palato-alveolar sibilant, voiced as in **azax̂** 'usually is', **hizax** 'almost', **huzuu** 'all of it', **aĝzal** 'to deliver'; partly devoiced after the stop **t**, as in **hax̂tzax̂** 'usually gets up (early)', a cluster different from the affricate **ch** in **hax̂chada** 'get up!' In Eastern it merged with **s**, with possible traces in the 18th century sources (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xxvii). The **z** is used also in Russian loanwords, both in Atkan and, more rarely, in Eastern, e.g. A **zapuurax̂** 'salmon trap' (Russian *zapór)*, **taazax̂** (E **taasax̂**) 'pan' (Russian **taz**, gen. **táza**); Eb **zilizinax̂** 'mallard' (Russian *sélezen')*; En **izuumax̂** raisin' (Russian *izyúm)*.

y is a voiced palatal semivowel, slightly devoiced in contact with a voiceless consonant and in word-final position, e.g. E, A **yaagilix** 'to swing; to move'; E, A, Au **ayagax̂** 'woman', **uyux̂** 'neck'; E, A **ayx̂alix** 'to travel, go by sea'; E, A, Au **qyalix** 'to be tight'; A **way** 'right now'. In Attuan it reflects also the fricative **d**, e.g. **yax̂**, A, E **dax̂** 'eye'.

hy, less common, has in addition a pre-aspiration without friction (for the function in Attuan see 1.2.1.1.), e.g. E 1778-1878, A, Au **hyaagax̂** 'wood; tree, log'; En, A **ahyaakux̂** 'play dart'; A **kuhyux̂** 'great sculpin'.

1.1.2.1.2.5. Velar consonants

Velar consonants ("mellow grave") are slightly fronted before **i** and have a lip-rounding before **u**, especially in Eastern (Marsh 1956).

k is an unaspirated or weakly aspirated stop, e.g. E, A **kakilix** 'to raise the head'; E, A, Au **kukax̂** 'grandmother'.

The voiced stop **g**, found only in loanwords, is unstable, alternating with the fricative, e.g. E **gruubax̂**, A **gruuvax̂** 'coffin' (Russian *grob*, gen. *gróba)*; A 1973 **gaavanax̂** (1952 fricative **g**) 'harbor' (Russian *gávan')*.

x is a voiceless fricative, e.g. A **xadaxs** 'to move fast'; E, A **qaxulix** 'to be mean', **uxilix** 'to extinguish', **chixisix** 'to attach'. In contact with a voiceless consonant and in word-final position (before a pause) it does not contrast with the voiced **g**, e.g. E, A **txin** 'you (sg.)', **ixtix̂** 'pit', du. **sax** 'bird-skin parka'. In Attuan there is no contrast, e.g. **hugil** 'to extinguish'.

g is a voiced fricative, e.g. A **galuu** 'the end of it (thread)'; E, A **gilix** 'to envy', **gux̂** 'tube'; E, A, Au **agulix** 'to make', **ugii** 'her husband'.

The nasals are aspirated and voiced, e.g. En, A **ahngalix** 'to say yes', **qahngux̂** 'seaweed, kelp', **uhngil** 'his sister'; E, A **ngaan** 'to, for him/her'; E, A, Au **angalix̂** 'daylight, day', **qangulix** 'to go in, enter', **qungix̂** 'hump'. Partly devoiced **ng**, not contrasting with **hng**, in E, A **angtax̂** 'transversal half', **chngax̂** 'fur'; E, A, Au **ting** 'I, me', **aang** 'yes; hello'. To distinguish it from the digraph **ng**, the cluster **n+g** is written **n'g**, e.g. E, A **an'gax̂** 'line, rope' vs. **anga-** '(longitudinal) half; side; match'.

1.1.2.1.2.6. Uvular consonants

The uvular or back-velar consonants, perhaps less retracted than the corresponding Inupiaq sounds, are "strident".

The stop is strongly aspirated or even affricated, so at least in Atkan, e.g. E, A **qaqax̂** 'food', **qiqix̂** 'slime'; En **ququx̂**, A **qunqux̂** 'milt, soft roe'.

x̂ is a voiceless fricative, e.g. E, A **x̂ax̂** 'front of belly part of fish', **ax̂alix** 'to dance', **six̂ilix** 'to break, smash to pieces', Eun, A **ux̂aasix̂** 'oar'. In contact with a voiceless consonant and in word-final position (before a pause) it does not contrast with the voiced **ĝ**, e.g. E, A **tx̂isix** 'to wax (thread); to stroke', **ix̂chix̂** 'worm'. In Attuan there is no contrast, e.g. **uĝaasix̂** 'our'.

ĝ is a voiced fricative, e.g. E, A, Au **aĝalix** 'to become open; to appear; to be born', **haĝux̂** 'pack, burden', **uĝux̂** 'juice, sap'.

1.1.2.1.2.7. Glottal **h**

Occurring in word-initial position, the aspiration **h** in Atkan and Attuan contrasts with an audible but not written glottal stop initiation of a vowel, e.g. **halal** 'to turn the head' vs. **alal** 'to need, **hinux̂** 'piece of sod' vs. **inux̂** 'piece of food', **hudax̂** 'dried fish or meat' vs. **udax̂** 'bay'. In old eastern Eastern and in Attuan it also reflected a medial aspiration or voicelessness, e.g. E 1832, Au **hamasix** 'to ask' (En, A **ahmasix**); E 1791-, Au **hanix̂** 'root of lupine' (A **ahnix̂** vs. **hanix̂** 'lake'), E 1832-, Au **hungii** 'his sister' (Eun, A **uhngii**); E 1870, Au **halayax̂** 'board' (A **ahlayax̂**); E 1870 **hagisix** 'to catch (by dragging)' (A **axisix**); Au 1909 **hugil** 'to extinguish' (A **uxil**); also Ab 1963 **huĝa-** 'to go out, be extinguished' (En **ux̂a-**, E 1826-, A 1840- **uĝa-**).

Modern Eastern has only an initial zero. In the 1950's older speakers in Nikolski still had a **h** but not regularly in the ancient distribution, e.g. **hudax̂** 'bay' vs. **udax̂** 'dried fish or meat' rather than vice versa (Marsh 1956). In the Akutan and Unalaska texts recorded on cylinders by Jochelson in 1909 (J 1-2, 5-6. 34) the initial **h** is lost only a few times. His Aleut helpers did not write it (in the Cyrillics it was marked by a circumflex, left out by modern writers).

1.1.2.2. Vowels

Vowels are short and long, the latter written double; there are no diphthongs (autosyllabic clusters of contrasting vowels). E.g. E **udalix**, A **hudal** 'to dry (fish or meat)' vs. E **uudalix**, A **huudal** 'to shout'; E, A **sisxix̂** 'isthmus, portage' vs. A **siisx̂ix̂** 'nosebleed'; E, A, Au **chang** 'my hand' vs. **chaang** 'five'; **aĝalix** 'to become open, etc.' vs. **aaĝalix** 'to miss'. Under ordinary stress (1.2.2.1.) a short vowel tends to be lengthened, especially in eastern Eastern, but before a voiced consonant also in Atkan, where, for example, some speakers pronounce **tugídax̂** 'moon' in the same way as **tugiidax̂** 'clothesline'. Dialectal differences are rare, e.g. E **aalax**, A **alax**, Au **ulax** 'two'; E **yax̂**, **yaĝix̂**, A, Au **yaaĝix̂** 'cape'; E **chx̂ux̂six**, A **chx̂uux̂s(ix)** 'to wash'. See further 1.2. and 1.3.

The allophonic variation, in general wider for the short vowels than for the long ones, depends upon the adjoining consonants, upon stress, in Eastern Aleut also upon a following vowel.

The three basic short vowels **u i a** in initial position before a labial or velar consonant, as in the demonstratives **uka**, **ika**, **aka**, have approximately the phonetic values [u], [i], [a], respectively. In contact with uvular consonants, as in E **quqlux̂**, A **quqdax̂** 'dirt, filth', **qiqix̂** 'slime', **qaqax̂** 'food', they become [o], [e], [ɑ], all retracted; the high vowels appear to be lowered more in Eastern than in Atkan. In contact with prelingual consonants, especially palatal ones, as in **chuchaxsix** 'to erect', **chachilix** 'to cover', the **u** is fronted to IPA [ʉ] or [y], the **a** raised and fronted to [ɛ] or [e], so that allophones of **a** and **i** in different positions may overlap or even pass each other (as in Greenlandic); likewise in **uyminalix** 'to be humorous (E); to be healthy (A)', **wayaam** 'now'. In Eastern an **a** may be fronted to [ä] by a following **i**, e.g. **tanangin** [tanängin] 'their island'. Unstressed short vowels are often reduced or whispered (cf. 1.5.). For example, the **u** and **a** in the last syllable of the Atkan variants **Amilaayus** and **Amilaayas** 'Americans' may both come close to an **i** (generally not found after **y**, see 1.2.1.2.1.). In Eastern, through syncopation (1.2.2.), a **u** may be left as a labialization of the preceding consonant, written as **u** in parentheses, e.g. **asaĝutax̂** 'good luck', **asaĝ(u)talix** [x̂ʷt] 'to be lucky'.

The long vowels are mostly somewhat lower than the respective short ones but in contact with uvular consonants less retracted, e.g. in **uuquchiing** 'blue fox', **qiiqix̂** 'storm-petrel', **qaaqaan** 'eat it!'. In contact with front consonants, as in **chaayax̂** 'musical instrument', **yaagilix** 'to move', the **aa** is generally closer to [a:] than to [æ:].

In Eastern, an **aa** may be fronted by a following **i**, also across a postlingual consonant, e.g. **qachx̂inaaĝikux̂** [qachx̂inä:ĝikux̂] 'tries to feed (her child)'. Through syncopation the fronted vowel may become distinctive, e.g. **qachx̂inaaĝ(i)kuu** [qachx̂inä:x̂kuu] 'tries to feed it'. Likewise in Atkan influenced by Eastern, e.g. **alqux̂ maamis** [mä:mis] 'what are you going to do?'; by apocopation **aqadaam(ing)** [aqadä:m] 'after I had been ...' vs. **aqadaam** [aqada:m] 'after he/she had been ...'. The front low vowel is found also in recent English loanwords such as A **däädìng** 'my dad'.

The mid vowels **o**, **oo** (about as in English off) and **e** (about as in English bed), **ee**, are used only in family names such as **Nevzo(o)rof** and in a very few recent loanwords, e.g. A 1973 **goornichax̂** beside **guurnichax̂** 'living room' (Russian *górnitsa)*.

1.2. Phonotactics

1.2.1. Syllabic structure

The basic syllabic structure of Aleut may be summarized as follows (C = consonant, V = short vowel, VV = long vowel):

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\emptyset\\ \\ C\\ CC\end{matrix}\right\} + \begin{Bmatrix}V\\ VV\end{Bmatrix} \pm \left[\left.\begin{matrix}C\\ \\ CC\\ CCC\end{matrix}\right\} + \begin{Bmatrix}V\\ VV\end{Bmatrix}\right]_{1\text{-}n} \pm C$$

In loanwords there is also an initial CCC. In Attuan the medial CCC is reduced to CC. In Atkan and Attuan there is also, through apocopation, a final CC.

A word form may contain from one to about a dozen syllables, each with a vocalic nucleus.

1.2.1.1. Word initial

1.2.1.1.1. Zero and single consonants

All the consonants except the Eastern **hd** and the aspirated **hng** are found in word-initial position. Initial labial obstruents, voiced stops, **r** and **z** are found only in loanwords.

There are restrictions in relation to the following vowel only for the semivowels. The labial semivowels occur only before the unrounded low vowel, short or long, as in **wan** this one', rel. **waan** (in Attuan they are represented by nasals: **man, maa**). In Eastern forms where the vowel has been rounded (by regressive assimilation) the semivowel switches to a velar fricative, e.g. Ea 1974, Eu 1910 **gukun** < E 1833- **wakun**, A* **wakus** 'these'. The palatal semivowels occur only before the rounded and the low vowels, as in **yu-** 'pleats'; A, Au **hyul** 'to run out, spill, etc.'; A pl. **yas** 'reef'; A, Au **hyal** 'to be covered up by the tide (of beach)'; **hyaagax̂** 'wood; log'.

The aspiration (preaspiration) of sonorants, including the glottal **h** before a vowel, is (or was) preserved in Atkan and Attuan but is lost in modern Eastern. As mentioned above, the **h** was lost in Eastern only in the present century, the aspiration of the other oral approximants probably in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In eastern Eastern the rare aspirated nasals are reflected by **h** (later zero) , e.g. A, Au **hnu-**, Enu **nu-**, Eupab **hu-** (**u-**) 'to reach'; A **hmuqatix̂**, Ean 1978- **uqatix̂** 'gill cover, cheek of fish'; A, Au **hmiikaayax̂**, E **hikayax̂** 'red sculpin'; perhaps also A **hmachi-** 'to stick between something', E **hachi-** 'to get stuck', found also in Atkan and Attuan, presumably as a loanword from Eastern. For some other dialectal correspondences see *Aleut Dictionary* p. xxviii f.

The voice distinction of the postlingual fricatives, all comparatively rare, is limited and asymmetrical. The more common items are the voiced velar and the voiceless uvular, as in **gi-** 'to envy', **gu-** 'tube', and En **x̂anix̂** 'red sky at dawn and sunset'; E 1832- **x̂ulalix** 'to wash'. Apart from a few loanwords, the voiceless velar is found only in A **xadaxs** 'to move fast' and in one or two Eastern words, while the voiced uvular is found only in eastern Eastern (and in Netsvetov's dictionary) as the reflex of the voiceless one, e.g. Ea 1952- **ĝulalix** 'to wash'.

1.2.1.1.2. Consonant clusters

Apart from loanwords, an initial cluster is a voiceless stop or **s** followed by a continuant other than **s** (or **z**), neutral as to voice or aspiration. All the clusters are relatively rare, some of them very rare.

In Attuan they are limited to monosyllabic bases, partly changed into a different pattern, e.g. **chqal**, A, E **chx̂alix** 'to be full'; **skal**, E **sngalix** 'to raise his hand threateningly'. In other bases they are eliminated by a syllabic switch, e.g. **kavtigya-**, A **kmatikda-** 'brittle' . The initial **s** is partly assimilated to the following sonant, merging with the earlier preaspiration, which in Attuan is initial only and so may be taken as a separate phoneme, e.g. **hlaxs** 'to be wide' (A, E **slaxsix**) like **hlax̂** 'son, boy' (A, old E **hlax̂**).

In Eastern and Atkan all the lingual stops and **s** are found before the labial nasal, e.g. **tmax** 'long seaweed, Nereocystis'; **chmax̂** 'tail (of fish, whale)'; **smiix̂** 'wandering tattler'; En **kmitukdalix** 'to glance off (of bullet)'; Ea **qmix̂** 'the ivory peg at the end of the groove of the spear thrower'. In Attuan there is delabialization in **chvax̂** 'tail', **sviiĝix̂** 'wandering tattler'; syllabic switch in **tavyix̂**, A, E **tmadgix̂** 'Atka mackerel'. The labial semivowel is found only in the recent loanword E, A **kwasnax̂** 'bread dough' (Russian *kvashnyá* 'trough').

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Within the general restrictions practically all the combinations of prelingual and postlingual consonants, in both orders, are attested in Eastern and Atkan, e.g. prelingual + postlingual **txin** 'you (sg.)' (Au **tin**); **chxalix** 'to steal' (also Au); **sxiixtulix** 'to be thick (of flat things)'; En **tngusix̂** 'chopping block' (Ea **txusix̂**); **chngax̂** 'hair, fur, pelt', **chngatux̂** 'sea otter' (Au **chaxtux̂**); **sngaxsix** 'to dream' (Au **hngaxs**); **tx̂isix** 'to wax; to stroke'; **chx̂alix** 'to be full' (Au **chqal**); **sx̂iix, sx̂iigix̂** 'greenfish, pogie' (Au **sliĝix̂**); postlingual + prelingual **kdax̂** 'ice' (Au **kyax̂**); E, Au **knilx** 'whiskered auklet'; E, A **klilix** 'to put hand into (water)'; **kyax̂six** 'to send out on an errand'; **qdinalix** 'to be slippery'; (*qn- not attested); A **qlatalix** 'to offend; to deceive'; **qyalix** 'to be tight' (also Au).

Also combinations of two prelingual consonants occur in a few words, e.g. En **tdux** (E 1909 **dux**, Ea **kdug-**), A **tduux** 'knock, thump' (from Russian *stuk)*; E **chdaxsix**, A **chdaxti-** 'to have diarrhea'; **sdax̂** 'star'; (*tn-, *chn- not attested); **snanga-** 'side, seaside of bank'; A **tluhmul** 'to stir (creek) with a stick to scare fish into net'; E, A **chlax̂six** 'to dive'; **slaxsix** 'to be wide' (Au **hlaxs**); A **chyaalix̂** 'immature sea gull' (later A, Au **chaalix̂**); E **chyulix** 'to squeeze out'.

Some of the clusters found only in loanwords are close to the general Aleut pattern: **p** + **l**, **r**, **y**; **b**, **g** + **l**, **r**; **dr**-. The following are contrary to the old Aleut pattern: fricative + **l** in E, A **xliimax̂**, **xliibax̂**, beside **kliibax̂**, Eun **kliipax̂** and A **hliibax̂** 'bread' (Russian *khleb)*; **s** + **p**, **t**, **k** and **tr** in a number of more recent loanwords, e.g. En 1978, A 1950- **stuukalix** 'to knock on (door)' (Russian *stúka-t')*, cf. the adjustment of fricative + stop as stop + fricative in the older loanword **tdux**, **tduux** mentioned above.

1.2.1.2. Word medial

1.2.1.2.1. Zero and single consonants

Within a word form, vowels are separated by at least one consonant, with the exception of the loanword Ea 1983 **kalaa'usix** (E 1909 **kalaagusix**) 'grass slippers' (Siberian Russian *kaláuz)* and forms with an enclitic negation in older Atkan, e.g. 1860 ... **qahmigaulax** 'not the door of ...' (John 10.1); 1950 (**imlim**) **aduu'ulax** 'not-long = short (hair)' (later **aduuyulax**, E **aduuyulux**).

All the single consonants except **h** and **hw** are found in intervocalic position. Words like A **naa-hadaa** (E **naadaa**, Au **naayaa**) 'the west' are compounds with **had(a)-** 'direction'.

The labial semivowel **w** is flanked only by unrounded vowels, mostly low ones, e.g. E, A **qawax̂** 'sea lion'; in old Atkan also, rarely, by a low and a long high one: 1840 **qawiigamax** (later **qawaagamax**) 'adult sea lion'; 1840-60 **awiilax̂** 'gloomy; distress'; 1952 **Hawiigis** name of islets (probably < ***hawaygis**). In Eastern forms where the following **a** is rounded to **u**, the labial semivowel switches to a velar fricative as in initial position (1.2.1.1.1.): Ea 1834- **[h]aguxsix**, E 1870-, A **hawaxsix** 'to tow (in boat); to drag'; E 1833-, A 1950- (from E) **haguma-**, A 1860- **hawama-** 'to do there, to do so'. In Attuan the semivowel is mostly reflected by the labiodental fricative, e.g. **qavax̂** 'sea lion', exceptionally by the nasal in **hamaxs** 'to tow'.

The palatal semivowels are flanked mostly by vowels other than high unrounded ones, e.g. En, A **ahyaakux̂** 'play dart'; A **ahyux** 'buttocks'; A **kuhyux̂** 'great sculpin'; E, A, Au **hayalix** 'to request'; **ayuxsix** 'to go out (in boat); **uyalix** 'to fetch'; **uyux̂** 'neck'. The voiced semivowel is found also after **i**, as in E, A **chiyalix** 'to stretch out, reach out' (vs. En **chyalix** 'to hold oneself rigid'); but before an **i** or **ii** only in A **qanayiim**, a variant of **qanayaam** 'when'; A **kayix** (modern **kay**), E **kayux** 'also'; and in loanwords, e.g. En, A **prusaayilix** 'to say good-bye' (Russian *proshcháy-etsya).*

The aspirated nasals and approximants are perhaps, slightly longer than the voiced ones in comparable positions (cf. 1.2.2.1.), e.g. A **ahmas** 'to ask' vs. **amax** 'high cliff', cf. the compound **nam-hadaa** 'the south' (E **namadaa**, Au **amayaa**). The aspiration, found in Atkan and western Eastern and apparently still preserved, at least partly, farther east at Veniaminov's time, in later eastern Eastern and in Attuan switched to **h** before an initial vowel (see 1.1.2.1.2.7.) or else was lost, e.g. Ebap 1952-, Au **qumalix**, E 1819-34, En 1948-, A **quhmalix** 'to be white'. In Unalaska the aspiration disappeared beyond the first syllable of a word, e.g. 1909 **a-hli-kum** 'until he' but **a-da-li-kum** 'until he' (J 34:120, 42); **hihnaax̂six** 'trying to go out' but **asx̂anax̂** 'killed' (J 34:52, 199), A **hitnaaĝ-**, **asx̂atnax̂**, En 1950- **asx̂ahnax̂** vs. **asx̂anax̂** 'died'. In western Eastern the aspiration is apparently secondary in some words, e.g. En **kahlu-**, A **kalu-** 'to shoot'; Eun 1909- **ahnax**, A **anax** 'club' (Eskimo **anagu-**, **anau-** 'to strike'); Eun **chihngax̂**, A **chingax̂** 'crag' vs. Eun, A **chihngax̂** 'cut in fish or meat for drying'.

In Attuan, the voicelessness of the intervocalic postlingual fricatives likewise switched to **h** before an initial vowel or else was lost (1.1.2.1.2.7.). In Eastern the distribution is less clear-cut, e.g. E 1791-, A **ax̂alix** 'to dance', Ea 1983 **aĝa-** but Eb 1984 **ax̂aasalix** 'to dance with' (vs. E, A, Au **aĝalix** 'to become open, etc.'); E 1805-, A **chaxax̂**, E 1791, Ea 1834-1952, Au **chagax̂** 'hollow, pit' vs. E 1834, Ea 1983, A, Au **chagax̂** 'red cedar', but in the latter sense also E 1909, Ebu 1984, En 1950- **chaxax̂**, apparently with a secondary voiceless fricative. Another example of this is E 1805-, A **iĝamanalix**, Ebaun 1952- **ix̂am(a)nalix** 'to be good', E 1826-, A, Au **iĝamanax̂**, E 1805- **ix̂amanax̂** '(being) good'.

1.2.1.2.2. Consonant clusters

Clusters are combinations of consonants which differ in respect of manner and/or place of articulation. Double consonants occur only as the result of Eastern syncopation, see 1.2.2.2.

With the exception of the labial semivowels, the aspirated **hn**, **hy** and **h**, all consonants are found in clusters, with certain restrictions.

As in initial position, the voiceless **s** patterns like the prelingual stops. In medial position they may be flanked by continuant consonants, while the other consonants are always found after or before a vowel. The palatal semivowel **y** is found after and before vowels other than the corresponding vowel **i**, after **i** exceptionally in En **taxiyqux̂** 'wooden visor', in Attuan as the reflex of **d** or by metathesis, e.g.

siiyignax 'temples' (A **siidignax**); **lyĝax̂** (and **iĝyax̂**) 'kayak' (A, E **iqyax̂**). For the other consonants there are no such restrictions.

In clusters of two consonants, both are continuants or the one is a stop or **s**, e.g. E, A **adgayux̂** (Au **aygayux̂**) 'pink salmon', **agdax̂** (Au **agyax̂**) 'cross-beam'; E, A **hitxix̂** 'tail', **ixtix̂** 'pit'; E, A **asx̂alix** 'to die'; **hax̂salix** 'to get ready'. Between voiced continuants there is often a short transitional vowel, e.g. **qilĝix̂** [-lʹĝ-] 'umbilical cord' vs. A **qiliĝis**, E **-n** pl. 'brain'. A stop or **s** combines with another stop only as the result of Eastern syncopation (see 1.2.2.), in loanwords, and in Attuan, e.g. E **luhmaatkax̂**, **lupaatkax̂**, also **-tak-**, **-tik-** (A **luhmaatxix̂**, **lupaatxix̂**), Au **luvaatkix̂**, **lupaatkix̂** 'shovel; scapula' (from Russian *lopátka)*; E **chaaskax̂** (A **chaasxix̂**) 'cup' (from Russian *cháshka)*; Au **asqal** (and **ax̂sal**) 'to die' (E, A **asx̂alix**), **atqux̂** (and **ax̂tux̂**) 'finger' (E, A **atx̂ux̂**); **qit'qit'ix̂** 'navel' (A, Eun **qiihliqdax̂**).

The contrasts of voice and aspiration do not obtain in contact with a stop or **s**, except that in Atkan the aspirated lateral of the suffix **-hli-** differs from a voiced or slightly devoiced lateral also after **t**, e.g. 1909- **hithlikux̂** 'still goes out' (e.g. J 79:178) vs. **hitlakan** 'not going out'. Being used also after a continuant, this suffix yields a contrast both with fully voiced clusters and with clusters with an initial voiceless or aspirated continuant, e.g. **axhlikux̂** 'still passes', 1909 **aygaxhlikux̂taan** 'was walking ...' (J 78:61, 79:166) vs. **aglikux̂** 'guards' vs. **ixlul** 'to be loose, slack'; **alux̂hlikux̂** 'is still writing' vs. **aluĝlakan** 'not writing', **uĝlal** 'to thaw' vs. **lux̂lul** 'to tickle'; **samhlikux̂** 'still counts' vs. **samlakan** 'not counting', **umlal** 'to wake up' vs. **chuhmlul** 'to put in place; to pitch'.

The voiceless and voiced postlingual fricatives contrast also before other continuants and after a continuant, e.g. A **qixyax̂** 'shelf' vs. **hagyal** 'to be clean', **ayxal** 'to exceed' vs. **aygaxs** 'to walk'; **qulx̂udal** 'to be baldheaded' vs. **ulĝusal** 'to take in (from camp to village)'; **kanxul** 'to collide with' vs. **an'gul** 'to drive in (nail)'; **amxix̂** 'fish meat' vs. **amgix̂** 'night'; **umx̂ix̂** 'stomach for dried fish' vs. **umĝix̂** 'bait'; **tix̂mixs** 'to jerk off' (suffix **-mig-**) vs. **daĝmax** 'attached to each other' (suffix **-max**). In Eastern the contrast obtains also before and after the dental fricative, e.g. En **chux̂duqulix** 'to be wet (of ground)' vs. **uĝdulix** 'to be soft'; **aadxaax̂** 'vertebra' (A **agdaaĝix̂**) vs. **taadgaadax̂** 'measure from the thumb to the tip of the index'. In Eastern, however, the voicelessness (the marked member of the contrast) is unstable and is largely lost in the East, partly secondary in the West, e.g. Eba 1952- **ayĝalix**, E 1834-, A **ayx̂alix** 'to travel by sea' vs. E, A **ayĝax̂six** 'to shake, tremble'; Ea 1791, E 1832- **tix̂yulix**, E 1870, Ea 1983, A **tiĝyulix** 'to jerk out'; Ea 1983 **qulĝuudalix**, A **-lx̂-** 'to be baldheaded'; En **kamxax̂**, E 1805-, A **kamgax̂** 'feast'; Epun **sanx̂ux̂**, Eba, A **sanĝux̂** 'stomach (A of animal), bladder'; Eu 1984 **qixdax̂**, E 1909-, A **qigdax̂** 'hook (of fish spear or gaff)'.

The aspirated labial nasal is found before all three dental continuants in a few Atkan words, e.g. **ahmdil** (devoiced dental fricative) 'to be loose, slack' vs. **amdix̂tix̂** 'pumice'; **sihmnax̂** 'embroidery' vs. **simnus** 'to be getting dark'; **saahmlax̂** (with or without a transitional vowel before the voiced lateral) 'egg' vs. **chaamluudax̂** 'flat ground'. In Nikolski, according to Marsh (1956), the aspiration is most promi-

nent in the initial member but affects the whole cluster and is marked here by a medial **h**, e.g.
tumhdalix 'to shoot', **saamhlax̂** 'egg'. In Eastern the aspiration is found also in clusters with an initial velar nasal, presumably as an innovation, e.g. Eun 1909- **inghlux̂**, Ea 1983, A **inglux̂** 'leader, snell (of fishline)'; En 1978 **inghlilix** 'to hang (as for drying)', **inghlitalix** 'to have hanging', borrowed in Atkan as **ihnglital** (genuine Atkan **inkatal**), Eba 1952- **inglilix** 'to hang'.

As regards the place of articulation, heterorganic consonants combine with few restrictions other than the restrictions of manner. In some cases there are different dialectal preferences or a dialectal metathesis, especially in Attuan.

The labial nasal combines with all lingual consonants except the velar nasal (both are "grave"). It is found before the other lingual consonants, in Attuan denasalized to **v** before an oral lingual, and also after most of them; it is not attested after the palatal stop and in Atkan it is rare after the dental continuants, having in most cases been subject to metathesis, usually shared with Attuan, e.g. E, A **amtix**, Au **avtix̂** 'hill, steep cliff by the shore', **katmilix**, Au **kavtil** 'to stretch (skin)'; **qamchiing**, Au **qavchiing** 'eight'; A **lamsax̂** 'big-leaved kelp', **qasmax** 'fish scale'; **qamdax̂**, Au **qavyax̂** 'deep', E **idmax̂**, A **imdax̂**, Au **ivyax̂** 'content' ; A **hidmil** 'to blow out of bay', En **idmilix** 'to radiate cold'; A **samzax̂** 'usually (-**za**-) counts', **quguzmil** 'to squint'; E, A, Au **umnax̂** 'rope', **Unmax** 'Umnak Island'; E, A **umlalix**, Au **uvlal** 'to wake up', E **kilmax̂**, A **kimlax̂**, Au **kivlax̂** 'stomach', A, E **hulmalix** 'to melt'; E **umyax̂** 'kelp', A **umyux̂** 'sponge', En, A **uyminalix**, Au **uvyinal** 'to be humorous (En); to be healthy (A, Au)'; A **samkalil** 'to start (-**kali**-) to count', **akmaa** 'the side of his body'; E **umqax̂** 'pit', A **umqil** 'to pack (fish, meat) in a stomach', E **amqilix**, Au **avqil**, A **aqmi-** 'to be angry'; E, A **amgix̂,** Au **avix̂** 'night', E **qamgaang**, A **qagma(a)ng** 'emperor goose', E **agmixsix** 'to repeatedly make (-**mix-t**-) pass'; E, A **hamĝax̂**, Au **havĝax̂** 'sleeve', **daĝmax** 'attached to each other' (see above).

Within the general restrictions of manner, the postlingual consonants are found before and after prelingual consonants, with certain restrictions.

The postlingual stops are found before the dental fricative but apart from Eastern syncopation very rarely after it, e.g. E, A **chiikdax̂** 'pupil; bullet', Eun, A **qiihliqdax̂** 'navel', but the opposite order only in A 1860 **ma(a)dkaayaĝis** 'the maimed' (Luke 14:13) and in E 1819-78, Eaun **adqux̂**, beside E 1778-1909, Ebn, A **atx̂ux̂**, Au **atqux̂**, **ax̂tux̂** 'finger'. They do not combine with **z**.

The velar nasal is found before but not after the dental stop, and before but in Atkan not after the dental fricative and the lateral, while it is found after the dental nasal and the Atkan **z** in a few words but not before them; in Attuan it is denasalized to a fricative before the oral consonants, e.g. E, A **angtax̂**, Au **axta-** 'transversal half; end'; E **singdax̂**, Au **sigyax̂** hipbone', E **kidngax̂**, A **kingdax̂**, Au **kigyax̂** 'crowberry bush'; E, A **qanglix̂**, Au **qaglix̂** 'shoulder', E **qalngaax̂**, A **qanglaax̂**, Au **qaglaax̂**, **qalgaax̂** 'raven' (A 1840-60 **agalngalix** 'to argue, dispute' is the only example of **-lng-** in Atkan); A **un'ngulakan** 'to be not becoming'; A **aznguх̂** "snow bird" (unidentified species).

The other combinations of postlingual and prelingual consonants are found in both orders, e.g. E, A **chi(i)knax̂** ‘limpet’, E, A, Au **inkax̂** ‘sky’; A **chitiqnul** (En **chitx̂inulix**) ‘to taste of (**-nu-**) gall, be bitter’, E, A **anqalix**, Au **aqal** ‘to stand up’; E, A **iklax̂**, Au **igla-** ‘firewood’, A **sulka** ‘taking it (**-ka**)’; E, A, Au **uqlax̂six** ‘to wash, bathe’, E, A **alqux̂**, Au **aqux̂** ‘what’; E, A **ukyulakan** ‘to be cheerful, fine (E); to be getting healthy (A)’, **aykux̂** ‘dog’; Eun, A **iqyax̂**, Ebaup **iqax̂**, Au **iĝyax̂**, **iyĝax̂** ‘kayak’, En, A **ayqinalix** ‘to be difficult’; E, A **kangchix̂**, Au **kaxchix̂** ‘crop, gizzard’, A **Qichngiiluĝis** name of bight; E, A **ingsalix** ‘move backward (of boat)’, E **masngix̂** ‘snow bunting’, A 1950- **haqisngal**, 1780-1840 **haqisxalix** ‘to sneeze’; E, A **ixtix̂** ‘pit’, **hitxix̂** ‘tail’; E, A, Au **hix̂talix** ‘to say; to call for’, E, A **chitx̂ix̂**, Au **chix̂tix̂** ‘gall’; E, A, Au **ixchilix** ‘to go home’, E, A **ichxix̂**, Au **ixchix̂** ‘drop’; E, A **ix̂chix̂** ‘worm’, E, A **qichx̂ilix** ‘to hang up to dry’; **haxsalix** ‘to open, become open’, A **qasxalix** ‘to laugh’; E, A, Au **hax̂salix** ‘to prepare’, E, A **asx̂alix**, Au **asqal**, **ax̂sal** ‘to die’; E, A **agdax̂**, Au **agyax̂** ‘cross-beam (in kayak)’, E, A **hadgix̂**, Au **haygix̂** ‘channel’; E, A **aĝdax̂**, Au **ayĝax̂** ‘filled stomach; canteen, water bottle’, E, A **chidĝilix**, Au **chiyĝi-** ‘to be green; to be blue (A, Au)’; A **agzal** ‘to pass each time (**-za-**)’, **haqazgul** ‘to be smart’; **aĝzal** ‘to give habitually (**-za-**), deliver’, **kanizĝul** ‘to nod’; E, A, Au **qagnax̂**, Au also **qan’gax̂** ‘bone’, E, A **an’gax̂**, Au **agna-** ‘line, rope’; E **aĝnakax̂** ‘chief, master’, A **chaĝnax̂** ‘outgoing surf’, E, A, Au **anĝaĝilix** ‘to live’; E, A, Au **aglalix** ‘to haul’, E, A **algax̂**, Au **aglax̂** ‘animal, mammal’; E, A **aĝlulix**, Au **alĝu-** ‘to bail’, E, A **alĝulix** ‘to be shy’; A **hagyal** ‘to be clean’, E, A, Au **aygaxsix** ‘to walk’; E, A **aĝyaanginalix** ‘to be loud; to make noise’, **ayĝax̂six**, Au **ayĝaĝiyal** ‘to shake, tremble’. E **chiidgiidax̂** ‘knee’ in Attuan is **hniin’giit’ax̂**, by dissimilation with a nasal rather than **y** from **d** after the long **ii**, and nasalization also of the initial affricate.

Combinations of two postlingual consonants are very rare: E **hux̂xix**, A 1840 **[h]uĝĝix** ‘rain pants’; E, A 1791 **aliix̂xix̂**, Eb 1984 **aliiĝix̂**, A 1948 **alix̂ngux̂**, 1952 **aliĝngix̂** ‘wolf (found only on the Alaska Peninsula and Unimak Island)’; A 1973 **Alix̂ngus** ‘the western Aleuts (from Atka to Attu)’, E 1909 **Aliiĝux̂** ‘Atkan Aleut’. With a morpheme border E **dax̂kiin**, A 1860 **daqiin**, 1950 **dakiin** abl. ‘the two apart from each other’; see 1.3.4.2.

Combinations of two prelingual consonants are found in a few Aleut words, as the result of Eastern syncopation(1.2.2.2.), and in loanwords, e.g. E **hatyug-** ‘to be angry, etc.’ (probably suffixal **-yug-**); E, A **asliming**, Au **haliming** (< ***ahl-**) ‘fit for me’; E, A **qasluxsix** ‘to quarrel’ (suffixal **-lug-**); E 1791- **Uuchyuux** (1791 also written Uchuyux) ‘Bobrovskoye (former village), Deep Bay (on the east side of Unalaska)’; E 1909- **iistalix**, A 1950- (from E), Au **hiistal**, E 1826-70, A 1838- **hiisax̂talix** ‘to say; to tell; to call’, E 1909- **iil(ax̂)talix**, E 1804-34, A **hiilax̂talix** ‘to be spoken to; to be said about; to be called’; Ea 1983 **iidnilix** (no doubt syncopated) vr. ‘to be sorry’; A **hutyuugas** pl., E **uchuux** ‘flatiron’ (from Russian *utyúg)*; E, A **maaslax̂** ‘butter’ (from Russian *máslo)*; **maastax̂** ‘mast’ (from Russian *máchta)*; **matnix̂** ‘perch, pole; roof beam’ (from Russian *matnyá*, pl. *matni)*. In Atkan such clusters result also from certain suffixes being added to stems in **t**, in Eastern abolished by assimilation, e.g. **hitda-**, E **hihda-**, and **hitzax̂** 'usually goes out'; **hitnax̂**, En **hihnax̂**, Eu 1909 **hinax̂** (J 34:84), Ea 1983 **inax̂** 'went out'; **(chagix̂) asx̂atnax̂**, En **asx̂ahnax̂**, Eu **asx̂anax̂** 'killed (the halibut)', **asx̂atlakax̂**, Eu **asx̂alakax̂** 'did not kill'.

In clusters of three consonants the middle one is a prelingual stop or **s**, flanked by postlingual fricatives, in most possible combinations, or the first consonant of the cluster is a labial or velar nasal, e.g. E **taxtxix̂**, A pl. **taxtxis** 'pulse'; A **ix̂txil** (E **ix̂tuxsix**) 'to eat raw food'; E **ixchxingin**, A **ixchxingis** 'his neck'; E **kixchx̂ix̂** 'squeezer of sewing stand'; E **aygax̂chxuudax̂** 'old worn pack-basket'; A **chx̂uux̂chx̂il** 'to have washed'; **Alaxsxix̂** 'the mainland, Alaska Peninsula'; E **huxsx̂ilix**, A **huxsx̂isix** 'to put (A shoes) on', E,A **chax̂sxix̂** 'reef'; A **alux̂sx̂il** 'to get documents for'; En, A **chamchxix̂** 'short fishline' (**chamchuxsix** 'to fish with a line from land'); A **ulungtx̂ax̂** 'murre'. In Attuan three-consonant clusters are eliminated by syllabic switch, as in **ulĝux̂tax̂** 'murre', or by loss of the last consonant, e.g. **hax̂tayaam**, A **hax̂txadaam** 'he having gotten up'; **cham ixchil**, E, A **ixchxil** 'wrist'. In Atkan the last consonant may also be a prelingual continuant, in forms with a stem in **t** as above, e.g. **hax̂tzax̂** 'usually gets up (early)'; **txin aygaxtnax̂**, En **txin aygaxnax̂**, Eu **txin aygagnax̂** 'he walked off'; **hax̂tlakax̂** 'did not get up'. In Eastern forms with an enclitic subject pronoun the first consonant may be a lateral (deleted in Atkan and Attuan), e.g. **[h]aqaltxin** (A, Au **haqat**) '(from where) do you come' (**haqalix + txin**).

1.2.1.3. Word final

A word may end, before a pause, with a long vowel or with a short **a**, e.g. **uluu** 'the meat of it', **akii** 'its price', **anaa** 'his/her mother'; E, A **kamga**, Au **kava** 'his/her/its head'. The short **i** is final only in the old Eastern 2.p.pl. suffix **-chi**, later **-chin**, A **-chix**, Au **-chi(x)** 'your; you (- it, them)'. The short **u** is found finally only in Attuan apocopated forms, e.g. **mangu**, **mang**, E **wangun**, A **wangus**, **wang** 'here'.

The common single consonants in final position are the more or less devoiced continuants **x**, **x̂**, **m**, **n**, **ng**, **y**, and in Eastern exceptionally, in Atkan normally **s**, all without contrast of voice or aspiration, e.g. **sax** 'two birds; bird-skin parka'; **uliix** 'boot'; **sax̂** '(one) bird'; **kanuux̂** 'heart'; **qilam** 'in the morning'; **tataam** 'again'; **wan**, Au **man** 'this one'; **chaan** 'your hand', **chang** 'my hand'; **chaang** 'five'; **hingay** 'there (is)' (**y** not found after long vowels); A **sas** 'birds'; **ilamis** 'from you'; place name En **Tuxtis** (also **Tuxtin**); loanword Eb 1984 **siychaas**, A **siichaas** 'at once' (from Russian *seychás*).

Through apocopation Atkan and Attuan have also secondary final **l**, **s**, and stops, e.g. **qal**, A 1860, E **qalix** 'eating, eat and'; **as**, A 1838-60, E **asix** 'with'; **(qanaax) haqat**, E **[h]aqaltxin** '(from where) do you come'; **agach** (also En 1982) beside A, E **agacha** '(he/she/it) rather, mostly'; **chak**, E **chaking** 'my hands'; **qakuq**, E **qakuqing** 'I am eating'.

Through apocopation Atkan and Attuan have also clusters with a final **t** and **s**, e.g. A 1860- **akux̂t** (Au **ukut**), E **akux̂txin** 'you are'; Au 1952 **akuunuux̂t**, A **akuunuux̂tax̂** '(I told him) to go away'; **axs**, E **axsix** 'passing'; A **ax̂s**, Au **ux̂s**, E

ax̂six 'putting, giving'; A **kims**, Au **kivs**, E **kimsix** 'descending'. The place name En **Qilgangams** is obscure.

1.2.2. Syllabic sequences

1.2.2.1. Stress and quantity

A word form may contain from one to some dozen syllables, each with a vocalic nucleus, short or long, in Atkan and Attuan without systematic restrictions. In Eastern the sequences are restricted by the syncopation of a short vowel under certain conditions (see 1.2.2.2.).

Stress is not phonemic. In so far as the initial syllable of polysyllabic words has frequently more than weakest stress, stress has a certain delimiting function. But it is largely determined by the relative sonority or weight of the syllables and/or by rhythmic factors, such as the number and character of the syllables within the words as well as in phrases.

In phrases and sentences the rhythmic factors may be decisive but they are difficult to determine. For example, in an Atkan text recorded on tape in 1952 the word **ataqan** 'one' in the phrase **ataqan tayaĝux̂** 'one man' is stressed in two ways (^ = strongest stress; ´ = medium stress; ` = weak stress; no pauses between the words): **atàqan tâyaĝux̂ ìlingiin àĝíilaqas** 'one man of them was left'; **átaqan tâyaĝux̂ imax ámgiĝnaasal ...** 'taking one man as sentinel for themselves' (Bergsland 1959:60 f., 4 (81), (114) = N.M.3:26, 37). There could have been a difference of emphasis (cf. 1.6.1.) but this is not easy to weigh.

The most important factor of sonority is the vowel length. In disyllabic word forms with a short final syllable the initial syllable, short or long, has the stronger stress in all the dialects, e.g. **úlax̂** 'house', **áalux̂** 'wave'. In forms with a long vowel in the second syllable the stronger stress shifts to the final syllable, while a preceding syllable with a short vowel has a stronger stress in Atkan (1952) than in Eastern, e.g. **ùláa**, A also **úláa** 'his house'; A **qánáang** 'how many' vs. **qánang** 'where'. With long vowels in both syllables the stress is rather even, e.g. A **qàaqáan** or **qáaqàan** 'eat it' vs. **qàqáan** 'you ate it'.

A stressed open syllable with a phonemically short vowel tends to be lengthened. Either the vowel is lengthened, more or less, in Atkan especially before voiced consonants, in Eastern perhaps more generally, or the intervocalic consonant is lengthened or geminated, e.g. A **imis** [í.mis] 'for you' vs. **iimis** [í:mis] 'choosing', but **qilax̂** [qíl.ax̂,qíllax̂] 'morning', etc.; Eu 1909 **hinax̂** [hí.nax̂] or [hí:nax̂] 'went out', **akum** [á.kum] (A [ák.um, ákkum]) 'but then he' (J 34:84, 113); Ea 1983 **udax̂** [ú:dax̂] (fricative d) 'bay', **sukax̂** [sú.kax̂] 'spray-skirt', **iqax̂** [í.qax̂, í:qax̂] 'kayak'. Between the short vowel of an initial syllable and a long vowel a phonemically single consonant is lengthened in all the dialects, e.g. A **qanaang** [qánnáang] 'how many'; Eu 1909 **ilaan** [ìllá:n] 'from him', **lakaayax̂** [làkká:yax̂] 'boy' (J 34:19, 61); Ea 1909 **tanaan hulix** [tánnà:n húlix] 'reaching his settlement' (J 6:31); E 1870 catechism ms. **chix̂x̂í[i]luĝim** rel. 'baptismal font'. In Eastern a stressed final long vowel is shortened, e.g. En 1982 **ichaa** [íccá.] 'go out!'.

The effect of the sonority of the consonants, that is, of sonorants vs. obstruents, is seen best in forms with three or four short syllables, not affected by the Eastern syncopation.

In Eastern the stronger stress tends to fall on the next to the last syllable if the last one is short, but it may also be attracted by a sonorous consonant to the preceding syllable, e.g. **tùnúnax̂** 'talked'; **tàyáĝux̂** but also (e.g. Eu 1909) **táyaĝux̂** 'man' (J 34:10, 18, etc.); Ea 1983 **álamàx** 'humpback whale'. In Atkan the stronger stress tends to fall on the initial syllable of a trisyllabic form but it may also be attracted by a sonorous consonant to the following syllable, e.g. **táyaĝux̂** 'man' but **tàĝáyux̂** beside **táĝàyux̂** 'salt'; **álaĝux̂** (E **àláĝux̂**) 'sea' but **ùĝálux̂** 'spear'. In Eastern too, however, the initial stress as such may be predominant, resulting in variations such as Eu 1909 **Wáangilàx̂** beside **Wàangílax̂** (a person's name, J 34:142, 153) and **áĝadax̂** beside **àĝádax̂** 'arrow' (J 34:43, 44); Ea 1983 **láx̂takàx̂** 'seal hide'.

Forms with four short syllables tend to have a trochaic rhythm but relatively sonorous consonants may break it, e.g. Ea 1983 **asánaqax̂** 'daughter-in-law' beside **àsanáqang** 'my daughter-in-law'; Eu 1984 **qàĝílakax̂** 'there are no fish in it', **inúlakùx̂** 'is eating fast'; Eb 1984 **kachígikux̂** beside **kàchigíkux̂** 'it is blowing real hard'; A **qálagáda** 'don't eat it' but **sánálakan** 'being insufficient'. The effect of sonority is seen also in longer forms, e.g. A 1952 **hàqatálakàq** 'I don't know', **hàqatálakàĝing** 'I don't know it', **hàqamasúlakax̂** 'perhaps he does not know', **hàqatàmasúlakax̂** 'perhaps he does not know', **hìngamàtálagàda** 'don't be that way'.

Long vowels attract stress also in longer forms, e.g. A 1952 **Tánáangis** (name of bay) vs. **tánangis** 'their island'; **tàangáatul** 'wants to drink' vs. **táangatùl** 'has much water in it'; **qálagàaqàan** 'don't eat it'; **qanàaĝikúu** 'he tried to eat it'; **qanáaĝìiqáan** 'try to eat it'; **áalùusàaqáan** (very evenly stressed) 'laugh at him'; Eu 1984 **ásaĝ(u)táasaaqáan** (the middle **aa** half long) 'be lucky with it = you're welcome'; A 1952 **ting àdalùusanáaĝiiĝùtamasùx̂takux̂** 'perhaps he tried to fool me again'. In some of these forms a short unstressed vowel would be syncopated in Eastern.

1.2.2.2. Eastern syncopation

The syncopation of short vowels in Eastern is tied up with stress but also has a grammatical aspect.

Given the phonological conditions to be specified below, the syncopation may be optional, possibly depending on speed. In the texts recorded on cylinders by Jochelson in 1909 the syncopations are regular while the texts written by his Aleut helpers, as their own stories or at the storyteller's dictation, have mostly the full forms. In 1860 Shayashnikov wrote the syncopated form **hilá[a]x̂salix** 'confessing' but ten years later corrected it to **hila[a]ĝasálix** (Mark 1.5.). Later examples are En 1950 **ukudigaasaaqaan** 'be happy with it = you're welcome', where the **i** could have been syncopated; Eu 1984 spoken slowly **txin saakutikux̂txin** 'you are getting skinny' vs. faster **ting sáak(u)tikùqing** 'I am getting skinny' (on this one see below). Or the syncopation may be obligatory, possibly an irretrievable historical process, e.g. E 1791 (and A 1840-1950) **ayaqudaax** > E 1909- **ayuqdaax**, En 1982 **ayuqdaagix̂** 'sea otter spear'. Only the comparison with the old Eastern or the Atkan form could show that the middle **u**, probably unstressed (A **áyaqudáax**), was syncopated, quite regularly, between the two short initial syllables and the final long one and rounded the preceding short vowel; in Eastern the suffix **-qudaax** is known only from this word.

The phonological conditions come about by suffixation. A suffix may have an initial long vowel or a short vowel assimilated to the stem vowel (see 1.3.) and so introduce a long vowel that attracts the stress, e.g. **(chagix̂) àsx̂atíku-x̂** 'he killed (the halibut)' - **asx̂at(i)kuu (-ku-a) = àsx̂atkúu** 'he killed it'. Or the suffix may add one or more syllables with short vowels and so change the stress conditions, e.g. **ìx̂amána-x̂** '(something) good' - **ix̂am(a)na-kux̂** = Eu 1987 **ìx̂amnákux̂** 'is good'. But the stem to which the suffix is added may or may not be syncopated. If to the stem **ix̂amana-** one adds the disyllabic suffix **-lakax̂** rather than the monosyllabic **-kux̂**, the rules will turn an underlying form **ix̂amanalakax̂** (Atkan **iĝamanalakax̂**) 'is not good' into **ix̂amanlakax̂**, but also **ix̂amnalakax̂** is possible (Eu 1984). The syncopation in the latter variant might possibly be due to a stress on the vowel before the lateral (cf. 1.2.2.1.). But the form is rather the negation of the already syncopated **ix̂amnakux̂** 'is good', by substitution of **-lakax̂** for **-kux̂**, the stem being actually **ix̂amna-**, with a consonant cluster that blocks the syncopation of the following vowel.

The syncopation is possible only after a syllable with a long vowel or after an initial sequence of two syllables with short vowels. With this proviso a short vowel in an open syllable is (or may be) syncopated before a syllable with a long vowel or before a final sequence of two syllables with short vowels, e.g. E 1791 **Aklig(a)yuux** 'Poor harpoon' (Census 3.2.28, man of Unimak); En 1982 **tàang(a)chá(a)** 'fetch water' (stem **taangat-**), **tàang(a)kúqing** 'I am drinking'; **àŝat(i)kúu** 'killed it'; **ìx̂am(a)nákux̂** 'is good'; Ea 1909 **hàqan(i)sálix** 'waiting (for them) to come' (J 1:36); 1805 **[h]ingam(a)taasada** 'do so with it = wait a bit (Russian postoy!)', **laĝuud(a)kuqing** 'I beg = please'. Having conditioned the syncopation of the following short vowel a long vowel may be shortened, e.g. Ep 1983 (**Amrikaanchi-tunuu ilkiingin agach**) **agux̂ta(a)s(a)kux̂txin** 'you speak (American better than us)'.

The syncopation of a short vowel in an open syllable may yield a consonant cluster different from the pattern described in 1.2.1.2.2., as in **taangkuqing**, **asx̂atkuu**, etc. (see further below). In a closed syllable a short vowel is syncopated only if the resulting three-consonant cluster agrees with the general pattern, e.g. Ea 1952 **ingam(a)sxakum** 'after a short while he'.

As observed by Marsh (1956) the short vowel is syncopated before one final syllable with a short vowel in En 1952 **qaĝaas(a)kung** 'I thank for it', cf. **qaĝaas(a)kuqing** 'I thank (you)'; **anaaq(i)sax̂** 'counterpart (in a special kind of mutual social relationship)'; likewise En 1982 sentence final **màas(a)kan** 'because ...';

Ep 1983 **agitaasaq(a)sing** 'my neighbor', rather than **agitaas(a)qasing** (probably also possible). Between the voiceless consonants in a final syllable a short vowel would be voiceless, whispered, and so could disappear.

If there is/was a sequence of two or more syllables with short vowels between the syllables in question, the last one is regularly syncopated and the resulting consonant cluster blocks the syncopation of the next preceding syllable, e.g. *1805* **adalul(a)gada** 'don't lie'; Ea 1952 **ukux̂taqal(i)kuu** 'got to see it' vs. **ukux̂taq(a)likux̂** 'got to see (something)'; Ea 1974 **kayuĝiq(a)dalix** 'getting weak', **kayuĝ(i)qad(a)kuqing** 'I am getting weak'; Ea 1983 **qaatuq(a)lil(a)kaĝa** 'she didn't want to eat it', **mataad(a)lil(a)gaaq(i)laax̂txin** 'don't you by any means do so'; En 1978 **ugunuq(a)tud(a)kuqing** 'I am very forgetful'; En 1983 **qam angunaadak(u)chang(i)nulux** 'some small (lit. not big) fish', **ilan maas(a)qad(a)qaa** 'where it got lost'.

As mentioned above, the variant Eu 1987 **ix̂amnalakax̂** 'is not good' beside **ix̂amanlakax̂** appears to be based on **ix̂amnakux̂** 'is good', by substitution of the disyllabic suffix **-lakax̂** for the monosyllabic **-kux̂**; likewise **ix̂am(a)nakux̂txin** 'you are good', Eu 1984 **ting sáak(u)tikùqing** 'I am getting skinny', probably based on **txin sáak(u)tíkux̂** 'he/she is getting skinny'. The form En 1983 (**ix̂tanangin**) **áqat(a)namad(a)núlux** '(his sayings) are never understandable either' appears to be based on **aqat(a)nad(a)nulux** 'are never understandable', the suffix **-ma-** 'either' being inserted in the syncopated form; likewise En 1982 **uyáasaq(a)lídanax̂** 'usually started bringing (something)' with insertion of the suffix **-da-** 'usually' into the very common complex ending **-q(a)línax̂** 'started -', present **-q(a)líkux̂**. A grammatical relation of this sort may perhaps explain also the following forms, where the syncopation appears to start one syllable farther from the end of the word than usual: Eu 1909 **husuú máas(a)qadasxàlix, táyaĝuĝ(i)qàdasxálix** 'all of it (his party) being annihilated, having no more men' (J 34:181 f.), rather than (*) **maasaq(a)dasxalix, tayaĝ(u)ĝiq(a)dasxalix**.

A syncopated rounded vowel may leave no trace, especially if the following vowel is rounded, as in Eu 1984 **qaat(u)kuqing** 'I want to eat'. Or it may labialize the preceding consonant, e.g. **qaat(u)naqing** [-t^{w}n-] 'I wanted to eat', **saak(u)nakux̂** [-k^{w}n-] 'is skinny', whence also **saak(u)nakux̂txin** 'you are skinny'; Ea 1983, Eu 1984 **àsaĝútax̂** 'good luck' - **ásaĝ(u)tálix** [-x̂^{w}t-] 'being lucky' vs. **ásax̂tálix** 'having as name'; Ea 1983 **agal(u)ĝix̂takux̂** [-l^{w}ĝ-] 'seems to have teeth'; **chaay(u)sixchá(a)** [-y^{w}s-] 'drink lot of tea!'. A preceding or following velar fricative may be labialized or pass to **w**, e.g. Eu 1984 **angiig(u)saming** [-x^{w}s-], **angiiwsaming** 'quite close to me'; Ea 1983 **igadwíkux̂** < **igadugikux̂** 'snow is drifting'; **unguchiywaadada** [-y^{u}w-] < **unguchiyugaadada** 'sit down for a while'. Or the syncopated rounded vowel may replace a preceding or following low vowel, e.g. Enk 1982 **agiitusnakux̂** 'is easy to get along with' vs. **agiit(a)sun(a)lakax̂** 'is not easy to get along with'; Ea 1983 **ayagux̂tikuqing** 'I look for a wife', but En 1982 **ayagax̂tikux̂** < **ayagaĝutikux̂** 'he looks for a wife'; Ea 1974 **igiim qaĝadsulkakan** < **qaĝadusalakakan** 'being displeased with'; Ea 1909 **ayĝasqudalix** < **ayĝasuqadalix** 'going more slowly' (J

6:30). The syncopation of **a** conditions the vowel assimilation in Ea 1909 **ayuglukux̂** < **ayugalakux̂** 'was gone out with' (J 6:46).

A syncopated palatal vowel may leave no trace, as in **asx̂at(i)kuu** 'he killed it'. Or it may palatalize a preceding velar fricative or a preceding long **aa**, e.g. En 1984 **asx̂amaag(i)kuqing** [-x'k-] 'I am lonely'; Eu 1984 **amaykuqing** [-ɛy'k-] beside **amaxkuqing** < **amagikuqing** 'I did (so and so) last night'; [ä:xta:dalix] beside **aaxtaadalix** < **aagitaadalix** 'keeping (his eye) barely open'; **qachx̂inaaĝ(i)kuu** [-nä:x̂k-] 'tried to feed it'. Or the palatal vowel may replace a preceding short **a**, e.g. Ea 1909 **masxilgaan** < **masxaligaan** 'in what way, a way to' (J 6:41); En 1982 **anĝiĝnaqing** < **anĝaĝinaqing** 'I lived'.

The syncopation creates many two-consonant clusters beyond the basic patterns: two stops, two prelingual consonants, two postlingual consonants, etc., as in the examples above. Among the secondary clusters are also double consonants, genuine geminates, e.g. Ea 1983 **yuug(i)gaadakux̂** 'is young'; Eu 1984 **lakaay(a)yuuging** 'my poor boy'; **nuqal(i)laaĝnax̂txin** '(he said that) he had reached (the kayak)'; Ea 1983 **àakúl(a)lakan** 'being smart'; with dissimilation of the two laterals Ea 1909 **hàqayáadlakan** < **haqayaalalakan** 'being treated fearlessly' (J 6:34). A double stop is shortened to a single one in the frequent type En 1982 **taang(a)duu(ka)kuqing** 'I am going to drink'. Two syllables are eliminated in Ep 1983 (**agalkiingin**) **aqadniin** < **aqadananiin** 'for those who come (after us)'. The syncopated sequence **-iy(a)-** is adjusted as a long vowel in Eu 1984 **aĝìilàaĝánang** < **aĝiyalaaĝanang** 'I tried to wake him up'.

A uvular fricative has disappeared together with the preceding short vowel in the extremely frequent invariable stem 1909- **iistalix** (borrowed in A, Au as **hiistal**) < 1826-70 (A 1838-) **hi-isa-x̂ta-lix** 'to say, etc.'; passive 1909- **iiltalix** beside **iilax̂talix**, 1804-34 **hiilax̂talix.** Likewise En 1982 **amústukux̂**, A **a-masu-x̂ta-kux̂** 'perhaps is ...'; Ea 1970 **uláal(ax̂)takuĝaan** 'when (fine weather) dawned' (cf. J 40:11, 73:26).

1.3. Internal sandhi

1.3.0. General remarks

A word form may consist of a stem (base) only or contain one or several suffixes, possibly also an enclitic. By definition, a suffix cannot be separated by a pause from its stem, except in cases of self-correction, marked by a rapid onset of the corrected suffixal part, e.g. A 1952 **súun'gìdix -ngìs súun'gìisal** 'taking for themselves their (**dix** reflexive) - their (**-ngis** non-reflexive) things', correction to **suun'gi-ngis** 'their (the other ones') things'; **àyx̂áasiin -ligáan ilàx̂tax̂ ìgii[m] átxax̂s ax̂takux̂** '(said that) he [b] had made ready for him [a] also his [a's] - for him [a] a boat', correction to **ayx̂aasi-liga-an** 'a boat for himself' (**-liga-** 'a future'); **hîikus ilàx̂tas àsx̂áasal -láasal** 'dying of - in great number of that too', correction to **asx̂a-la-asa-l** 'dying in great number (**-la-**) of' (1959, text 4:281, 429, 4:57 = N.M.3:70, 90, 111). The corrections, ending as demanded by the context, have an initial consonant like a stem (cf. **ngiin** 'for them', **lil** 'letting out', **lal** 'gathering') and are cut at a morpheme border.

In general, the morpheme border is covered by the syllabic structure of a word form. For example, there is no relevant phonetic difference in Atkan between **ag-ula-l** 'being brought (lit. passed with) across' and **agu-la-l** 'making several' as in A 1952 **akâyux̂ imax àgúlal** ... '(said they were) being brought across the strait' and **mal mâĝdix imax àgulal** 'and making plans (lit. what for themselves to do) for themselves' (1959, text 4:386, 400 = N.M. 3:77, 82); or in Eastern (Ea 1983) between **sixsi-lakan** 'not breaking (something)' and (**kigusingin**) **sixsi-la-kan** 'breaking his several (teeth)' (**-kan** refers to the referent of **-ngin** pl. 'his'). Only in exceptional cases such as the following the morpheme border is marked phonotactically: A **hitdax̂**, **hitzax̂** 'he (**-x̂**) usually (**-da-**, **-za-**) goes out', **hitnax̂** 'he went out', **hax̂tlakax̂** 'he did not (**-lakax̂**) get up' (1.2.1.2. end).

A stem without a suffix, a base, may have one, two or three syllables; longer stems generally contain a suffix. A stem, with or without one or several suffixes, may end in a short vowel or in a consonant (a single consonant or a cluster), mostly a postlingual fricative, **m**, or **t**, e.g. **qa-** 'fish; to eat', **di-** 'soot', **su-** 'to take'; **taanga-** 'water; to drink', **aki-** 'price; to buy', **ulu-** 'meat'; **tagada-** 'to be new', **angali-** 'daylight; day; to pass the day', **tayaĝu-** 'man'; **slag-** 'to be wide', **sx̂iix** 'pogie, greenfish', **aygag-** 'to walk'; **alux̂** 'letter', **aluĝ-** 'to write', **kanuux̂** 'heart'; **kim-** 'to descend', **utm-** 'middle', E **qamgaang**, A **qagmang** 'emperor goose'; **at-** 'lower part; area below; underside', **slax-t-** 'to make wider', **hax̂-t-** 'to get up', **kim-t-** 'to take down', **ing-t-** 'to move back'; **qal-** 'bottom', **agal-** 'hind part; space behind: subsequent time'.

A suffix may consist of or begin with a vowel, short or long, or a consonant (a single consonant or a cluster).

The theoretically possible combinations are thus V+V(V), V+C(C), (C)C+V(V), (C)C+C(C). The actual combinations result from adjustments to the phonotactic patterns. There may be more than one possible phonotactic adjustment, so that the treatment of the individual suffixes may be idiosyncratic. The consonantic stems, which entail the more complicated adjustments, in the later language have largely become vocalic by generalization of the auxiliary vowel **i** (1.3.4.). The long vowel of a suffix may in some cases trigger lengthening of the short vowel of the initial syllable of the stem.

1.3.1. V+V(V)

The language having no diphthongs, the initial vowel of a suffix, determinable in forms with a consonantic stem (1.3.3.), is regularly assimilated to the final vowel of a stem, e.g. **chuyu-** 'arm', **qangli-**, Au **qagli-** 'shoulder', **cha-** 'hand' + **-a** 'his/her', as in **kamg-a**, Au **kav-a** 'his/her head': **chuyuu** 'his/her arm', **qanglii**, Au **qaglii** 'his/her shoulder', **chaa** 'his/her hand'; + -(**i**)**in** absol.sg. 'your', as in A **uĝ-in**, **uĝ-iin** 'your thing, yours': **chuyuun** 'your arm', **qangliin,** Au **qagliin** 'your shoulder', **chaan** 'your hand'. For the vowel written ***ia*** see 1.3.3. (4).

With the suffix **-aada-** 'little, small, minor, etc.', as in **isuĝ-aada-x̂** 'young seal', and 'a little, slowly, barely, etc.', as in A **kiim-aada-** 'descend a little, slowly' (stem **kim**), the short vowel of the initial syllable of the stem is frequently lengthened, especially in Eastern, e.g. **tadga-** 'span (measure from the thumb to the finger tip)' + **-aada-**: En 1948- **taadgaadax̂**, A 1952- **tadgaadax̂** 'minor span (from the thumb to the tip of the index)'; **alaĝu-** 'sea' + **-aada-** : E 1812-70 **aalaĝuudax̂**, 1909- **aalĝuudax̂** 'gulf; lagoon'; **suna-** 'ship' + **-aada-** A 1973 **suunaadax̂** or **sunaadax̂** 'playship'; **chix̂ta-** 'to rain' + **-aada-**: En 1982 **chiix̂taadakux̂** 'it is raining a little, just sprinkling'.

The rounded vowel of the suffix E **-iigusa-**, A **-iiguza-** 'real, really, etc.', as in A **ataqan-iiguza-x̂** 'really one, all alone', is unrounded by dissimilation after a stem in **u**, e.g. E **husu-**, A **huzu-** 'all', En 1978 **usuug(i)saa**, A **huzuugizaa** 'absolutely all of it'; **adalu-lakan** 'to not lie, to tell the truth', A **adaluugizaĝulax̂t ii?** 'do you really tell the truth ?'

The initial vowel of the suffix **-iigamag-** 'major, main', as in **isuĝ-iigamax** 'adult seal', replaces the stem vowel **a** in a couple of old derivatives: **qawa-** 'sea lion', A 1840 **qawiigamax**, 1973, Eu 1984 **qawaagamax** 'adult sea lion'; **tugida-** 'moon; month', E 1791-1840, A 1840-1952 **Tugidiigamax**, E 1870- **Tugidaagamax** 'December (E), January (A, En)'. So does the initial vowel of the rare suffix **-uli-** 'to lose N; to remove from N' in **chnga-** 'fur', **chnguli-lix** 'to shed fur'; **tana-** 'land, place', **tanuli-lix** 'to remove (people) from their place'; **saĝa-** 'sleep', **saĝuli-lix** 'to disturb the sleep of, to keep sleepless'.

The contracted vowel is shortened in a few derivatives with the suffixes **-usa-** 'with', passive **-ula-**, and **-usi-** 'means' (see 1.3.3.), e.g. **taya-** 'to shop; to buy', E, A **tayasa-lix** 'to sell' vs. A **tayaasa-l** 'to buy with, to buy for'; **mika-** 'to play', En 1982 **mikasa-lix**, E 1870-, A 1860- **mikaasa-lix** 'to play with'; combined with the suffix **-uunu-** the contracted vowel is regularly shortened in Eastern, e.g. **tanaanu-lix** 'to approach land', Eun 1909-10 **tanaanusa-lix**, A, Au **tanaanuusa-l** 'to take ashore', **qagaanu-lix** 'to go eastward', Eu 1909 **qàgáansúlix** (J 34:164 written **qagaan(u)salix**), A 1950 **qagaanuusa-l** 'going eastwards with, taking east'; **iga-lix** 'to start flying', **igasix̂** 'wing'; **qaĝa-lix** 'to be glad', E 1909 **qaĝasin**, Eukn 1948- **qax̂asin** 'decorations for baskets and grass mats'.

1.3.2. V+C(C)

A suffix consisting of a consonant or having an initial consonant or cluster is added directly to the vowel stem, e.g. **tayaĝu-x** 'two men'; E **lakaay(a)-kucha-x̂** 'little boy'; A **tayaĝu-lĝu-x̂** 'big man'.

The rounded vowel of the suffix **-kucha-** is unrounded after a stem in **u**, e.g. A 1952 **tayaĝu-kicha-x̂** (later **tayaĝukuchax̂**) 'small man'; **aniqdu-x̂** 'child', A 1780- **aniqdu-kicha-x̂** 'small child'. The difference from **-lĝu-**, E **-lgu-**, is apparently due to the preceding velar, cf. **-iiguza-**, **-uugiza-** in 1.3.1. See also 1.3.4.3.

1.3.3. (C)C+V(V)

The stem consonants **ĝ/x̂**, **g/x**, and **m** combine with the initial vowel of a suffix in a straightforward way, e.g. **kanuuĝ-a** 'his/her heart'; **isuĝ-aada-x̂** 'young seal', **isuĝ-iigamax** 'adult seal'; **ag-usa-lix** 'to pass with'; E **im-usi-x̂** 'instrument for rolling'. Some stems drop a short vowel in the last open syllable before a vocalic suffix, e.g. **aamax** 'blood', **aamg-a** 'his blood'; see 2.1.1.2.2. The short vowel in the initial syllable of a stem may be lengthened before a suffix with an initial **aa** (cf. 1.3.1.), e.g. En 1950- **aaygag-aada-lix** 'to walk slowly'; A 1909- **kiim-aadi-l**, but Au **kim-aayi-l** 'to descend fast'.

The suffixes **-usa-**, passive **-ula-**, and **-usi-** after stems in a postlingual fricative with more than one syllable have mostly the variants **-asa-**, **-ala-**, **-asi-**, e.g. **aluĝ-asa-lix** 'to write down', **aluĝ-ala-lix** 'to be written with', but **atxaĝ-usa-lix** 'to put in order'; **aygag-asa-lix**, E 1870 also **aygag-usa-lix** (Matthew 15.14) 'to walk with'; **aluĝ-asi-x̂**, E 1819 **aluĝ-usi-x̂** 'means for writing, pen'; **qa-naaĝ-asi-x̂**, A 1952 **qanaaĝ-usi-x̂** 'means for fishing, seine'; A **saamdug-asi-x̂** 'implement for making skin wider'.

The stem consonant **t**, found as such before consonants (1.3.4.), has four variants determined by the initial vowel of a suffix:

(1) **t** before **i** (auxiliary vowel, see 1.3.4.), before the **ii** of some suffixes, and if postconsonantic also before **u**, e.g. **at-im hadaa** 'downward direction'; **hit-iku-x̂** 'he just went out'; Ea 1909 **ut-iigusa-kug-ikin** 'as soon as they capsized' (J 4:29), but also E 1826- **ach-iigusa-n**, beside E 1834 **at-iigusa-**, A 1838- **at-iiguza-n** ' quite straight, etc.' ; **igiim aygaxt-usa-qaa** 'he walked off with it';

(2) if postvocalic, **d** before **u**, e.g. **hid-usa-qaa** 'he went out with it'.

(3) **ch** before **a** (except (4)), **aa**, **uu**, e.g. A **hich-ada**, E **(h)ich-aa** 'go out'; **hich-aatu-kux̂** 'wants to go out'; **ach-a** 'the lower part of it', **ach-uuĝi-x̂** 'the lower';

(4) **s** before an **a** alternating with **ii** after other consonants, e.g. **his-aĝ-an** 'he (in order) to go out', **txin aygaxs-aĝ-an** 'he to walk off', cf. **aĝ-iiĝ-an** 'he to put, give', **aygag-iiĝ-an** 'he to walk', **kim-iiĝ-an** 'he to descend'. For short, this vowel is written ***ia*** : the ***i*** turns a stem consonant **t** into **s**, while after other consonants the **a** is regularly assimilated to the **i**, and this long **ii** is regularly assimilated to a stem vowel (1.3.1.), e.g. **haqa-aĝ-an** 'he to come'.

The suffix **-usi-**, **-asi-**, in eighteenth century Atkan absol.sg. **-un**, **-an**, had before vocalic suffixes the consonantic variant **-uch-**, **-ach-**, later leveled out to **-usi-**, **-asi-** (2.1.1.2.4.), e.g. A 1791 **tanadgun**, E 1791-, A 1840- **tanadgusi-x̂** 'settlement, village', A 1952 **Takaamxim tanadguch-a** 'the village of Sviechnikov Harbor' (Amlia Island), also **tanadgusi-i**; E 1870, A 1840 **tanadguch-aadax̂**, E 1909 **tanadgusi-idax̂** 'small settlement'.

1.3.4. (C)C+C(C)

A suffix with an initial consonant, determinable from forms with a vocalic stem, together with the final consonant of the stem may quite often yield a cluster in agreement with the general phonotactic patterns, e.g. A **kim-dug-lug-na-x̂** 'rain was pouring down'; **xaadag-naaĝ-na-x̂** 'he ran', lit. 'tried (**-naaĝ-**) to be fast (**xadag-**, initial vowel lengthened by the long vowel of the suffix)'; **hatax̂-chx̂i-l** 'bouncing, making (a ball) bounce'; **txin sadax-t-na-x̂** 'he got fat'; **ax̂-tuĝ-** 'to put several, to give to several', Ea **allx-tuĝ-** 'to vomit many times', A **l(t)-tuĝ-** 'to drop in great numbers' with **t** automatically from **t+t**, there being no phonemic geminates.

If the cluster would not be in agreement with the general phonotactic patterns, there are four types of adjustments: (1) insertion of an auxiliary vowel, (2) assimilation or other change of the stem consonant, (3) change of the suffix consonant, (4) omission of the initial consonant of the suffix (or, put the other way round, addition of it after a vowel stem). The choice is partly idiosyncratic: suffixes with the same initial consonant or cluster may be treated differently.

1.3.4.1. Auxiliary vowels

Final suffixes consisting of a single consonant have after a consonant the auxiliary vowel **i**, e.g. **isux̂** 'harbor seal', rel.sg. + -(**i**)**m** = **isuĝim**, pl. E **isuĝ-in**, A **isuĝ-is**, cf. **tayaĝu-x̂** 'man', rel.sg. **tayaĝu-m**, pl. **tayaĝu-n, tayaĝu-s.** Through such forms a consonant stem may become a vowel stem: E, A 1978- **isuĝi-x̂**, rel.sg. **isuĝi-m**, etc.

Suffixes with an initial consonant cluster that does not yield a regular three-consonant cluster together with the stem consonant must either be changed (1.3.4.3.) or have an auxiliary vowel **i** or **a** (the choice depends partly on the preceding consonant), e.g. -(**i**(**i**)/**a**)**dgu-** 'to make, cause (several) to' (frequentative of **-t-**): En **slag-iidgu-**, A **slag-idgu-** 'to make (several) wider', A **atxaĝ-adgu-** 'to put (several) in order', cf. E **qakaadgu-**, A **qaka-dgu-** 'to dry (several)'; E -(**i/a**)**lgu-**, A -(**i**)**lĝu-** 'big': A **isuĝ-ilĝu-x̂** 'big seal', cf. **tayaĝu-lĝu-x̂** 'big man'; A **asx̂at-ix̂siida-kuun** 'you killed it, poor thing', cf. **qaatu-x̂siida-t ?** 'are you hungry, poor thing' (said to a baby). Having an initial **ch**, the suffix **-chx̂i-** 'to make, cause' goes with a stem with a final postlingual fricative (see above) or **m**, e.g. **kim-chx̂i-** 'to make descend', but with a stem in **t** it must have an auxiliary vowel, e.g. **hit-ichx̂i-** 'to send out'.

The suffixes with an initial uvular fricative, notably **-ĝi-** 'to have N, to be in N, etc.; to be V-ed' and **-ĝu-** 'to have many N', have after a consonant the auxiliary vowel **a**, with the same effect as an other suffixal **a** upon a preceding prelingual obstruent, e.g. **anĝ-aĝi-** 'to have breath = to live, be alive', **tanadguch-aĝi-** 'to live in a village', cf. **ula-ĝi-** 'to live in a house'; E 1870 **sam-aĝi-** 'to be counted'; **tugi-t-** 'to stretch', **tugich-aĝi-** to be stretched', cf. **una-ĝi-** 'to be cooked'; **hat-** 'outside', E **ach-aĝu-** 'northwest'.

Some suffixes have an auxiliary vowel (mostly **a**) although they would be compatible with the phonotactic patterns also without it, e.g. -(**a**)**da** imperative 2.p.sg.: **aĝ-ada** 'give (it), put (it)', **ayug-ada** 'go out (in boat)', A **hich-ada**, E by dissimilation **(h)ichaa** 'go out' (late Atkan **aĝi-da, ayugi-da, hiti-da**), cf. **qangu-da** 'come in'; -(**a**)**ya-** 'to try to make V' ('try to **-t-**', so not after **t**): **sadag-aya-** 'to try to make fat, fatten', **atxaĝ-aya-** 'to try to repair' (**atxax̂-t-** 'to repair'), cf. **ayu-ya-** 'to try to turn over' (**ayu-t-** 'to fell'); A 1952 **atxaĝ-amasu-kux̂** (later **atxaĝ-masu-kux̂**) 'he is perhaps right'; A 1950 **ayug-ama-amis** (also **ayugmaamis**) 'you too to leave'.

The present suffix **-ku-**, rather than fusing with a preceding postlingual consonant (1.3.4.2.), has invariably the auxiliary vowel **i** : **aĝ-iku-u** 'gave it, put it',

ayug-iku-x̂ 'is going out (in boat)', **kim-iku-x̂** 'is descending', **hit-iku-x̂** 'just went out', cf. **qa-ku-x̂** 'is eating', etc. These forms are/were probably the principal bridge for verbal consonant stems to become vowel stems.

1.3.4.2. Assimilation or loss of stem consonants

In the older language stem-final postlingual fricatives were assimilated to a suffix-initial velar stop, except monosyllabic stems in Eastern, e.g. **hug-** 'case, bag' + **-kix** dual 3A: E 1870 **kitamin huxkix** (Eu 1984 **ugikix**) 'your shoes, lit. your feet's cases' (Acts 7:33), but E 1805 **kitam hukix** 'stockings', A 1860 **kitam hukix** 'shoes' (Mark 1.7); **ulilx** (**ulilg-**) 'boot', E 1870-, A 1950 **ulilkix** 'his boots', **ulilkin** 'his own / your boots'´(En 1950 also **uliigi-kin**). With a uvular stem consonant the resulting stop is/was uvular or velar, e.g. **daĝ-** 'attached surface', E 1826-1952 **dax̂kiin**, A 1860 **daqiin**, A 1950-52 **dakiin** '(loose) from the two; the two apart'; **chidaĝ-** 'space beside', A 1860 **chidaqin** 'beside the two'; **hulux̂** 'nipple', A 1909 **hulukix** 'the nipples of (her breast)' (J 78:90); **alix̂** 'old man; crew', A 1952 **ayx̂aasim aliqix** 'kayak crew (two men)', but **isux̂** 'seal', A 1952 **isukicha-x̂** 'small-sized seal' (1952- also **isuĝi-kucha-x̂**).

The conditional suffix is after a vowel **-gu-**, after a consonant in Atkan **-igu-**, but in Eastern and Attuan with a uvular **-qu-**, with a velar **-ku-**, with the dental stop **-t-xu-**, e.g. **haqa-gu-un** 'if/when you come'; E **aquun**, Au **uquun**, A **aĝ-igu-un** 'if you put, give'; E, Au **ayukuun**, A **ayug-igu-un** 'if you go out (in boat); E 1870 **chx̂at-xu-mchi** 'if you fulfill' (John 8.31), A 1860 **aĝat-igu-mdix** 'when you two get (into the village)' (Luke 22.10). Likewise Ea 1910 **ayx̂a-gali-x̂** 'he who is to travel', **aygakalix̂** 'he who is to walk (**aygag-**)' (J 24:7, 5).

Before the frequentative suffixes **-mig-**, **-mig-da-**, **-mix-ta-** a stem-final postlingual fricative is deleted, except in monosyllabic stems, e.g. A **tig-mig-** 'to press down several times'; **anag-**, **anamig-** 'to hit several times with a club'; **quluĝ-**, **qulumigda-** 'to keep on scraping'; E also **sngag-**, **sngaamig-** 'to dream and wake up intermittently'; but E 1870 **kalat-mixta-lix** 'dragging out (several)' (Acts 8.3).

A stem-final **t** before a suffix-initial prelingual consonant is kept in Atkan but is assimilated or deleted in Eastern (cf. 1.2.1.2.), e.g. A **hit-na-x̂**, En **hihnax̂**, Eu **hinax̂**, Ea **inax̂** 'he went out'; A **asx̂at-lakax̂**, Eu **asx̂alakax̂** 'did not kill (e.g. the halibut)'; A 1952 **hit-zaaĝu-** 'recently emerged (mountain)', Eb 1984 **isaaĝu-(kuĝaan)** 'just after (he had) gone out'.

1.3.4.3. Adjustment of suffix-initial consonants

In several suffixes a postvocalic lateral alternates with a postconsonantal **s**, before which a stem-final **t** is deleted.

In the case of suffixes with an initial cluster the alternation is explained by the pattern of three-consonant clusters, which admit only a medial prelingual obstruent, e.g. **su-lga-** 'to be taken', **ax̂-sxa-** 'to be put, to be given', **ax-sxa-** 'to be passed', **sam-sxa-** 'to be counted', **asx̂asxa-** 'to be killed' (**asx̂at-** 'kill'), **kimsxa-** 'to be taken down' (**kim-t-** 'take down'); **taanga-lĝi-** 'to pour water into; to put in water', **hux-sx̂i-** 'to put cover on, to cover, to wrap up', **anasx̂i-** 'to put a property mark (**anat-**, **anati-x̂**) on', En 1909 **qugaanuusx̂-asa-**, Ea 1910 **qugaanuusx̂i-isa-** 'to give (**ngaan** him) as magic protector' (J 43:14, 19; 17:38) (**qugaanuusi-x̂**, ***qugaanuuch-a** 'his magic protector').

The conjunctive (2.1.9.2.) with an anaphoric complement suffix follows the same pattern but also the simple conjunctive has the alternation, e.g. **su-l-ka** (E 1791- also **su-kan**) 'taking it', **su-lix**, A, Au **su-l** 'taking'; **ax̂-sxa** (E **-sxan**) 'putting, giving it', **ax̂-six**, A **ax̂-s** 'putting, giving'; **asx̂asxa(n)** 'killing it', **asx̂asix**, A **asx̂as** (deletion of **-t-**) 'killing'. Also the Eastern recent past (2.1.9.3.2.) has this alternation, different from the treatment of the negative **-lakax̂**, **-lakan**, **-laga-** (see 1.3.4.2.), e.g. **waaĝ(a)-laaĝana-x̂** 'he came in (this morning)', **sngax-saaĝana-qing** 'I was dreaming last night', **asx̂asaaĝana-a** 'he had killed it'. The suffix **-limaĝ-** 'to deal with, etc.' has the sibilant only after **t** (deleted), e.g. **qa-limaĝ-** 'to cut fish', **isuĝ-limaĝ-** 'to butcher a seal', A **angaduusimaĝ-** 'to make war' (**angaduuti-x̂** 'enemy').

The very important suffix **-hli-** 'still, while; just, only, etc.', in Atkan since 1860 also postconsonantic (cf. 1.2.1.2.2.), has/had a postconsonantic variant **-smi-** with expansions, e.g. E 1870 **aygax-smi-kux̂**, A 1860 **aygax-hli-kuĝaan** 'while he was walking' (Luke 9.42); A 1860 **ax-smihli-iĝan** 'for (a camel) to pass' (Luke 18.25); E 1870 (**satmalim**) **hamax̂-smili-gan** 'even by (the door)' (Mark 2.2); A 1950 **saalusmihliiĝan amasukux̂** 'perhaps it will still stop raining (**saalu-t-**)'.

1.3.4.4. Postvocalic postlingual continuant, postconsonantal zero

The postvocalic anaphoric suffixes rel.sg. **-gan** and pl. E **-ngin**, A **-ngis**, rel. **-ngin** (2.1.1.3.), have or had after a consonant variants without the initial consonant, e.g. **ana-gan** '(of) his mother', **kanuuĝ-an** '(of) his heart'; A **hla-ngis** 'his sons', rel. **hla-ngin**, 1950 **uliig-is** 'his (several) boots', rel. **uliig-in** (mostly replaced by **uliigi-ngis**, **uliigi-ngin**).

Several suffixes have an initial uvular fricative after a vowel but not after a consonant, e.g. **-(x̂)ta-** 'to have V-ed, etc.': **su-x̂ta-** 'to hold, to use' (**su-** 'to take'), **kis-ta-** 'to hold in the mouth' (**kig-** 'to bite'), **kim-ta-** 'to go down for a while', **hita-** (automatically < **hit-ta-**) 'to go out for a while'; **-(ĝ)a-**, Au **-(ĝ)u-** passive of the preceding: **su-ĝa-** 'to be held, be used', **kig-a-** 'to be held in the mouth' (not with stems in **t**); **-(x̂)si-** 'to make, build; vr. to become; to deal with': **ula-x̂si-** 'to build a house', **ulix-si-** 'to make mukluks', **isux̂-si-** 'to kill seals', with deletion of **t** Ea **chiidux̂-si-** 'to cut into strips (**chiidux̂t(i)-**)'.

Several suffixes have after a vowel an initial **q**, together with a uvular stem consonant also a **q**, with a velar stem consonant **k**, after **m** likewise **k**, after **t** **x**. In view of the assimilation of a stem-final postlingual fricative with a suffix-initial **k** (1.3.4.2.), such suffixes may be said to have an initial **(ĝ)k**, e.g. remote **-(ĝ)ka-** (2.1.9.3.3.): **su-qa-a** 'he took it', **aqa-a** 'he put it, gave it', **kikaa** 'it bit him', **samkangis** 'he counted them', **asx̂at-xa-a** 'he killed it'. With the passage of consonant stems into vowel stems through the generalization of auxiliary vowels (1.3.4.1.), these suffixes naturally got a simple initial **q**: **aĝi-qa-a**, **kigi-qa-a**, **asx̂ati-qa-a**, etc.

1.3.5. Enclitics

The negation E (-)**ulux**, A -**ulax**, Au -**ul(ax)** 'not' may in Eastern be used as a separate word (examples in 1.6.2. and 3.1.2.1.) but is generally treated like a suffix. In older Atkan it could be added directly to an otherwise final vowel (1.2.1.2.1.), while in Eastern and later Atkan a **y** is intercalated, in Atkan also and in Attuan a **ng**, e.g. E (**imlim**) **aduu-yulux**, A **aduu-yulax** 'not-long = short (hair)', Au 1952 (**tanam**) **qakaa-ngul** 'not-dry = wet (ground)'. Before the negation an otherwise final postlingual fricative is voiced, unless devoiced by a preceding consonant in the case of Eastern syncopation, and in Atkan the **s** has the voiced alternant **z**, e.g. **qanax̂** 's/he ate', E **qanaĝulux**, A **qanaĝulax**, Au **qanaĝul** 's/he did not eat'; En 1984 (**sadaadan**) **aĝachx̂isxadaqx̂ulux** < -**qaĝ-ulux** 'was never allowed to go (out)'; A **qanas** 'they ate', **qanazulax** 'they did not eat'. In later Atkan such negated verbal forms were restructured so as to yield a negative suffix -**ĝula-** : **qana-ĝula-x̂**, **qana-ĝula-s**, etc. (see 2.1.9.3.).

The pronouns for the first, second, and reflexive third person (2.1.2.1.) are free forms when used as an object but enclitic when used as subject markers, added to 3.p.sg. forms. With an otherwise final postlingual fricative the 1.p.sg. marker has an opaque variant, and in Atkan and Attuan the final syllable of the monosyllabic subject markers is apocopated (1.2.1.3.), e.g. E **qana-qing**, A, Au **qanaq** 'I ate', E **qana-x̂-txin**, A **qanax̂t** 'you ate'. The subject markers follow the enclitic negation, which in Eastern is syncopated, in Atkan treated more like a positive form, e.g. E **qana-ĝ-ul-ting** (1834 -**ĝ-ulu-ting**) 'I did not eat', **qana-ĝ-ul-txin** 'you did not eat', A **qana-ĝ-ulaq**, 1860 also -**ulak**, **qana-ĝ-ulax̂-t**, 1860, 1909 also -**ulax-t**. See 2.1.9.2-3.

The so-called dative forms **ngaan** 'to, at, for him/her/it', pl. **ngiin** (2.1.6.1.3.), have enclitic forms, after a consonant without the initial nasal, e.g. **tayaĝu-m+aan** 'to, for the man', A **tayaĝu-z+iin** 'to, for the men'; E 1791 **algamaan** 'for mammal' (Census 2.1.14., 10.5.3., 10.14. B 4.), but also **algam ngaan** (Census 8.5.3.). In older Atkan (and En 1982) such forms contrasted with phrases with a non-enclitic dative, e.g. **Piitra-m+aan aĝikuu** 's/he gave it to Peter' vs. **Piitra-m ngaan aĝikuu** 'Peter gave it to him/her' (likewise En 1982); **hla-z+iin aĝikungis** 'they gave it to the boys' vs. **hla-s ngiin aĝikungis** 'the boys gave it to them'. In later Atkan the non-enclitic forms are used in both cases: **Piitram ngaan** 'to Peter', etc. In Eastern the enclitic forms may be used in both cases, e.g. Ea 1983 **amaan ayag(a)maan anaĝix̂ aĝlakax̂** 'he did not give that woman anything', **amaan ayag(a)maan tunux̂taaqaltakuu** 'that woman addressed him'; Ea 1909 **chimàgnuĝáan áx̂sxakùx̂** 'the big toe was given her (-**aan**)' (J 6:19); Eu 1909 **chádugnaĝaan hagig(a)síisakan** 'rubbing him (-**aan**) with blubber' (J 34:192). The enclitic forms are used in numerous constructions with verbal forms, also after an enclitic subject marker, e.g. E (**h**)**aqaku-q(i)ng+aan**, A **haqakuqaang** 'when I came'; see 2.1.9.1.2. and 3.11.1.1., etc.

The interrogative E **hii'**, **ii'** (final glottal stop), A, Au **ii?** (rising tone) (2.1.8.5.) may be used alone, meaning 'isn't it', but in Eastern it may also be enclitic, entailing a special reduction of a 2.p.sg. subject marker, e.g. Ep 1952 **awatníi'** < **awá-l-txin+íi'** 'are you working ?'; En 1984 **maqaĝílkátnii** [-kätni:] < **maqaĝi-laka(n)-txin+ii** 'are you all right ?'; **ax̂sáaskatnè'** < **(h)ax̂saasa-ka(n)-txin+ii'** 'do you know (learned) it ?'. In Atkan threatening it may precede the subject marker, e.g. 1973 (report of older speaker's scolding) **katamixtama-lakan-ii-txichix** 'you don't start touching it again!'.

1.4. External sandhi

In free speech, as recorded on cylinders (Jochelson 1909) or magnetic tape, word forms come in shorter or longer stretches without pauses. The length of stretches may depend on speed but certain phrases are spoken without pauses also at relatively slow speed. There are dialectal differences. According to Veniaminov (1846:XII), the Aleuts of the East talked very fast and "connected" (svyazno), the Unalaskans more slowly and distinctly (protyazhnee "more drawn-out"), the people of the West (western Unalaska) and Umnak rather distinctly, while the Atkans pronounced every syllable very distinctly. This may still be true. The most characteristic of Eastern speech is the syncopation of short syllables, in phrases and other stretches as well as within word forms (1.2.2.2.), while clipping is more typical of Atkan and Attuan.

1.4.1. Treatment of word final vowels and consonants before word-initial vowels

In Eastern, a word final vowel is frequently elided before or contracted with the initial vowel of a following word, e.g. Ea 1909 **qús(aa) agnàa** 'he passing above' (J 1:28), **áamg(ii) ìĝanálix** 'his bleeding being awful, bleeding awfully' (J 5:6); Ea 1983 **tutas(ii) iqisxaqax̂** 'his ear was cut off', **tutas(ii) aluqal(i)kuu** 'he started sewing his ear'; **sákayáqakux̂** < **sakaya aqakux̂** 'he's coming now'; **isux̂chimikaaĝúlix** < **isuĝim** (cf. 1.4.2.) **chimikaa aĝulix** 'carrying a whole seal'; **kamgiidaag(u)sutxikuu** [-gʷs-] < **kamgiidaagusaa utxikuu** 'hit it right in the head'. This may occasionally happen also in Atkan, e.g. 1952 (after clipping) **hìngaan áchidaĝaa(an a)ĝal** 'getting to the shore below there' (1959:61 (121) = N.M. 3:39).

Before word-initial vowels a word-final postlingual fricative is voiced, unless devoiced by a preceding stop or **s** in Eastern forms with syncopation, while the Atkan final **s** remains voiceless.

In Eastern, the short vowel of a final syllable is syncopated before an initial vowel or **h** if it is flanked by single consonants or if the result is a normal three-consonant cluster, e.g. Eu 1984 **taang(a)m ix̂am(a)naa** 'a good drink'; Ea 1909 **úlĝúux̂tukux** < **ulax̂ huuĝutakux** 'they again came to a house' (J 1:55); Eu 1909 **íqag(a)n íl(a)n áx̂sxaqàx̂** 'he was put in his kayak', **màlgìqínnalgawày** (< **malix iqinan alix away**) **àqalínan** 'and they started scrambling out' (J 34:107, 151); Ea 1983 **alqunaax̂s(i)x aygaxs(i)x ingamakux̂txin** 'for what purpose are you walking there ?'. A syncopated **u** or **i** may have the same effect here as in single word forms (1.2.2.2.), e.g. Eu 1909 **hamúngn** (< **hamangun**) **híngam(a)tàl(ix)** 'doing so there' (J 34:37); Ea 1983 **igadw** (< **igadux**) **agux̂takux̂** 'there is (lit. it makes) a snow-storm', **iĝay"ĝ (< iĝayux̂) àqatal(a)káx̂txin** 'you know of no respect'; En 1982 **áma(kun) kàyv (< kayux) alúlgaa nung àchigáasànax̂** 'she taught me to sew also those'; Ea 1983 **anĝiĝm (< anĝaĝim) amnaĝuu** 'lots of people'.

In Eastern, according to Veniaminov (1846:XIII), the final consonant or the final syllable of a word form could also be clipped off in certain phrases: **txin asix > txi asix** 'together with you', **ina[a]lá[a]ĝan áqax̂ > ina[a]lá[a]-qax̂** [no translation, perhaps 'will be finished with']. In Jochelson's cylinder texts, however, one finds the usual syncopation in cases like Ea **agix̂taalaaĝ(a)n aĝikux̂** (J 2:2, translation uncertain).

The clipping is typical of Atkan, e.g. 1909 **wa(n) asagaan slugaa(n) agaa(ĝan) aĝikuun,** 'when he was about to leave his cousin' (J 76:125); 1952 **hàwakus náa-hadan tànangis áxs hàkúuĝanag(an) hùzug(an) il(an) hàmaax híilazaqas** 'at all the islands of the west they came close to, they suffered the same fate', **ikànguda(ĝan) ísilgal** 'being cut across' (1959:60 (87), 65 (380) = N.N. 3:29, 77). Of special importance are intentional forms with certain auxiliaries (2.1.9.4.2.3., 3.8.1.3.1.), such as **aĝ-** in the 1909 example. Phrases like **waaĝaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'he's about to come back', **chuungan aĝikuq** 'I'm about to put on (e.g. my cap)', **isiingan aĝikuq** 'I'm about to cut (bread)', are commonly (1950-) reduced to **waaĝaa-aĝikux̂** or **waaĝa-aaĝikux̂**, **chuu-aĝikuq** or **chuu-oĝikuq**, **isii-aĝikuq** or **isii-eĝikuq**. In late Atkan they are contracted to simple forms: **waaĝaaĝikux̂**, **chuuĝikuq**, **isiiĝikuq**, etc.

1.4.2. Treatment of word-final consonants before word-initial consonants

A final postlingual fricative may be assimilated partly or totally to a following initial postlingual stop, e.g. A 1952 **qàatúuĝikix̂ qala < qaatuuĝikix qala** 'both sides and the head of it (bay)', **únglumak-kùgan < unglumax kugan** 'on their pinnacle' (1959:59 (37), 63 (228 corrected) = N.M. 3:11, 59).

In phrases, a final labial or dental nasal is frequently deleted before an initial consonant other than **h**, e.g. A 1780- and E **tanakugan < tanam kugan** 'on the ground'; Eu 1790 **Alga(m) kayungin** 'Mammal's muscles' (Census 10.14. B 18); A 1952 **Qagatanax̂ < qagan tanax̂** 'eastern island' (Ugidak Island, Delarof Islands); Ea 1909 **áma(n) tánadgusìg(an) táyaĝung(i)n usúu** 'all the men of the village'. The following phrases have become compounds or single words: ***angali(m) king-a** 'time after day' > E 1780-, A 1780- **angalikinga** 'evening' (**angaliking-si-x̂** 'to have done in the evening'); ***qan'gi(m) king-a** 'after winter' by dissimilation > E 1791-, A 1791- **qanikinga** 'spring'; ***saaqudgi(m) king-a** 'after summer' by dissimilation > E 1791-, A 1790- **saaqudikinga** 'fall, autumn'.

In Atkan, the deletion may have a parsing function, e.g. 1973 **[hingaan tayaĝu(m) kugan] maqangis** 'what he did to that man' vs. **[hingaan tayaĝum] kugan maqangis** 'what that man did to him'; 1997 **tayaĝu(m) kugan tadanax̂** 'he stepped on the man' vs. **tayaĝum kugan tadaqaa** 'the man stepped on him'.

In Eastern, such phrases are treated like single words in respect of syncopation, e.g. Eu 1909 **uláak(am) nágan** 'in the burial house' (J 34:8, 25); Ea 1909

íqag(an) nágan 'in his kayak' (J 6:44); En 1982 **qiix (< qiigam) sinigingin** 'in the grass'; Eu 1909 **háwa(kun) Kànáaĝin** 'those Koniags', **Kànáax̂ (< Kanaaĝim) tùkúu** 'the Koniag chief' (J 34:179, 174); E 1764- **Tachiqala < *Tachiĝim qala** 'Wislow Point (former village)'; Eu 1984 **álax̂ʷkúgan**, A **alaĝu(m) kugan** 'on the ocean'; Ea 1983 **álax̂ʷsaa < alaĝu(m) saa** 'ocean bird'; Ea 1983 **anĝix̂-qalaadaa < anĝaĝim qalaadaa** 'many people'; Ea 1909 **cháayik túgulg ... < chaayakin tugalix** 'beating his drum' (J 2:15).

In Eastern the deletion of a syllable may take place also in other cases, e.g. Ea 1909 **háx̂s(ix) tùnugnàan ...** '(said that) it got up and said', **ám(an) qalngáax̂** 'that raven' (J 1:23, 71).

1.4.3. Vowel lengthening in phrases

In ordinals formed with the transitive noun **hiisi-x̂** (2.1.5.6.) the short vowel of the initial syllable of the numerals A **alax** (E **aalax**) 'two', A **qankus** (E **qaankun**) 'three', and A **siching**, E **sichin** 'four' is lengthened as in a single word (1.3.0-1.): E 1834-, A 1840- **aalax hiisix̂** 'the second'; E 1870- **qaankun hiisix̂**, A 1840- **qaankus hiisix̂** 'the third'; E 1834- **siichin hiisix̂**, A 1952- **siiching hiisix̂** 'the fourth'. These phrases appear to have originated in Eastern, where also the long vowel of **aalax** and **qaankun** is generalized, while old Atkan had a different formation of ordinals (see 2.1.5.1.).

1.5. Contours

By a contour is understood a stretch without an intonational break. In the 1990 edition of Jochelson's cylinder texts transcribed by Moses Dirks (J 1-2, 5-6, 34, 76-79) and in the 1959 edition of the Atkan and Attuan texts recorded on tape in 1952, the contours range from a single word of one syllable to a sequence of a dozen words of more than thirty syllables (in both collections the contours are numbered separately, in the Jochelson collection by lines). There may be internal pauses, sometimes due to hesitation or change of mind, but even at slow speed, with pauses between most words, the intonational unity of a contour is observable (e.g. 1959:74 (1-42)).

In these narrative texts the contours are in general rising-falling and appear to end in three different ways: (a) by a slightly falling intonation, an intonational break before the next contour, marked by the number of the latter; (b) by a moderately falling intonation, in Atkan with unvoicing (whispering) of one or a couple of the final syllables, marked by a comma; (c) by a pronounced falling intonation, in Atkan a steep descent and/or, in the case of longer contours, unvoicing of several of the last syllables; in Eastern the unvoicing is less extensive, comprising only one or two syllables (Marsh 1956). The descent from the top, marked by relatively strong stress (^), is of course short in a short contour like A 1952 (said by a child) **Táyaĝux̂ hâqakux̂.** 'The man is coming.' In the longer contours, especially in Atkan, the descent may comprise a fairly large number of syllables, ending in a series of whispered (sometimes barely audible) syllables.

The pronounced falling intonation (c) clearly marks the end of a sentence, simple or complex. The moderately falling intonation (b) may mark the end of a clause but is used also to amplify or make an expression more accurate, e.g. A 1952 ... **Qáwalàngis ùdáaĝax̂tal, ûdan àgíidal, Nìiĝuĝis àgíidal, ...** '... the Fox Islanders coming here, visiting here, visiting the Andreanof Islanders, ...' (1959:58 (7-9) = N.M. 3:5). The syntactic function of the slightly falling intonation (a) is less distinctive. In general, the contours are important for the understanding of complex sentences but do not always cover syntactic units.

A question may be marked by a final rising pitch (?), e.g. late A **Chaayuunax̂?** (fairly even stress) 'Is he going to drink tea?' vs. **Chaayuunax̂.** (unstressed final syllable) 'He's going to drink tea.' The interrogative marker **ii?**, E **hii'** (2.1.8.5.) appears to have an inherent rising pitch and may come at the end of a sentence as well as within a sentence, after the term that the question concerns, while the following part ends like a declarative sentence, e.g. A **Txin kixs ii?** 'Did it (really) bite you?'; **Txin ii? kixs.** 'Did it bite you?'. An interrogative pronoun or adverb does not entail any specific intonation, e.g. A **Kíin ax̂.** 'Who is he?' like **Tíng ax̂.** 'It's me.' (talking about a picture). With the interrogative intonation a sentence with an interrogative pronoun or adverb is a question about the question : **Kiin ax̂ ii?** 'Who he is? (is that what you ask about?).'

1.6. Expressive features

1.6.1. Emphatic stress

For emphasis, the initial syllable of a polysyllabic word form may have the main stress, possibly with gemination of the following intervocalic consonant, also in Eastern, e.g. En 1982 (spontaneous) **káyyagnakux̂** 'it is heavy'.

In Atkan 1952, strong emphatic stress (marked " before the stressed syllable), with lengthening of a syllable-initial consonant (if word-initial, with an overshort anticipatory vowel), was used as an expression of the effort or feeling experienced by the person(s) in the story, e.g. (from a story about a fight within a cave) **"kudukiim** [ᵘk:ûdduki:m] **ikin áqadusaqadaam, ádum akangan hàkang "qidusal,** 'having stretched both of his legs with him (on his back), crushing (jamming) him against the ceiling of the cave,'; **"agalan hàmang sánakuun sànal,** 'doing his utmost there after him (to catch up with him in his kayak)'; **qídal** [pause] **tù"taatunaĝulax** [pause] **águx̂taqàlikus tùtalgaqàliqas ax̂takus.** 'they were heard crying and starting to make an awful noise.' (1959, text 4:357-358, 344, 148 = N.M. 3:76, 92, 41).

1.6.2. Final exclamatory lengthening

In Eastern, an exclamation is marked by a raised level tonality (marked !) and lengthening (marked :) of the short vowel of the last syllable or overlengthening of a long one, e.g. En 1952 **chinglikú:x̂!** 'my, it's hot', **awal(a)kaqí:ng!** 'I am not working !', **ukux̂takúu:!** 'he does see him!' (Marsh 1956); Ea 1983 **kúufyax̂ àqakú:x̂!** 'coffee is coming !' (said when coffee was brought in); **áqatáq(a)dakú:ng!**

'I've forgotten it!' (lit. 'I no more know it'); **slaachxix̂ aqax̂tali:x!** 'a storm seems to be coming!'; **chix̂taku:x̂ ii!** (high rising intonation) 'is it raining ?!'; **"sax̂ ulu:g algax̂ ulu:g" iistalix** 'saying: "it is not a duck! it is not an animal!"'; Ea 1909 **qús(aa) agnàa ginàd(a)laká:n!** 'passing above he (Raven) is not attractive!' (J 1:28); Eu 1909 **wan àĝád(a)x̂ iká:!,** (rising-falling intonation) '(he started thinking,) the sun up there, ...' (J 34:46).

The same gesture may be used in a polite request, e.g. A 1973 (by some Atkans considered Eastern) **qadá:** 'please eat!' vs. **qáda** 'eat!' (possibly a rude command); **tùtadá:!** 'listen (I'll tell you something)'.

In Atkan (1973), the optative **haqaax̂t** 'come now (to eat)' as an impatient mother's shout is truncated to a vowel-final **haqáa:!**

2. Morphology

2.1. Inflection and word classes

2.1.0. Survey

The open word classes are nouns (2.1.1.) and verbs (2.1.9.). Ordinary nouns have suffixes for number (singular, dual, plural), relational case (absolutive, relative), and grammatical person, so-called possessive suffixes (anaphoric third person, first, second and reflexive third person). Verbs have mood and tense suffixes (including a zero), several of which share with nouns suffixes for number, relational case and grammatical person. Many stems are ambivalent, both nominal and verbal (see 2.2.1.1.). There are no adjectives other than verbal nouns and participles.

Other word classes are personal pronouns (2.1.2.); contrastive terms (2.1.3.); quantifiers (2.1.4.); numerals (2.1.5.); positional nouns (2.1.6.), which have the function of postpositions; demonstratives (2.1.7.) and interrogatives (2.1.8.). The latter three classes include verbal and other derivatives. In addition, there are a few particles of various types (2.1.10.).

2.1.1. Ordinary nouns

2.1.1.0. Introduction

The suffixes (2.1.1.1.) have several variants, distributed locally and over time. In the course of time, especially in the speech of persons born around 1930 and later, the system has suffered certain important reductions. The stems (2.1.1.2.) end in a short vowel or in a consonant. In later times, the consonant stems have more and more become stems in **-i-**, in a way to be explained below. Some nouns, among them proper names, have certain peculiarities (2.1.1.4.).

2.1.1.1. The suffixes

In the tables below, a consonant in parentheses, (**x̂**), (**g**) or (**ng**), is used after a vowel stem, while a vowel in parentheses, (**i**), is an auxiliary vowel after consonant stems; cf. 1.3.4.1. and 4.

2.1.1.1.1. Simple number and relational case

	sg.	du.	pl.	
abs.	**-(x̂)**	**-(i)x**	E, Au -**(i)n**,	A -**(i)s**
rel.	**-(i)m**	-"-	-"-	-"-

The plural **-s** at Veniaminov's time (1846:xiii) was used also at Umnak, e.g. **lagis** 'Canada geese' (sg. **lax**); **asxus** 'nails' (sg. **asxux̂**). Later it was replaced by the eastern **-n** but is still preserved in some place names, e.g. **Tuxtis** (1976-1982) beside **Tuxtin** (1984) (Umnak 171 in *Aleut Dictionary*, Appendix 9; other examples are Umnak 18, 70, 172, 185, 195). In personal names recorded by the Billings Expedition 1790-1792 (in Bergsland 1997) the **-s** is attested for Islands of Four Mountains as well as for the Andreanof Islands, from Amlia through Ilak Island. The usage of the ancient Rat Islanders is unknown. The Attuan **-n** might possibly have been introduced from the East (0.3.; *Aleut Dictionary*, pp. xxiv f.).

2.1.1.1.2. Anaphoric third person (3A)

	sg.	du.	pl.
abs.	**-a**	**-kix**	E, Au -**(ng)in**, A -**(ng)is**
rel.	-**(g)an**	**-kin**	-"- -**(ng)in**

These suffixes refer to a preceding term, specified in the relative case or known from the context or the situation, e.g. **tayaĝu-m ula-a** 'the man's house', **ula-a** 'his house'. They may indicate the number of the possessum or (and/or) that of the possessor (the referent), depending partly upon whether or not the latter is specified in the construction; see 3.1.1.6.

In Eastern Aleut the relative sg. suffix is - and was - used commonly also for the dual and plural, the number being indicated in the following term. The dual suffix **-kin**, well known from Atkan, is barely attested in Eastern, e.g. Umnak 1910 **amakux lakin adakin** 'toward those two sons of his' (J 51:21 original cylinder record, confirmed at Nikolski 1982 and 1987; in Jochelson's edition 1923 altered to **lakix**). In his translations of about 1870 Shayashnikov a few times used the absolutive suffix **-kix** instead of the relative one, e.g. **ulugakix Kugaan** 'on His cheeks' (John 19.3; A 1860 **ulugakin kukin**), a usage found also by Marsh at Nikolski about 1950. In a few cases Shayashnikov (and Marsh's consultant) used likewise the plural suffix, which in Eastern Aleut has no case distinction, e.g. **inim inkamaaĝungin kungin** 'on the sky's clouds' (Mark 14.62; A 1860 **kuyuudam inkamiiĝungin kungin**). In the singular, the case distinction is generally observed but already in 1935 the absolutive could be used instead of the relative: **ulam chimaluu** (for **chimalugan**) **angadaan** 'from the top of the floor of the house'.

In the speech of young Atkans, the set has tended to be reduced to a singular and a plural without case distinction: sg. -V (vowel length, the postvocalic variant of the abs.sg.), pl. **-kix.** With the young speakers (as also at Nikolski), the dual has become obsolete as a category, while the 3A pl. is used as a 1.p.pl. (see 2.1.1.1.3. below).

2.1.1.1.3. Possessor first, second and reflexive third person (3R). The number of the possessum is indicated only with a singular possessor.

Possessor sg., possessum	sg.	du.	pl.
1.p.	-**(i)ng**	E -**king** A, Au -**k**	**-ning**
2.p.abs.	**-iin**	**-kin**	E -**txin**, A, Au **-t**
rel.	E, Au **-min** A **-mis**	 **-kimis**	-"- -"- -"-
3R abs.	**-iin**	**-kin**	-"- -"-
rel.	**-iim**	A **-kiim** -"-	-"-

Possessor		dual	plural
1.p.		= plural	**-(i)ngin**, A **-mas**
2.p.	abs.	**-dix**, Au **-yix**	E **-chi(n)**, A **-chix**, Au **-chi(x)**
	rel.	E, A **-(i)mdix**	E **-(i)mchi(n)**, A **-(i)mchix**
3R	abs.	**-dix**, Au **-yix**	E **-din**, Au **-yin**, A = dual
	rel.	**-max**	E, Au **-mang**, A = dual
	E also	**-(i)mdix**	**-(i)mdin**

For the 1.p. and for the sg. 2. and 3R pl. possessum there is no case distinction in any dialect.

In Eastern Aleut, the relative sg. possessum with a sg.2. or 3R possessor is used regularly also for a dual or plural possessum, the number being indicated by the following term, e.g. 1870 **chamin ilkin** 'in your hands' (Luke 43.46; A 1860 **chakimis ilkin**). In Eastern the relative dual suffixes are not attested at all, and the pl. **-txin** in relative function is rare in the material: 1870 **adatxin Ag[illegible]uĝuu** 'your fathers' God' (Acts 7.32); Unalaska 1910 **ilaasatxin hadangin** 'to his relatives' (J 34:86 cylinder recording). [The relative function of **-txin**, common in Atkan, was probably an Aleut innovation. In Eskimo the plural forms in question are largely merged with the respective singular forms.]

In old Atkan, the sg.2.p. abs. sg. had the archaic postconsonantal variant **-in** : 1838 **sagimaĝin** 'your face' (Matthew 6.17); likewise 1860-1952 **uĝin** beside **uĝiin** 'your own' (see 2.1.2.2.). In late Atkan, the suffix -V**n** (the postvocalic variant) is only 2.p., while the 3R rel. -V**m** is used for both cases. Thus, with the dual lost, late Atkan has a case distinction only in the 2.p. sg. possessum.

The 1.p.pl. suffix **-(i)ngin**, the same as the Eastern and Attuan 3A pl. suffix, is known from Eastern Aleut, regular in Attuan and common in modern Atkan, with the variant **-ngis** (the Atkan 3A pl. abs.). In the Eastern Aleut texts, from the 1830's on, one finds constructions of the type **tumaniin adax̂** "for us father", in the modern language simplified to **tuman adax̂** (cf. 2.1.2.1.4.); see also 2.1.2.1. and 2.1.6. The pronoun **tuman** 'we, us' contains the ancient suffix **-man**, which corresponds with the Atkan **-mas**, as in **adamas** 'our father', still used by Atkan speakers, with a variant **-mis** found also at Bering Island. This suffix is found also in a legend recorded at Nikolski in 1909: **Uyumas ii!** 'Our brother!' (said by a woman, J 38:15 and 42:13), in the Attuan translation **Huyungin!**

The 2.p.pl. suffix E **-chi** is attested since 1792, the later more common variant **-chin** since 1860; the addition apparently is the plural **-n**. The Atkan **-chix**, with an addition possibly from the dual, is attested since 1780. Attuan in 1909 had -**chi**, in 1952 **-chix**, probably from Atkan.

The 3R rel. suffixes **-max** and **-mang** in Eastern Aleut were replaced, in the first place, by **-(i)mdix** and **-(i)mdin**, apparently derived from the abs. forms. **-imdix**, attested since 1839, has recently passed also into Atkan. In Atkan, the old dual forms are used also for the plural, attested since 1860. In Eastern Aleut, as attested since

1860, the 3R pl. forms have been replaced gradually by the 2.p.pl. forms, e.g., with the suffix in both functions, 1870 **chachi kumchi ax̂six** 'they (shall) lay their hands on you' (Luke 21.12). By the 1950's, this usage had been adopted also, partly, by Atkan speakers (e.g. in N.M., beside the old usage).

2.1.1.2. Types of stems

2.1.1.2.1. Stem vowel vs. consonant

A nominal stem may end in a short vowel or in a consonant. The difference may show up in the simple absolutive singular, where a vowel stem has the suffix **-x̂**, a consonant stem possibly a zero, e.g. **ula-x̂** 'house' (pl. E **ulan**, A **ulas**) vs. E **ulax̂** 'bearberry' (pl. **ulaĝin**).

Another diagnostic form is the 3A abs.sg., where the suffix **-a** is simply added to a consonant stem but assimilated to the vowel of a vowel stem, yielding a long vowel (1.3.1.), e.g. **hanix̂** 'lake', 3A sg. **hanii**, vs. **alix̂** 'old man', 3A sg. **aliĝa**; **ulux̂** 'meat; corpse', 3A sg. **uluu**, vs. **ulux̂** 'hatch, cockpit (of baidarka)', 3A sg. **uluĝa**.

Before suffixes with an auxiliary vowel **i** or an initial long **ii**, a consonant stem does not differ from a vowel stem in **i**, cf. **anax** 'club', A pl. **anagis**, sg.3R sg. **anagiin** 'his own club', and **angalix̂** 'day, daylight', pl. **angalis**, sg. 3R sg. **angaliin**. Through such forms the consonant stems have more and more, in the course of time, become vowel stems, leaving only a small residue, if any, in the speech of the younger generations (people born, say, after 1920), e.g. **anax** 'club', 3A sg. **anaga**, and **anagix̂** (E 1834-, A 1952-), **anagii** (E 1909-); **isux̂** 'harbor seal', pl. E **isuĝin**, A **isuĝis**, sg. later also **isuĝix̂** (E, A 1978-); **kanuux̂** 'heart', 3A sg. **kanuuĝa**, and **kanuuĝix̂** (E 1834-, A 1949-, Au 1949-1952), **kanuuĝii.** The elimination of the consonant stems, which meant a considerable simplification of the nominal inflection, apparently went on differently in the different grammatical forms and differently for the different types of consonant stems. The difference between consonant and vowel stems thus has been a gradual one over a long period of time.

2.1.1.2.2. Stems with a final velar or uvular fricative

The great majority of consonant stems end in a velar or uvular fricative, before the 3A sg. **-a**, rel. **-an**, mostly also in the simple abs.sg., see above. Additional examples are E **lax** 'Canada goose', pl. **lagin** (sg. also E 1909-, A 1860-, Au **lagix̂**); **qigux** 'loon', rel. **qigugim** (abs.sg. also E 1840-, A 1948-, Au **qigugix̂**); **uliix** 'boot', du. **uliigix**, 3A sg. **uliiga** (E 1834- also abs.sg. **uliigix̂**); E 1878-, A 1840-1878 **hiix** 'oystercatcher', pl. E **hiigin, A hiigis** (sg. also E 1840-, A 1952-, Au **hiigix̂**); E **nux̂** 'stone, rock', 3A sg. **nuĝa**, pl. **nuĝin** (abs.sg. also 1834- **nuĝix̂**).

In the 3A plural, the consonantal inflection coincides, in the absolutive case, with the simple plural and appears to have become obsolete earlier than in the 3A singular. The few Eastern Aleut examples are found in the biblical translations, e.g. 1838 **Israayilam tanadguchiigamagin**, 1870 **I. tanadgusiigamagin** 'the cities of Israel' (Matthew 10.23); 1870 **husum kanuuĝin** 'the hearts of everybody' (Acts 1.24; A 1838 **kanuuĝingin** with final **n** for **s**). About 1950 Marsh recorded in Nikolski both the vocalic type **sakiigingin** 'his/their ribs', **aliĝingin** 'their old man/men', and a type **sakiigngin**, **aliĝngin**, which could be syncopated (Marsh) or perhaps represent the older type adjusted to the form with a vocalic stem. At that time the old type was still used on Atka, e.g. **aniqdum uliigis** 'child's boots', rel. **uliigin**, but **aniqdus uliigingis** 'children's boots', rel. **uliigingin** ; **iĝilam aliĝis** 'baidar's crew (men)'; **qanglaaĝim aahmaaĝis** 'raven's flowers (buttercups)'.

The stem final velar fricative was assimilated to the velar stop of the dual suffixes, e.g. E 1870-, A 1950 **uliikix** 'his boots', **uliikin** 'your/his own boots' (Nikolski 1950 also **uliigikin**). For the dual of the monosyllabic **hux** 'case, bag', however, Shayashnikov 1870 wrote **kitamin huxkix** 'your feet's cases (shoes)' (Acts 7:33; Unalaska 1984 **ugikix**), but E 1805 **kitam hukix** 'stockings'; Atkan Salamatov 1860 wrote **kitam hukix**, rel. **hukin** (Mark 1.7, 6.9). In Atkan, the stem final uvular fricative was assimilated in two ways, yielding a velar or a uvular stop (1.3.4.2.): 1909 **hulukix** 'their (the breasts') nipples' (J 78:90), 3A sg. **huluĝa** ; 1952 **ayx̂aasim aliqix** 'baidarka's crew (two men)'.

Before the pl. 2.p./3R sg. **-txin**, A **-t**, both types of stems are found in the older sources: E 1909 **uulngiix̂txin**, **uulngiiĝitxin** 'his (own) squirrels' (J 10:4-14); A 1950 **alux̂t** 'your book' (**aluĝis** pl. 'book'), but **anagit** 'your clubs'. By 1950, the younger speakers of both dialects probably used only the vocalic stem.

The rel. 2.p.pl. suffix -**mchi**, -**mchix** for phonotactic reasons had an auxiliary vowel after a consonant stem, e.g. E 1870 **kanuuĝimchi ilan**, A 1860 **kanuuĝimchix ilan** 'in your hearts' (Luke 5.22). Shayashnikov 1870 wrote also **tanadgusiigamaxchin ilan** 'in your town' (Luke 10.11), an absolutive form in relative function, perhaps foreshadowing the weakened case distinction, if not a lapse.

In several stems a short vowel between a medial single voiced consonant and the stem consonant is syncopated in forms with a vowel initial suffix, but in other stems of the same structure the vowel is kept. E.g., with a medial

-**m**- : E **amax** 'night', rel. **amgim** (also E, A 1791- abs. **amgix̂**); E **aamax** 'blood', 3A sg. **aamga** (also E 1791- **aamgix̂**, late 3A sg. **aamgii** ; A 1791- **aamgix̂**, **aamga**, Au **aavix̂**, **aava** or **aavii**); but A **amax** 'steep cliff', 3A sg. **amaga**;

-**n**- : E **qanax** 'winter', rel. **qan'gim** (also En 1978, A 1780-, Au abs. **qan'gix̂**); **hanax̂** 'breaker (in sea)', pl. E **hanĝin**, A **hanĝis** (A 1978, Ab 1963 abs.sg. **hanĝix̂**); but **anax** 'club', 3A sg. **anaga** (see above);

-**d**- : E 1780- (A 1840) **saaqudax** 'summer', rel. **saaqudgim** (also E 1791-, A 1950- abs. **saaqudgix̂**); Au **asquyax**, **asquygix̂** 'girl'; but E 1778-, A 1791- **agadax̂**, E 1833-, A 1791- **agadaĝix̂** 'arrow; harpoon';

-**l**- : **adgilax** 'earthquake', rel. **adgilgim** (also A 1952- abs. **adgilgix̂**); **sulux**, **sulgix̂** 'thunder', 3A sg. **sulga** (and **Suluga**, verbal noun as place name, see *Aleut Dictionary* p. 376);

-**y**- : E **itx̂ayax**, E 1909-, A **itx̂aygix̂** 'caribou, reindeer', rel. **itx̂aygim**; **huyux̂** 'smoke; steam', rel. **huyĝim** (also E 1978- abs. **uyĝix̂**, A 1950- **huyĝix̂**).

As indicated, most of the words in question have in Atkan and Attuan a vocalic stem in the absolutive singular, ending in **-i-x̂**. This is true of several words in all the dialects, the consonantic stem being limited to the 3A sg. (in modern times replaced by the vocalic stem even in these forms), e.g. **kamgix̂**, Au **kavix̂** 'head', 3A sg. **kamga,** Au **kava** (also E 1978-, A 1860- **kamgii**, Au 1952 **kavii**); **an'gix̂** 'intestines', 3A sg. E 1878 **an'ga** (1909- **an'gii**); **anĝix̂** 'breath; voice', 3A sg. **anĝa** (also E 1952 **anĝii**, E 1834 rel. **anĝigan**); **hadgix̂** 'channel', 3A sg. E 1909 **adga** (also **adgii**); **qilĝix̂** 'navel', 3A sg. E **qilĝa** (also E, A **qilĝii**); **agilĝix̂** (and **agalĝix̂**) 'mouth; opening, door', 3A sg. **agilĝa** (A 1982 **agalĝii**); **qachx̂ix̂** 'skin', 3A sg. **qachx̂a** (also E 1909-, A 1950- **qachx̂ii**).

2.1.1.2.3. Stems with a final nasal

A few stems end in the velar nasal **ng** in the absolutive singular and before the 3A sg., e.g. E 1840-1950 **kdang** 'dolphin' (En 1948-, A 1952 **kdangix̂**); E 1834 **hung** 'penis', 3A sg. 1909- **unga** (abs.sg. **ungix̂**); **uuquchiing** 'blue fox' (E 1909- **uuqchiingix̂**, A 1949- also **uuquchiingix̂**); E 1791, 1909 **kadaang** 'ancestor' (E 1778-, A 1838- also **kadaangix̂**); E 1834- **qugaang** 'black scoter' (Ea 1983, A 1840- **qugaangix̂**). By 1950, most of these had become stems in -**l**- in the speech of the younger people both in Nikolski and on Atka.

In his manuscript Atkan dictionary of about 1840 Netsvetov listed four stems in **m**: **kasam** 'common eider' (so also in 1791, a man's name; E 1804-, A 1950- **kasamix̂**, E1834-1909 **kasimax̂**); **qam** 'eyebrow', du. **qamix** (so 1780-); **chim** 'track, footprint', pl. **chimis** (E 1791-, A 1952- sg. **chimix̂**, **chihmix̂**); **sam** 'account' (verbal noun).

2.1.1.2.4. Stems with a final prelingual consonant before the 3A sg.

Nouns with the deverbative suffix -**usi-** / -**asi-** had in the 3A sg. a stem in **-uch-** / **-ach**-, partly leveled out to pure vowel stems already from the 1860's on, e.g. **tanadgusix̂** 'village', 3A sg. **tanadgucha** (e.g. En 1950, A 1952, later **tanadgusii**); **inaasix̂** 'end', 3A sg. **inaacha** (E 1870, but also E 1860 **inaasii**); **tutusix̂** 'ear', 3A sg. **tutucha** (e.g. A 1860, also **tutusii**), Au 1909 rel. **tutuchan**. In eighteenth century Atkan such derivatives had an abs.sg. in -**un** / -**an**, e.g. 1791 **tanadgun** 'village' (1840- **tanadgusix̂**); **kadamaĝun** 'spear' (1840- **kadamaĝusix̂**); 1780 **chugaĝuun** 'index finger' (1840- **chugaĝuusix̂**). As personal names in the 1791-1792 census Atka **Ayagadun** 'Means for Getting Women' (14.1.12.); Umnak **Imadun** 'Shouting' (11.2.8.), **Aniigan** 'Adze' (11.6.5.), but Unalaska **Aniigasix̂** (10.7.12. and 10.12.17.), later general.

Words with the abstract suffix **-aat**- and a couple of other words with an abs.sg. in -**tix̂** have or had before the 3A sg. suffix the alternant **-ch-**, e.g. Ea 1983, A 1791- **aduucha** 'its length', A 1973 also **aduutii,** cf. **aduuting** 'my length'; **akiitix̂** 'limit, border', 3A sg. E 1870-1948 **akiicha,** 1909 also **akiitii** ; **asxutix̂** 'post, pole', 3A sg. A 1860 **asxucha**, modern **asxutii,** 3A pl. E **asxutingin**, A **asxutingis** ; **anatix̂** 'mark, property mark', 3A sg. rel. 1792 **Anachan** (personal name 10.11.16.), abs. 1983 **anatii,** 3A pl. 1870- **anatingin.**

The word **atxulix̂** 'lower part (of body or garment)' has in Atkan the same pattern: 3A sg. 1950 **atxula** and **atxulii**, 3A pl. 1840 **atxulingis.** In Eastern Aleut it has partly become a stem in -**a**-, probably through the 3A sg. : 1909 **atxulax̂**, 3A sg **atxulaa.** This word comes close to the positional nouns, some of which have a stem in -**l**- or -**d**- (see 2.1.6.).

2.1.1.3. Semantics of the grammatical categories

2.1.1.3.1. Number

In general, a noun in the singular, dual, or plural, refers, respectively, to one, two, or more than two entities, e.g. **tayaĝux̂** '(a/the) man', **tayaĝux** '(the) two men', E, Au **tayaĝun**, A **tayaĝus** '(the) men'; **kamging** 'my head', E **chaking**, A, Au **chak** 'my hands', **atx̂uning** 'my fingers'. By 1950, the dual was practically lost as a category in the speech of younger people, so at least in Nikolski (according to Marsh) and on Atka, e.g. Atka older speakers **chak**, younger speakers (in their twenties) **chaning** 'my hands'.

The singular is (and was) used also in a collective or generic sense, e.g. Atka 1950 **waan tanadgusim tayaĝugan** (3A sg. rel.) **huzuu** 'all the men of this village'; 1952 **Haman akiitam ilaan chngatus mayaax̂sxal, mayaax̂sxahlikuziin, 1910 chngatux̂ txin chachinax̂.** 'From that time on, the sea otters were hunted, until, in 1910, the sea otter was closed (protected by law).' (N.M. 2:48). On the use of the singular in constructions where the number is indicated in a following term, see 3.1.1.6. and 3.3.1.

The dual was used also for certain composite or symmetrical objects, e.g. **sax** 'bird-skin parka' (according to different reports made of forty or sixty, or twenty-five skins) (sg. **sax̂** 'bird, duck'); En 1952 **viilkax** 'fork' (1978 **biilkax̂** sg., Russian *vilka* sg.); E 1778-1909, A 1840-1909 **saygix** 'bow (for shooting); gun' (E 1979- **saygix̂** sg., A 1950- **saygis** pl.); E **tum(h)dax** 'gun, rifle' (Eu 1984 **tumhdax̂** sg.); **hachix** 'back' (A 1952- also sg.), En 1978 **achiking**, A 1950 **hachik** 'my back'; **an'g**- sg. 'intestines, guts', du. 'mind', pl. 'thoughts', e.g. du. En 1952 **an'gikin ikisix** 'losing his mind (dying from sorrow)'; **sinigix** 'the inside (of person); the mind', e.g. A 1862 **sinik** 'my mind' (also positional noun, see 2.1.6.). The dual of **ana**- 'mother' is elliptical, meaning 'parents', e.g. E, Au **anaking** 'my parents'. The plural used by old Atkans, 1950 **anat** 'your parents', 1973 **ananing** 'my parents', could be due to the ongoing loss of the dual, but is found also in Salamatov 1860: **ulaan aĝiisanax̂ akum, amasxuu anatxin, amasxuu agiitudatxin, amasxuu uhngitxin, amasxuu ayagaan, amasxuu aniqdutxin**,... '(who) has left his house, or his parents, or his brothers, or his sisters, or his wife, or his children, ...' (Luke 18.29). Unless this plural **anatxin** (Easternized for **anat**) was called forth by the other plural forms in the context, it could possibly reflect a usage from the time of pologyny; in Atkan, **ana**- also had the meaning 'mother's sister'.

The dual serves also as a paucal (like English "a couple"), e.g. En 1936 **anaĝiking** 'my few things'; 1952 **adgayum ilakix asx̂asix** 'caught a few humpbacks' (**ila**- see 2.1.4.5.), **qakin anuusaqadaagiim** 'having thrown away his few fish'; A 1950 **anaĝis ilakix** 'a few things'; Au 1952 **guudakiyaagix** 'several years' (-**kiyaag**- 'many').

The plural is used for certain composite objects, e.g. A 1837- **aluĝis** 'book; (1950-) letter (mail)' (sg. **alux̂** 'letter of alphabet'); E 1909- **kalikan** 'book' (sg. **kalikax̂** 'paper'); E 1778- **anĝusin**, A 1780- **anĝusis** 'nose' (E 1909-1936 du.); E 1804- **imlin**, A 1780- **imlis** 'hair of (single) head' (sg. **imlix̂** 'single hair of head', 1952- also collective 'hair of head'). The plural of mass nouns indicates concrete pieces or quantities of the matter, e.g. **iklax̂** 'firewood', pl. A **iklas quxsul** 'to chop wood'; **qiigax̂** 'grass', pl. A 1973 **qiigas lax̂tal** 'to gather grass'; **taangax̂** 'water', pl. A **taangas** 'water in different places'; **kdax̂** 'ice', pl. E **kdan**, A **kdas** 'pieces of ice; icicles'.

2.1.1.3.2. Relational cases

A noun in the absolutive case serves primarily as a subject, predicate or object, e.g. **tayaĝux̂ ulax̂ agunax̂** 'the man built a house'; see 3. Syntax with important qualifications.

A noun in the relative case is generally the referent of an anaphoric third person suffix, nominal or verbal, e.g. **tayaĝum ulaa** 'the man's house'; **tayaĝum aguqaa** 'the man built it'; see 3.1.1.6. ff., 3.2.2. and 3.6.1. Without a following anaphoric form, the relative case occurs in a temporal noun (2.1.1..4.2.), in the contrastive term **inaqa-** '-self' (2.1.3.1.), in multiplicatives (2.1.5.3.), in subordinate verbal forms (2.1.9.), and in some particles (2.1.10.).

2.1.1.3.3. Possession

The so-called possessive suffixes are referential in a general sense. For example, **ulang** 'my house' may indicate a house that the speaker owns as well as a house the speaker lives in as a guest. For more details see 3.6.1.1.

An anaphoric third person suffix refers, in general, to a preceding noun in the relative case, as in the example above, or to a noun in the absolutive case, in the same sentence (under certain conditions discussed in the syntax) or in a preceding sentence or utterance. In sentences like the following, the referent may be just the actual situation: A 1952 **ayangii sakaatxanax̂** 'the fog (there, at that occasion) was low'; **tanagan kdaa hulmakux̂** 'the snow on the ground (now) is melting'.

A 1.p. suffix naturally refers to the speaker, a 2.p. suffix to the addressee. As indicated in 2.1.1.1.3., the 1.p. dual=plural is partly expressed by the 3A pl. This is true also of verbal predicates, see 3.1.1.2., etc.

A reflexive third person (3R) suffix refers to the subject of a following verb, that is, through that verb rather than directly to a preceding noun, e.g. A **hlax̂ adaan kidukux̂** 'the boy is helping his father', cf. with 3A **hlam adaa kidukuu** 'the boy is helping his (another one's) father' (see 3.2.5.). The subject may have a 3A suffix referring to the person in question, as in Eu 1910 **lagan ludaaĝii adaam ngaan tunukux̂** 'the (lit. his) oldest son talked to his (own) father' (J 29:22). The subject referred to may also be that of a following superordinate clause, e.g. En 1910 **Aman ayagaa, ugiin ayugiingan, ... amaan ugiim umnigan adan txin aygagnax̂** 'That wife of his, when her husband had departed, ... went over to her husband's nephew' (J 53:12). The use of these suffixes will be discussed in several places in the syntax.

2.1.1.4. Special nouns

2.1.1.4.1. Inalienable possession

In a normal context, names of parts of the body have a possessive suffix. With a passive predicate, that is, with removal of the subject, the reference is made covert, as in Eu 1910 **sanĝuu aalax adakiin aalax chax** (simple dual) **ngaan suulalix** 'her belly being held on both sides with two hands (namely the hands of the midwife)' (J 36.7).

Kinship terms have likewise normally a possessive suffix. Without it, some of them have a different sense: A **asxinux̂** 'girl', **asxinung** 'my daughter'; **hlax̂** 'boy', **hlang** 'my son'; **adax̂** 'priest', **adang** 'my father'.

The use of the simple singular is conditioned by the following possessed term in cases like A 1950 **anax̂ aniqdut hadangin huyakux̂** (translated from:) 'the mother went to her children', cf. 2.1.1.3.3. end.

As a term of address, a kinship term has a 1.p. suffix, but also the simple singular is attested, e.g. E 1840 **Huyung a!** 'My (fem.) brother!'; E 1909 **anaking**, Au **anak(i)** 'my parents! (J 82:8); Eu 1910 **Asagax̂** 'Cousin!' (J 68:3 ff.). The modern vocative forms A **maamaa** 'mom!' and **taataa** 'dad!', beside **maamang**, **taatang**, could be due to English.

Without a context, as a lexical information, all these words may be used with a simple number suffix; examples in 2.1.1.3.1

2.1.1.4.2. Temporal and local nouns

The ambivalent word **qila-** 'morning; to spend the morning, to do during the morning' has relative forms without a following 3A reference (probably former locative forms): **qilam** 'in the morning, this morning', 3A sg. **qilagan** 'tomorrow, the next day', Atkan also, with a predicate in the past, 'yesterday'; it has also the obscure adverbial form **qilaax̂** 'early, early in the day'. Eastern **yam** 'yesterday' is petrified but is used also as a relative, e.g. **yam angalii** 'yesterday, the day before today'.

The likewise ambivalent word **amax, amg**- (only noun) 'night' has an ablative with the meaning 'by night, at night, in the night': E **amgaan,** A **amgaax** (and **amgaagan**), the former like the 3A sg. abl. of a positional noun (see 2.1.6.), the latter like the ablative of a demonstrative (see 2.1.7.). So also **qanax**, **qan'g**- 'winter', E **qan'gaan**, A **qan'gaax** 'in the winter, during the winter'; E **saaqudax**, **saaqudg**- 'summer', **saaqudgaan** 'in summer'. Compounds with **king**- 'time after', comparable with the positional noun **agal**- 'rear; space behind; subsequent time', have also a locative (like the relative): **angalikinga** 'evening' (from ***angalim kinga**), E loc. **angalkingan**, abl. **angalkingaan** (syncopated), A **angalikingaan** 'in the evening'; **saaqudikinga** 'fall, autumn' (from ***saaqudgim kinga**), E, A loc. **saaqudikingan** 'in fall'; **qanikinga** 'spring' (from ***qan'gim kinga**), E abl. **qanikingaan** 'in spring'; E **ugikinga** 'dawn, daybreak', abl. **ungikingaan** ' at night, after or about midnight'.

The noun **tanasx-a** (3A sg.) 'field, camping area' has a locative **tanasxan** 'in the field, out in the field, to the camps' and an ablative, E 1838-70 **tanasxaan**, A 1860 **tanasxaax** 'from the field; out of the country'. Cf. 2.1.6. Positional nouns.

2.1.1.4.3. Proper names

Names ending in a nasal like **Suung** (headland, Atka 566), **Kiiĝun** (Cape, Atka 640, obsolete abs.sg., 1840- **kiiĝuusix̂** 'mountain'), En 1909 **Uĝdusxiin** (a man, J 44:8 ff.), have no special relative form but are used also in a relative function, e.g. **Suung ixchxa** 'the neck (isthmus) of S.' (Atka 568). Likewise Russian personal names such as **Imaan**, **Ivaan** 'John', **Filiip** 'Philip'. The personal name En 1910 **Kangax̂simaax̂** was used in this form both in an absolutive and a relative function, in the latter function beside **Kangax̂simaaĝim** (J 74:1, 31 and 21, etc.).

Names borrowed from Russian or English with a final long vowel are treated like 3A sg. forms, e.g. **Andrii**, rel. **Andrigan** 'Andrew' (Russian *Andrey*); A 1979 **Kilisnugan hadan** 'to Killisnoo'.

Personal names, however, also admit functional possessive suffixes, e.g. A 1979 **Taatakuchax̂ hamay / Rumaaniin / hingay uhlii agiitanax̂** '"Little Dad" (nickname) lived together with his Roman only'; **Hingaan aslaan hawan** (for **hawakus**) **Viirangis ama Aalisingis hamang anaĝulas** 'At that time those (daughters) Vera and Alice of his were not there.'

In Atkan, names of islands (countries) with a plural possessive suffix indicate people of the place, e.g. **Umnax** (for **Unmax**), 1973 **Umnagingis,** rel. **Umnagingin** 'the people of Umnak'; 1981 **Amlax**, **Amlagingis** 'people of Amlia' (cf. **Amlagim anĝaĝinangis** 'the people of Amlia'), **Amlagidix aĝix̂taasal ayuxtanas** 'leaving their people from Amlia they set out'. Salamatov 1860 wrote, for example, **Galileeyangis akux̂t** 'you are a Galilean' (Mark 14,70), but also **Iudeeyangiziin** 'to the Jews' (John 8,31) rather than ***Iudeeyanginiin** (**-ngiz**- abs., **-ngin**- rel. + **(ng)iin**). The Eastern forms in -**(ng)iin** look like ablative forms (cf. 2.1.6.), e.g. 1834 **Akutanangiin Akungangiin** 'the people of Akutan (**Akutanax̂**), the people of Akun (**Akungan**)' (V A 10:6), 1909 **Alaxsxiin** 'the people of the mainland (**Alaxsx-a**)'.

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. **tx(i)- / ti**- personal pronouns

This stem, a "demonstrative of speech", represents the person referred to by the suffix, namely a first, second or reflexive third person, in the absolutive case. As free forms these pronouns are used primarily as an object, like a fully specified noun. As enclitics, they are subject markers (in the moods and tenses specified in 2.1.9.), for persons other than a non-reflexive third person (which in the respective moods and tenses are marked by simple number suffixes); for the non-reflexive third person there are no personal pronouns other than demonstratives (2.1.7.). In addition, the free forms, in Eastern Aleut with or without an element -**(ng)anaan**, may double a following person marker, as a more or less emphatic subject or, in Eastern Aleut, possessor. The 1.p.pl. pronoun has its peculiarities, cf. 2.1.1.1.4. In Atkan, the stem admits also certain derivative suffixes.

2.1.2.1.1. Object forms

1.p. sg. **ting**
du.-pl. E 1791 **tximan**, 1804- **tuman,** Eb 1984 **tumin**; A1780 **txìmas**, 1838- **timas**, 1950- also **tingin**, **tingis**, 1987 **timis**; Au **tingin**
2.p. sg. **txin**, A 1950- also **tin**; Au **tin**
du. **txidix**, A 1973- also **tidix**; Au **tiyix**
pl. E **txichi**, 1878- also **txichin**; A **txichix**; Au **tichi**
3R sg. **txin,** A 1950 also **tin,** 1973- also **tiim**; Au **tin**
du. **txidix**, A 1973- also **tidix**; Au **tiyix**
pl. E **txidin,** 1870- also **txichi(n)** (= 2.p.pl.); A **txidix** (= 3R du.), 1950- also **txichix** (= 2.p.pl.); Au **tiyin**

As the object of a verbal form with the same person as subject, all the forms are reflexive, e.g. A **ting achixakuq** 'I am teaching me (myself), I am learning', cf. **ting achixakux̂t** 'you are teaching me'. In the dual or plural the relation may be reciprocal, e.g. A **sunax txidix hnukux** 'the two ships reach each other, meet'; **txidix yaxtakus** 'they love each other'. In Eastern the 1.p.pl. **tuman** is reflexive with a verb in the passive (cf. 3.1.1.2.), e.g. Eu 1909 ... **ngaan tuman ayugnilgalix** ... 'we started on him' (J 34:27), cf. Ea 1910 **ngaan txin ayugnilix** 'he moved to it' (J 28:17).

The number of the object and the subject may be different, e.g. A 1952 **txidix hikuĝaan** 'when he called his people', lit. 'them(selves)' (N.M. 3:91).

A personal pronoun may also serve as a predicate noun, e.g. A 1971 **ting ax̂** 'it's me (in the picture)'.

2.1.2.1.2. Enclitic subject

The personal pronouns other than the 1.p.pl. are added to the 3.p.sg. in the tenses where a 3.p. subject is marked by a simple number suffix, e.g. A (**asxinux̂**) **hilakux̂** 'she (the girl) is reading', **hilakux̂txichix** 'you (pl.) are reading'.

Together with a final uvular the pronoun **ting** becomes **-qing**, in Atkan and Attuan apocopated to **-q**, e.g. A **hilakuq(ing)** 'I am reading'. Together with the enclitic negation **+ulax** it became in old Atkan **+ulak** (modern analogical **+ulaq**). In Atkan and Attuan the 2. and 3R sg. **txin**, **tin** in enclitic position is apocopated to **-t**, e.g. A **hilakux̂t** 'you are reading'.

The 1.p.pl. pronoun is used as an enclitic subject only in Atkan, in the conjunctive, e.g. 1860 **alqux̂ maakatimas** 'what can we do ?' (Luke 3.10).

2.1.2.1.3. Free forms as subject

A free pronoun apparently is necessary in subject phrases like the following: A 1860 **Ting ama Adax̂ ataqan akus**, E 1870 **Ting kayux Adang ataqan akun** 'I and the/my Father are one' (John 10.30); A 1978 **ting asxuunulax txin satxax̂ taĝaaĝan ax̂s** 'who is going to check the gill net, I or you?' Likewise in connection with the particle **kayux,** modern A **kay** 'also, too', e.g. Eu 1909 **Ting kayux agiitaakingin maayuqaning**. 'I also prepared to go with them.' (J 40:17); A

1971 **ting kay qaatukuq** 'I, too, want to eat (am hungry)' (in idiomatic Atkan **qaatumakuq**).

As an emphatic subject, the 1.p.sg. and 2.p. pronouns have in Eastern mostly an enclitic -**(ng)anaan** or -**ngaan** (perhaps syncopated), e.g. E 1870 (and Ep 1983) **Taĝa Tinganaan imchi tunux̂takuqing:** 'But I say to you:' (John 4.35; A 1860 without a free pronoun); but also **Wayangin imchi Ting hikuning**, A 1860 (and 1971) **Wakus Ting imchi hix̂takuning**. "These things I have spoken unto you,' (John 15.11); E 1870 **taĝa Txinanaan alqutan hiisaduukakuun?**, A 1860 **alix Txin alqus kungin hiimis aĝikutxin?** 'but what will you (versus the law of Moses) say about it (A pl.)?' (John 8:5); E 1860 **taĝa txichingaan** (1870 **txichinganaan**) **kiin Ting achx̂ikux̂txichi?**, A 1860 **alix txichi kiin Ting ataasatxichi?** 'but whom do you say that I am?' (Mark 8.29); En 1948 **txichingaan amaanuuchi** 'go away all of you', cf. sg. **amaanuda** 'go away'.

For the 1.p.pl. the older Eastern used **tumaniin**, the later **tuman** without the enclitic, irrespective of the form of the verb, e.g. E 1870 **taĝa tumaniin alqutan maax̂tan?** (= 3.p.pl.), A 1860 **alix timas alqux̂ maax̂tas?** 'but what shall we do?' (Luke 3.10 resp. 13); E 1870 **tumaniin Missiiyax̂ ukulgakux̂** (passive), A 1860 **Messiiyax̂ ukukus** (=3.p.pl.) 'we have found the Messias' (John 1.41); Ep 1984 **tuman aguqangin** (= 3.p.pl.) 'we made it'; En 1983 **tuman kayux saamhlalgadakun** (passive pl.) 'we, too, usually gather eggs'. The A 1860 **timaziin** in the following sentence probably was an imitation of Eastern: **Taĝa timaziin Hingan idax̂tazulax** (= 3.p.pl.), E 1870 **tumaniin haqatalgakux̂** (passive) 'But we know Him.' (John 7.27).

2.1.2.1.4. Free forms as possessor

In a phrasal referent a free pronoun is found both in Eastern Aleut and in Atkan, e.g. E 1870 **txichi kayux tumaniin quchxingin**, A 1860 **timas ama txichi quchigmas** 'between you and us (A us and you)' (Luke 16.26).

The doubling of a possessive suffix with a free form is an Eastern Aleut usage (for Atkan see 2.1.3.1.), e.g. 1870 **ting anĝing** 'my spirit' (Luke 1.47; A 1860 without **ting**); E 1871 **tinganaan imlining** 'my hair'; En 1975 **ting latuĝing** 'my grandfather'. The following Atkan phrases are probably imitations of Eastern: 1840 (1838) **timas umsumas** 'our tongue', E **tuman** (1870 **tumaniin**) **agnax̂** (Acts 2.11); 1860 **timazaan Adamas** 'our Father', E 1870 **Tumaniin Adax̂** (Luke 11.2). As mentioned in 2.1.1.1.3., in modern Eastern **tuman** is used without the enclitic, e.g. Ep 1984 **tuman sunax̂** 'our ship', **tuman sunan** 'our ships', both also **tuman sunangin** ; Ek 1982 **tuman tanax̂** 'our island' (not **tanangin**).

2.1.2.1.5. Derivatives

In Atkan, certain derivative suffixes may be inserted in the free forms, e.g. 1979 **tiiguzang ukux̂taqadaax̂t** 'quit looking at me specifically!'; 1973 **tiidahlingin tingin iĝatal** ... 'even we (not only the old people) became afraid' (changed from **uudahlingin,** cf. 2.1.3.3. **u-hli**-); 1987 **tix̂siidang** 'poor me'; **txikuchaan** 'you little one'; **t(x)iikluun** 'you clumsy one'; **tinax̂chx̂ikuchaan** 'you little darned one'.

2.1.2.2. E **maayu-**, A **uĝ-** 'belonging, possession'

These words are pro-nouns in the sense of semantically empty carriers of possessive suffixes, e.g. E 1804 **waya maayung** 'this is mine'; Eb 1984 **Nikoolskim maayuu** 'that one (namely the church) of Nikolski'; A 1860 **ux̂txin hadangin waaĝanax̂, taĝa uĝingin qinaamuqangizulax** 'he came to his own but his own did not receive him' (John 1.11); A 1952 **inaqating ukinang akux̂, uĝiin alakax̂ hinga** 'it is my knife, it isn't yours'; **agachan uĝa akux̂, ngaan aĝada** 'it is h i s, give it to him' (for **inaqa-** and **agat-** see 2.1.3.). The simple singular implies a 1.p. pl. : A 1973, with an enclitic negation, **maayuĝulax** 'not ours' (**maayu-** from E). **maayu-** has also various verbal uses.

2.1.3. Contrastive terms

2.1.3.1. **inaqa-** '-self' (E 1941-, A 1973- also **anaqa-**)

For the 1.p.sg. there are old forms with an enclitic subject marker (the oldest ones with a stem variant **inaĝ-**). The 1.p.pl. and the 2.p. and 3R forms have possessive suffixes in the relative (or locative) case:

1.p. sg. E 1805-1870 **inaqing**; A 1860 **inaq** (apocopated); E 1870-, A 1950- **inaqating**; E 1941-, A 1860, 1950 **inaqang**; Am 1982 **inaqaming** (loc.)
pl. E 1826-1870, A 1838 **inaqangin**; A 1950- **inaqamas**
2.p. sg. E 1834- **inaqamin**; A 1860- **inaqamis**
pl. E 1838 **inaqamchi,** 1878 **inaqamchin**; A 1952- **inaqamchix**
3R sg. E 1826-, A 1840-, Au 1952 **inaqaam**
du. E 1826, A 1952 **inaqamdix**; A 1952 **inaqamax** (also pl.)
pl. E 1838 **inaqamang,** 1870 **inaqamchi**, 1941 **anaqamchin** (=2.p.pl.), A 1952 **inaqamchix** (= 2.p.pl.)

Being coreferent with the subject, these forms serve to emphasize the identity or separateness of the subject, e.g. A 1950 **inaqang ting tunux̂taasakuq** 'I am talking with (by) myself', lit. "I myself am talking with me"; **inaqaam hax̂tikux̂** 'he wakes up by himself'; A 1973 **inaqaam txin asx̂atnax̂** 'he killed himself', lit. "he himself killed him(self)"; E 1978 **inaqang alix wangun akuqing** 'I am here by myself'; E 1870 **Inaqating Ilalikiming aslingin makuning alakaĝin** 'I can do nothing of my own self' (John 5.30). In Atkan they also double a possessive suffix, e.g. 1860 **Inaqamis asaan** 'your own name' (Luke 9.49, E 1870 **Txin asamin** rel., cf. 2.1.2.1.4.); 1950 **inaqaam tunuun tunux̂taasal** 'he speaks his own language'.

In Eastern Aleut there is also a derivative **inaqaada-** 'alone', e.g. 1870 **inaqaadaam hamangun Txin aĝix̂taasanax̂** 'He remained there alone' (Matthew 14.23). Further a 3.sg. locative **inaqan** 'apart, separately; another' (A **itxaan, itxalaan**) and an ablative **inaqagaan** 'especially; out of the ordinary'. In Atkan there are derivatives such as **inaqax̂siidang** 'poor me', **inaqaaklumis** 'you clumsy one', **inaqaaguzamis ada** 'be (exactly) yourself'.

2.1.3.2. **agat**- '- singled out' (as a verb 'to take away, separate')

This stem takes 3A suffixes: sg. **agacha**, rel. **agachan**; du. **agatikix** ; pl. E **agatingin**, A **agatingis**, rel. **agatingin**, Au **agatingi**. The forms are used in apposition to a noun or pronoun or anaphorically, with the following meanings: '- rather than another or the other; - mostly or more than the other; - only, and no other or no more', e.g. A 1950 **agitaadang agachan six̂iqaa** 'my partner (the other one) broke it (not I)'; A 1952 **hingan sulakan uglaga agacha suda** 'don't take that one, take rather the other one'; **ulux̂ agacha qam ilagaan qaatuzaq** 'I want to eat meat more than fish, I prefer meat to fish'; **hlas agatingis qasizas** 'only the boys go fishing (not the girls)'; E 1838 **kayux agachan Ngaan awadaax̂txin** 'and Him only shalt thou serve' (Matthew 4.10; 1870 **agachiisagan**, see 2.1.3.3.).

In the modern language the apocopated sg. **agach** is used as a particle, e.g. En 1982 **amaligan agach kayux skuulaĝ(i)naqing** 'it was there (where I was born) that I went to school too'.

2.1.3.3. E 1832-1870 **agachiisa**-, 1870- **agachiida**-, A **uhli**- 'only -'

The Eastern forms are derived from **agat**- above. The Atkan stem is derived with the suffix -**hli**- 'only, etc.' from the old (original) variant **u**- of **a**- 'to be'. Both take possessive suffixes; the form A 1860 **uhlinginiin** 'for us only' (John 14.22), rather than ***uhlimaziin**, is probably due to the form **ngiin** 'for them / us' (see 2.1.6.1.3.). The 3A forms are used in apposition to a noun or pronoun, in Atkan also with a referent in the relative case, or else are used anaphorically, e.g. En 1978 **agachiidang akuqing** 'I am only myself, I am by myself'; A 1971 **uhling ayuxtal saĝanaq** 'only I went out yesterday'; Ea 1909 **saaqutiin agachiidaa chux̂talix** 'wearing only his breech clout' (J 3:68); A 1981 **ulux̂ uhlii qalakan qax̂ ilax̂taa qada** 'don't eat only meat but also fish'; A 1909 **ħusikix uhlikix** 'only the loads of the two' (J 79:311); A 1952 **udan Atx̂am uhlii txin aĝiisanax̂ ax̂tanax̂** 'only Atka here was left' (N.M. 3:113; for **uda-n** 'this one' abs.sg. see 2.1.7. and 3.6.2.4.).

2.1.3.4. **agiit**- 'another, some', E also 'the other, the others'

This stem takes 3A suffixes, with a referent in the relative case, e.g. En 1978 **anĝaĝim agiicha itxax̂tadakux̂** 'some people (in Aleut sg.) are different'; A 1950 **hix̂tanangin agiitingis tutakung** ' some of what he says I understand'. There is also an adverbial ablative form **agiichigaan** (for ***agiichagaan**) 'sometimes'.

The participle **agiitaqa**- of the derivative **agiita**- 'to be together with, accompany', meaning 'companion, fellow', is used also in the sense of 'another, the other', e.g. A 1860 **haman ayagax̂ agiitaqagan suqaa** 'another took that woman (as wife)' (Luke 20.30, E **agitaasagan**, see below); Au 1909 **yagan agiitaqaa** 'his other eye' (J 87:3, E **agitaasaa, A angaa,** see below).

The derivative E **agitaasa**-, A **agitaada**-, likewise meaning 'companion, village fellow; friend', is used in the sense of 'the other one, the other', used twice 'the one ... the other', e.g. A 1952 **ayx̂aasim agitaadaa** 'the other boat'; Ea 1910 **Amaan tayaĝum agitaasagan qiichim ilan aanum qangax̂tangin, agitaasagan**

kalukam ilan taangax̂ ngaan akaaĝaasakukix awa. 'The one of the men (lit. the one man) brought up to her boiled red salmon in a round basket, the other one water in a wooden cup.' (J 15:9).

anga- may belong here in the sense of 'match, the one of a pair', e.g. A 1952 **kitamis angaa** 'the one of your feet', lit. 'the match of your foot'. But it also means 'half, longitudinal half' (2.1.4.6.), 'side, lateral part', and 'side' as a positional noun (2.1.6.2.).

uglag- 'another than -' goes with the positional nouns (2.1.6.2.).

2.1.4. Quantifiers

2.1.4.1. E **husu-**, **usu-**, A **huzu**- 'everyone, everything; all; whole; both'

This stem takes simple number suffixes and possessive suffixes. The 3A suffixes have a referent in the relative case or are used anaphorically. Derivatives with **-hli**- 'just, etc.,' and E **-iigusa-**, A **-iiguza**- 'quite, really' are frequent. E.g. E 1860-70 / A 1860 **husux̂ / huzux̂ Txin ilgakux̂** 'everyone is looking for You' (Mark 1.37); Eu 1984 **anĝaĝim usuu duulirax̂ ukukux̂** 'every person got a dollar'; Eu 1909 **iqyam usungin** 'all of the baidarkas' (J 40:25); A 1952 **ayx̂aasingin huzuugizangis** '(absolutely) all of their boats' (N.M. 3:39); A 1950 **hlak huzukix** 'both of my sons'; A 1952 **chagim huzuu** ' all of the halibut, the whole halibut'; Ea 1981 **usung nanakux̂** 'all of me is aching'; E 1870 **husumchi hadagaanulux tunux̂takuqing** 'I am not talking about all of you' (John 13.18).

In reference to the subject or to the referent of the possessor of a following nominal term, a 1. or 2.p.pl. suffix agrees in Atkan with the subject marker or the possessor, e.g. 1860 **huzuchi kayix saĝahlix̂takux̂txichi** 'all of you are still asleep' (Mark 14.41.); 1950 **huzuhlimchix ukux̂taqachix ii?** 'did all of you see them?'; **huzumas tanadgusimas** 'the village of all of us'.

Eastern Aleut has in these functions ablative forms (infix **-ki**-), e.g. Eu 1909 **usukiingin ukudigalix anĝaĝikun** 'we are all living in good health' (J 38:4); 1870 **husukiimchi Ting tutaax̂txichi** 'listen to Me everyone of you' (Mark 4.14); **husukiimchi ilagaan taangaaqachi** 'drink of it, all of you' (Matthew 26.27); En 1935 (Ea 1983) **usuki(l)ngin sanx̂ux̂ (sanĝux̂) nanakux̂** 'the stomachs of all of us are aching' (for the simple sg. **sanx̂ux̂** cf. 2.1.2.1.4. end). The ablative is used also with the pronoun **tuman** as an object: E 1870 **husukiingin tuman sunan** 'they received all of us' (Acts 28.2).

There is also a 3A sg. ablative form, e.g. E **hawaan husugaan**, A **hawaan huzugaan** 'from everywhere (E 1870; A **huzum hadagaan**); always'.

2.1.4.2. **tamadag**- 'every, everyone; both (3A du.), all (3A pl.)'

This stem is found with 3A suffixes, in old Atkan also in the simple sg. (in later Atkan altogether obsolete), e.g. E 1870 **husum tamadaga**, A 1860 **tamadax** 'everyone' (Luke 2.3); E 1833- **angalim tamadaga** (En 1982 **tamadaa**) 'every day'; E 1870 **husungin ulamang tamadagan hadan huyalaax̂tan quliin** 'that all of them should go to their respective houses' (Acts 14.18).

In Eastern there were also a locative and an ablative: 1805 **angalix̂ haqanagan tamadagan** 'every coming day'; 1833 **hawaan tamadagaan** 'every time, always'.

2.1.4.3. E **atuug**- 'both'

E.g. 1860-1870 **kitamin atuukix** 'both of your feet' (Mark 9.54; A **kitamis huzukix**); Eb 1984 **tayaĝum atuukix imdix tunux̂talix ingamakux** 'both men are talking to each other over there'; En 1952 **laam atuugan ikin** 'to both of his sons'. The 1. and 2.p. forms are built on the 3A du.: 1878- **atuukingin** 'both of us'; Ea 1983 **atuukidix** 'both of you'.

2.1.4.4. Au **chimika-** 'all; both' (E 'whole; intact')

E.g. 1909 **chimikaa hayugaĝa haqal** 'all of him began to move' (J 86:17, E **usuu**); 1952 **agiitaqagan chimikakix** 'both her fellows'; 1949 **anĝaĝinan chimikangin** 'all the people'; 1909 **avaa chimikaa** 'always' (A **hawaan huzugaan**).

2.1.4.5. **ila**- 'part of, piece of; some, (with negation) any'

This stem takes 3A suffixes, with the referent in the relative case or in the absolutive case, e.g. En 1978 **qam ilaa tayada** 'buy a piece of fish'; A 1952 **tanam ilagan ilan** 'somewhere on the island', lit. 'in (some) part of the island' (N.M. 3:20); **alitxum tayaĝugan ilaa sulgakux̂ qachx̂a ilaa sasxaĝutalgal sulgadaĝulax** 'when a (some) warrior was captured, his skin (partly) was never left intact' (N.M. 3:77); **anakin ilakix haqaakin amasukux** 'either one of your parents may come'; En 1909 **tayaĝuum ilangin imgax̂chx̂ilix** 'ordered some of his men to fish' (J 73:7); A 1977 **ilangis qawatxaĝii(ĝin) aĝnas anuxtaasalakaĝning** 'I don't think that any of them will get a sea lion'. The simple sg. implies, in Eastern, a 1.pl.: 1909 **ilax̂ txin sakaaĝatikux̂** 'one of us passed away'.

With **ag-** 'to pass' it functions as a positional noun, e.g. E 1870 **anĝaĝin ilaan agikun tutalix** 'hearing people passing by him' (Luke 18:36). The simple sg. rel. **ilam** with **ag**- has the abstract meaning 'to do too much, to overdo', e.g. A 1971 **asux̂ imdahlikum ilam axs stuuluĝim kugan hyukux̂** 'the pot was too full and ran over on the table'.

The derivative **ilax̂ta**- is used in Atkan and Attuan as an apposition with the meaning 'also, too', e.g. A 1950 **aniqdungis ilax̂tas haagal qidakus** 'their children too starve and cry'; 1981 **ulux̂ uhlii qalakan qax̂ ilax̂taa qada** 'don't eat only meat, eat fish also'.

2.1.4.6. **anga**- 'half (longitudinal)', **angta**- 'half (transversal)'

E.g. **qam angaa** 'the half of a fish split lengthwise'; **qam angtaa** 'the half of a fish cut across'; A 1860 **suun'gining angangis**, E 1870 **maayuning angangin** 'the half of my goods' (Luke 19.8); E 1878 **chasam angaa** 'half an hour', E 1870 **chasam angagan angtaa** 'quarter of an hour'. Both words have also other meanings, see 2.1.3.4., 2.1.6.2., and *Aleut Dictionary*.

2.1.4.7. Verbal quantifiers

The stems E **amnaĝu**- 'to be numerous, many, much', neg. 'to be few, little', E, A **hasina**- 'to occur in great quantity, to be much, many' and **qalaĝi**- 'to be many, numerous', neg. 'to be few', are used as predicates and in participial constructions (see 3.1.1.7. and 3.6.1.4.1.), e.g. Au 1909 **anĝaĝinan qalaĝikun** 'the people are numerous, there are many people', 1952 **anĝaĝinan qalaĝing** 'many people'.

2.1.5. Numerals

2.1.5.0. Introduction

The numeral system is decimal, with **hatix̂** 'ten' and **sisax̂** 'hundred', in the modern language also **tiis(i)chax̂** 'thousand' and **miliyuunax̂** 'million' (from Russian), as the basic higher terms. In Attuan and in the oldest Atkan and Eastern Aleut sources there are traces of a vigesimal system. The later expression of the higher decades and thousands (once also hundreds) by multiplication probably was developed under the Russian rule in Eastern Aleut and spread from there to Atkan. In later times the Aleut numerals have been replaced by English ones, for higher numbers such as dates already by the 1950's in the speech of older people (e.g. A 1952, N.M. 2:48), by 1971 down to five in the speech of Atkan children.

2.1.5.1. The first decade

1. **ataqan**
2. E **aalax**, A **alax,** Au **ulax**
3. E **qaankun**, A **qankus,** Au **qaku(n)**
4. E, Au **sichin**, A **siching**
5. **chaang**
6. **atuung**
7. **uluung**
8. **qamchiing**, Au **qavchiing**
9. **sichiing**
10. **hatix̂**, Au **haan(un)**

The digits are used alone, also in relative function (unchanged or, for 10., rel. **hati-m**), and as determiners with a following noun.

Beside the sg. **ataqan** (suffix -**n**), there is a pl. E **ataqakun,** A **ataqakus** (like a demonstrative, see 2.1.7.3.), used alone in the sense of 'alone (of several)' or 'continuous' and with plural nouns in the sense of 'one set', e.g. A 1952 **ataqakus aluĝis** 'one book' vs. **ataqan alux̂** 'one letter of alphabet'. There is also a nominal variant **ataqax̂**, rel. **ataqam** 'one place, one time, continuity'.

aalax, etc., has or had a following noun in the dual (later plural, cf. 2.1.1.3.1.); there is also a form E **a(a)lgim**, A **algim** 'twice' (see 2.1.5.3.).

qaankun, etc., is a plural in -**ku-n/s** like a demonstrative, the E, Au **sichin** a simple plural, in A with -**ng** apparently from the higher numerals; both numerals have a following noun in the plural.

chaang is derived from **cha**- 'hand' with the suffix found also in the following four numerals, derived from the four preceding ones respectively; all of them are or were followed mostly by a noun in the singular, so also **hatix̂**, but the Au variant was followed by a plural (J 82:25). See 3.6.2.1.

With a 3A suffix the digits from 3. on are or were ordinals, e.g. E 1838-1870 **qa(a)nkunginiin** 'to the third of them' (Matthew 25.15); A 1860 **qankungis**

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waaĝanas (pl.), **aasalix tununax̂** (sg.) 'the third one came and said' (Luke19.20); **angalim qankuu** 'the third day' (Luke 24.21); **angalim qankungin ilin** (pl.) 'in the third day' (John 2.1); **chasis atuungii** 'the sixth hour' (John 19.14).

All the lower numerals are also verbal, intransitive in the sense of 'to make, score -', transitive in the sense of 'to make, get - (game)', e.g. En 1935 **aaykaaĝux̂ sichikuqing** 'I got four foxes'; **qamgaang atikuqing** 'I got ten emperor geese'; Au 1909 **misiisix̂ ulaxs** '(I) got two blue foxes'; A 1978 **isuĝix̂ qankul saĝanaq** 'I got three seals yesterday'.

2.1.5.2. Counting terms

1. E 1778-, A 1860-1952 **taĝatax**, Au 1909 **tax̂tax**

10. E 1778-1819 **haasak**, 1834-1839 **haazax** (du.), A 1772-1952 **haazak** (du.1.sg.)

A 1791 **ataqan-alax̂** "wanting one" for 'nine' apparently was a counting term, A **sichiing** 'nine' being attested since 1780.

The terms appear to reflect a finger count. The dual forms for 'ten' are derived from the same root **ha**- as the ordinary numeral **hatix̂** (perhaps the same word as **hat**- 'outside, outward'), the Au **haanu**-, and perhaps the demonstratives **haga** 'up along there', etc. (2.1.7.1.), and may refer to the fingers of both hands stretched out, while **chaang** is the amount of fingers of one hand.

2.1.5.3. Multiplicatives

The simple numerals, including **sisa-x̂** 'hundred', have multiplicative derivatives with the suffix **-(i)di-m**, Au **-yi-(m)** (former locative or instrumental), e.g. E **qa(a)nkudim**, A **qankudim**, Au **qakuyi(m)** 'three times', **chaangidim** 'five times'. For 'once' there is a variant E **ataqasim**, Au **at'aqat'i,** A 1860 **ataqadiim** (like a sg. 3R rel.). For 'twice', beside E **aalgidim**, A **algidim**, there is also the above-mentioned simple form E **a(a)lgim**, A **algim**. For 'ten times', beside **hatidim** (E 1834-, A 1950-), there was an old shorter form **hadim** (perhaps from ***hat-dim**), used for multiplying **sisax̂** 'hundred' (see 2.1.5.4.).

At least **ataqadi-m** admits further derivative suffixes: A 1909 **ataqadiiĝutahliim** 'once more again' (J 77:204); 1952 **ataqadiidahlim** '(not) even once' (N.M. 2:36).

2.1.5.4. Higher decades and hundreds

In Eastern Aleut since about 1790 (or earlier) and in Atkan since 1840 the higher decades are formed by multiplication, e.g. **algidim hatix̂** 'twice ten, twenty'.

In Attuan 1952 the decades were counted, with **hatix** 'ten' in the dual and a peculiar term for thirty: **ulax hatix** 'two tens', **anguli(x) hatix** 'thirty', **sichix** (du.) **hatix** 'forty', **chaang hatix** 'fifty', etc., through **sichiing hatix** 'ninety'. **anguli**- apparently is derived from **anga**- 'half; match, the one of a pair', meaning 'matchless, odd', namely the odd ten above the paired ones, **ulax hatix**, and thus indicates a vigesimal count.

The other dialects probably have had the same system. At Unalaska 1778 twenty was **aalax hatix** (written *alo(o)chadac*; likewise, variously written, 1780-1805), and thirty **angulix** or **angulix̂ hatix̂** (written *angoolad(d)ac*). In 1780 the following decades were counted almost like nouns, in 1805 from twenty on, e.g. **qaankun hatix̂** 'thirty'. In Atkan 1780 all the decades were counted like nouns, e.g. **alax hatix**, **qankus hatis**, **siching hatix** (like Au) or **hatix̂.** For twenty the type **alax hatix** was listed also in 1791, for thirty **angulix hatix̂** in 1791 and 1837.

In E 1804 also hundred was multiplied: **algim sisax̂** 'twice hundred', **qankudim sisax̂** 'three times hundred'; etc. Likewise A 1780 **algim sisax̂.** In the later sources hundreds are counted like nouns or **sisax̂** remains in the singular: E 1830-34 **aalax sisax**, **qaankun sisan**, **sichin sisan**, **chaang sisax̂**, etc.; A (1950-) **alax sisax̂**, (1840-) **qankus sisax̂**, **siching sisax̂** (1840 **sisas**), etc.

The multiplication went on to thousand: E 1804-1878, A 1780-1860 **hadim sisax̂**, A 1950 **hatidim sisax̂** 'ten times hundred' (1950 beside **tiisichax̂** from Russian). In his Bukvar' (1839) Veniaminov listed **hatix̂ sisax̂** 'ten hundred' and **hatim** (for **hadim**) **sisam hacha** "ten hundred's ten" and multiplied the latter through nine thousand: **sichiingidim hadim sisam hacha**. In the biblical translations, however, both Veniaminov and Shayashnikov 1860-1870 multiplied the simpler expression, while Atkan Salamatov counted his thousand, e.g. E **chaangidim hatix̂ sisax̂** 'five times ten hundred', A **chaang hadim sisas** (once sg. **sisax̂**) 'five ten times hundreds'. For ten thousand Veniaminov in his Bukvar' had **hadim sisam hadim sisaa** 'ten times hundred's ten times hundred' or **sisadim sisax̂** 'hundred times hundred', for hundred thousand **sisadim hatix̂ sisax̂** 'hundred times ten hundred' or **hatidim hadim sisam hadim sisaa** "ten times ten times hundred's ten times hundred", apparently mathematical exercises rather than current numerals. For ten thousand and twenty thousand (Luke 14.31) Shayashnikov had **sisadim sisan** 'hundred times hundreds' and **aalgidim sisam sisagan** (rel.) "twice hundred's hundred", Salamatov **(ataqan) hatix̂ hadim sisaĝanaa** '(one) ten being ten times hundred' and **algidim hatix̂ hadim sisaĝanangis** 'twice ten being ten times hundreds'. In practical life such numbers were probably handled in Russian, as nowadays in English.

Au 1952 **kichikichix̂** 'ten thousand' could be an echo of Russian *désyat´ tysyach.*

2.1.5.5. Intermediate units and decades

Intermediate numbers used to be expressed by participial constructions with the verb **signax̂ta-** 'to have as a surplus, in addition', e.g. E 1804-, A 1838- **hatim ataqan signax̂taa** 'ten with one in addition', E 1834- **algidim hatim ataqan signax̂taa** 'twice ten with one in addition'; E 1870, A 1838 **sisam algidim hatix̂ signax̂taa** 'hundred with twice ten in addition' (Acts 1.15); E 1870 (A 1860) **sisam chaangidim hatix̂ qaankun** (A **qankus**) **signax̂taa** 'hundred with five times ten three in addition, hundred and fifty three' (John 21.11). In E 1878 and A 1780, 1791 eleven through nineteen were formed without the ten, e.g. **ataqan signax̂tax̂** 'having one in addition'. In modern Atkan this type is used in reference to hours: **ataqan**

signax̂tax̂ ‘eleven o’clock’, **alax signax̂tax̂** ‘twelve o’clock’; likewise Au 1952 **ataqa signax̂tax̂, ulax signax̂tax̂.**

In the modern language the participle is left out, with the ten left in the relative case or changed into the absolutive case: E 1978 **atim ataqan**, A 1950- **hatim** (or **hatix̂**) **ataqan**, Au 1952 **haanum ataqan** ‘eleven’, etc., through nineteen; then as in English **algidim atix̂ / hatix̂ ataqan** ‘twenty one’, etc. In this way, with the Russian loanwords for thousand and million, any number can be expressed in Aleut, e.g. A 1971 **sichiing miliyuunax̂, sichiing tiisichax̂, sichiing sisax̂ sichiingidim hatix̂ sichiing** = 9,009,999.

E 1780 **haazax taĝatax** (written *azik taga taga*) ‘ten one’, etc., up to ninety nine, probably were counting terms. A 1780 *enchin atkix* ‘ninety-nine’ is obscure, perhaps ***inachan hatix** ‘at the completion ten (double ten), next to the last twenty’.

2.1.5.6. Ordinal numerals

As mentioned in 1.5.1., digits from three on with a 3A suffix are ordinal. In general, any cardinal numeral can be turned into an ordinal by the transitive noun **hiisix̂** ‘the -th’ (with lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable of the numerals ‘two’ to ‘four’) or by the transitive verb **hiisa**- ‘the -th, for the -th time’, e.g. E 1834- **siichin hiisix̂**, A 1952- **siiching hiisix̂** ‘the fourth’; E 1870 **qaankun hiisim** (or **hiisix̂**) **angalim ilan** ‘on the third day’ (Luke 13.32, John 2.1); E 1870, A 1838 **chaangidim hatix̂ hiisix̂ angalix̂** ‘the fiftieth day’ (Acts 2.1); A 1860 **qankus hiisalix qan’gim ilan** ‘in the third year’ (Luke 13.7); A 1862 **maqulim qankus hiisagan ilan** ‘in the third commandment’; A 1950 **aalax hiisal txin ayagalĝis** ‘to marry a second time, remarry’.

For ‘the first’, the numeral used is the counting term **taĝatax** rather than **ataqan**, or else **itaangix̂** ‘the first’ is used, e.g. E **taĝatax iisalix**, A **taĝatax hiisal(ix)** ‘(doing) first, for the first time, in the first place’, lit. ‘saying one’; A 1862 **maqulim taĝatax hiisaa**, **maqulim itaangii**, E 1870 **itaangix̂ maqax̂six̂** ‘the first commandment’.

2.1.5.7. Collective and distributive numerals

E 1860- **ataqaalun** pl. ‘one thing; the same’

E 1834-, A 1840 **alaalux** du., A 1840 **alaalus** pl. ‘double; two each; two (with dual words)’, e.g. Ea 1983 **alaalux sax** ‘two bird parkas’.

E 1834- **qankuulun**, A 1840- **qankuulus** ‘triple; three apiece’ (Latin terni), e.g. Ea 1983 **qankuulun san** ‘three ducks each’.

E 1838- **sichiilun,** A 1860 **siciilung** (and **sichiilux̂**) ‘quadruple; (E 1870-) four each’; E 1834 **sichiilung** ‘ninefold’.

A 1840 **chaangilus** ‘five together’ (Russian *pyatero*).

2.1.6. Positional nouns

2.1.6.0. Introduction

The positional nouns, listed in *Aleut Dictionary,* Appendix 3., indicate a positional, directional or some more abstract relation to a definite referent and have possessive suffixes but no inherent number. Most of them can be used in the absolutive case, possibly also in the relative case, e.g. **agaling agikux̂** 'he passed my backside, behind me'; in Eastern simple sg. for 1.pl., e.g. En 1934 **alaĝux̂ kux̂ chachimixsix** 'the sea covering us'.

Unlike ordinary nouns the positional nouns have one or two adverbial cases, locative and/or ablative, a category shared with the demonstratives (2.1.7.4.) and the interrogative **qana**- 'which, where' (2.1.8.3.2.). Many of them occur also in the simple relative singular, as the referent of the positional noun **hadaa** 'the direction of -', and have special derivatives of relation, motion and position, also shared with the demonstratives and **qana**-.

Also **chug**- 'north, north side' and **na**-, **nga**-, **ngu**- 'south, south side' share these features but have no adverbial cases. **tana**- 'land' shares verbal derivatives with the positional nouns, see 2.1.6.3.4-5-

The terms **unuqu**- 'someone else, other, another; abl. 'except, other than' and **uglag**- 'another than; abl. besides, except' come close to the contrastive terms (2.1.3.).

The very important stem **i**-, called dative, has only locative forms, largely irregular, meaning 'to, at, for -' (2.1.6.1.3.).

2.1.6.1. The adverbial cases

2.1.6.1.1. Locative

The locative differs from the relative case (sg. possessum) only in the 1.p.sg. (cf. 2.1.1.1.3.):

		sg.	du.	pl.
3A		**-(g)an**	**-kin**	**-(ng)in**
1.p.		**-ming**	-"-	-"-, A 1860 **-mas**
2.p.	E, Au	**-min**	**-(i)mdix**	**-(i)mchi(n)**
	A	**-mis**	-"-	**-(i)mchix**
3R		**-iim**	**-max**	E **-mang**, A = du.
			E **-(i)mdix**	**-(i)mchi(n)**

A locative form may indicate a position at the referent as well as a motion to the referent, e.g. E 1910 **ulaam ilan anĝaĝiqalinax̂** 'he began to live in his house (with his daughter)' (J 72:1); **ulaam ilan qangunax̂** 'he went inside his house' (J 33:30).

2.1.6.1.2. Ablative

In 3A, the ablative is marked by vowel length, so also generally in Atkan. In the other persons Eastern has an infix -**ki**- (also with a lengthened vowel), Attuan 1909 -**ka**- in a different position:

		sg.	du.	pl.
3A		**-(g)aan**	**-kiin**	**-(ng)iin**
1.p.	E	**-ki(i)ming**		**-ki(i)ngin**
	A	**-miing**		**-(ng)iin**, 1860 also -**maas**
	Au	**-mikang**		
2.p.	E	**-ki(i)min**	**-ki(i)mdix**	**-ki(i)mchi(n)**
	A	**-miis**	**-(i)mdiix**	**-(i)mchiix**
	Au	**-mika**		
3R	E	**-kiigi(i)m**	**-ki(i)mdix**	**-ki(i)mdin**
	A	**-miim**	**-maax**	= du.
	Au	**-gaam**		

An ablative form may indicate a motion from as well as a motion along the referent or the particular point of contact with the referent, e.g. En 1978 **ulam ilaan itikuqing** 'I went out of the house'; A **tanam kugaan isuĝnaax̂s** 'hunt seal from land'; **alaĝum hadaan ayx̂al** 'go by sea, travel at sea'; **isxagan ilagaan kitagan kugaan sayukan iguqaa** 'he pulled him out of his bed by his feet (Aleut sg.)'. The semantic details can be found in the respective entries in the dictionary.

2.1.6.1.3. Dative i- loc. 'to, at, for -'

Eastern and Atkan older forms, Attuan 1909:

	sg.	du.	pl.
3A	**ngaan**, Au **naa**	**ikin**, Au **iki**	**ngiin**, Au = sg.
1.p.	E, Au **nung**, A **ngus**	-"-	-"-
2.p.	E **imin**, A **imis,** Au **imi**	**imdix**	E **imchi**, A **imchix**
3R	E, A **igim**, Au **iim**	**imax**	E **imang,** A = du.

As seen from the forms, the stem **i**- is lost in the 3A sg. and pl. and in the 1.p.sg. The latter form, E, Au **nung** < ***ngun**, A **ngus**, apparently represents just the case suffix, found also in the demonstratives (2.1.7.4.).

Later variants:

3A sg. A 1971- **naa(n)**
  du. E 1839- **ngikin**, A 1971- **ngikix**
  pl. Ab 1963 **ingiin**
1.p. sg. Ep 1981 **numing**, A 1950- **iming**, Ab 1963 **ngusing**, Am 1982 **ngu**
  du. Eu 1984 **ngikin** (= 3A), Ab 1963 **ngumas**
  pl. Ep 1976 **nungin**, A 1950- **ingin**, **ingis**, A 1973- **imingin**, Ab 1963 **imas**
2.p. sg. Ep 1941 **numin**, Au 1952 **im**
  pl. E 1878- **imchin**

3R sg. E 1833-, A 1950- **igiim**, A 1952- **iim**
du. E 1909, A 1952-, Ab 1963 **imdix**, Au 1952 **imyix** (= 2.p.), Ep 1941 **igiimdix**
pl. E 1909 **imdin**, 1870-1909 **imchi**, Eau 1970- **imchin** (= 2.p.), E 1909 **igiimchi**, A 1973- **iimdix**

The 3A forms have the enclitic variants sg. **-(ng)aan**, du. **-ikin**, pl. **-(ng)iin**, used with a nominal referent in the relative case or anaphorically, e.g. **tayaĝumaan** 'to/for the man', du. **tayaĝugikin**, pl. E **tayaĝuniin**, A **tayaĝuziin** (see 3.3.11.). They are used also with verbal forms (see 2.1.9.1.2. and 3.11.1.1.).

2.1.6.2. Types of stems

Like ordinary nouns, the positional nouns have a stem ending in a vowel or in a consonant but here the difference is blurred by the partial treatment of the 3A sg. suffix **-a** as a stem vowel, cf. **hadan** 'toward him/her/it', abl. **hadaan**, old pl. **hadiin,** and **hadaming** 'toward me', abl. E **(h)adakiiming**, A **hadamiing,** whence also 3A pl. loc. **hadangin**, abl. **hadangiin**, etc. In relation to the latter, the 3A sg.loc. **hadan** has a suffix **-n** (rather than **-an**), which could be transferred to ancient stems in **-a-**, apparent in the simple rel.sg. as referent of **hadaa** 'the direction of -', e.g. **qusam hadaa**, E **qusamadaa** 'upward direction', 3A sg.loc. **qusan** 'above, over him/her/it', abl. **qusaan** beside **qusagaan** ; **angam hadaa**, E **angamadaa** 'aside, a different direction', 3A sg.loc. **angan** 'beside, alongside, etc.', abl. **angaan**.

The positional nouns with a stem in **-a-** are all of the indicated type, see dictionary entries **adanga-** 'landward side', **akina-** 'lee', **anga-** 'side', **angta-** 'end', **haza-** 'next', **imuna-** 'surrounding', **isxana-** 'instead', **qusa-** 'above, over', **snanga-** 'along, to the side or edge of' (**amna-** 'out of the number of' and **luda-** 'older' don't seem to have locative forms).

Only stems in **-u-** and derivatives in **-i-** have a 3A sg.loc. **-gan**, e.g. **kugan** 'on top of -, etc.', abl. **kugaan.** Coinciding with the type **nagan** 'inside of it', abl. **nagaan**, stem **nag-**, such forms have produced an abs.sg. **kuga** (A 1952) beside **kuu** 'its top surface', like **naga** 'its inside', and, being treated like a stem in **-a-,** also an ablative **kugagaan**, **nagagaan** (A 1952). The other stems in **-u-** are **imu-** 'all around' (also 'circle, etc.'), **imuunu-** 'surrounding', **slu-** 'in, at (village, home, etc.)', **umsu-** 'lap, blade (as support)', **unuqu-** abl. 'except'.

Apart from the 3A sg., consonant stems have in many forms the auxiliary vowel **-i-**, before suffixes with an initial consonant cluster but also before other suffixes, especially in the later language.

Stems ending in a single velar fricative have the stem consonant assimilated to the initial velar stop of the 3A du. and of the Eastern ablative infix in the other persons, or else have an auxiliary vowel like the stems ending in a consonant cluster, e.g. E, A **nakin**, Au **nagik(i)** 'within the two', abl. E **nakiin**; Ea 1983 **sinikiiming** 'through me (my body)'; A **quchikin**, but E **quchxikin** 'between them (two)'; E, A **sitxikin** 'under them'; E 1909 **sinixkin** 'inside them' is probably syncopated. The old postconsonantic 3A pl. forms loc. **-in**, abl. **-iin**, are found only after a single stem

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consonant, e.g. E, A **nagin** (also **nagingin** and E **nagngin**) 'within them', abl. E **nagiin** ; A **quchigin** (later **quchigingin**), E **quchxingin** 'between them'. The other stems in a velar fricative are **uglag-** abl. 'besides; except', **guudg-** 'within; during', **qudg-** 'on top of -, etc.'.

The uvular stem consonant of **daĝ-** 'attached surface' and **chidaĝ-** 'space beside' and the initial velar stop of the 3A du. suffixes and the Eastern ablative infix remain unassimilated in Eastern (or are separated by the auxiliary vowel **i** in later Eastern) but yield a uvular stop in old Atkan, a velar stop in later Atkan (cf. 1.3.4.2.), e.g. 3A du. abl. E 1826-1952 **dax̂kiin** (1909- loc. **daĝikin**, Au 1909 **yaĝikin**), A 1860 **daqiin**, 1950-1952 **dakiin** '(separate them) from each other'. In Eastern, however, the 3A pl. suffixes have the otherwise postvocalic variants, in older Atkan the postconsonantal ones, e.g. 3A pl. abl. E 1832-1870 **daĝngiin**, A 1862- **daĝiin**; cf. 2.1.1.2.2. Another uvular stem is E **hamiĝ-**, A **ahmiĝ-** 'vicinity'.

The nasal stems **kang-** 'top' and **utm-** 'center, middle' have the respective variants **kanga-** (3A sg.abl. **kangagaan** beside **kangaan**) and **utma-**, **utmi-** (e.g. 3A sg. abl. **utmagaan** beside **utmaan**, 3A pl.abl. **utmingiin**).

Of the eight stems in **-l-**, the important **il-** 'inside, etc.' has the variants **ili-** and **ila-**, in old Atkan and Attuan also **ilu-**, e.g. 3A loc.sg. **ilan**, du. E 1826 **ilkin,** E 1909, A 1838-1860 **ilikin**, pl. E 1826-1870, A 1838-1952 **ilin**, E 1909-, A 1860- **ilingin**, E 1832- (1.pl.), A 1950- **ilangin**; 3A abl.sg. E 1826-, A 1838- **ilaan,** E 1826-, A 1860-, Au 1909-1952 **ilagaan**, A 1838-1862, Au 1909 **ilugaan**, A 1860 **iluun** (by analogy of **ilaan** vs. **ilagaan**). The other stems in **-l-** are **agal-** 'rear; space behind; subsequent time'; **al-** 'middle'; **hal-** 'windward'; **asl-** 'point, position, corresponding to, etc.'; **qal-** 'bottom, lowest part'; **qul-** abl. 'for the sake of'; **sil-** 'proximity'.

As indicated above, the important stem **had-** 'direction' has in most forms the variant **hada-.** The 3A sg. forms, abs. **hadaa**, loc. **hadan**, abl. **hadagaan**, **hadaan**, have as a referent also the simple relative sg. of many of the other positional nouns, e.g. E 1978 **ilim-adan**, A 1950- **ilim-hadan** 'inside (as by the door)'; E 1805-, A 1840- **kum-hadan** 'out, on the outside, in the open'; E 1870 **kangimadaan**, A 1860 **kangim hadagaan** 'from the top' (Mark 15.38). The other stems in **-d(a)-** are **ad-** 'landward side'; **angad(a)-** 'side, broadside; opposite side'; **hangad(a)-** 'upper side; surface'; **kad(a)-** 'front; space before; time before'; **sad(a)-** 'seaward; outside' (also defective demonstrative).

The stems **at-** 'lower part; area below; bottom', **at-** 'straight or even position', and **hat-** 'outside, outward', have before the 3A sg. suffixes the variants **ach-**, **hach-**, in other forms the auxiliary vowel **i** (1.3.3.), e.g. A **atim-hadaa** 'downward direction', 3A sg. **acha**, loc. **achan**, abl. E **achaan**.

chuq- 'place beneath' has the variants **chuqa-** and **chuqi-** (as an ordinary noun **chuqi-x̂** 'root, bottom part, etc.'), e.g. 3A sg.loc. E, A **chuqan**, abl. E 1909 **chuqaan**, A 1952 **chuqigaan**, 3R sg. loc. E 1909 **chuqaam**, A 1973 **chuqiim**, **chuqigiim**.

2.1.6.3. Derivatives

2.1.6.3.1. **-hli-** (E mostly **-li-**) / E **-smili-** 'just, only; right, (the) very; even'

Derivatives with this suffix have a 3A sg.loc. **-gan,** e.g. E 1909 **kuligan**, A 1952- **kuhligan** 'just on it, even on it'; A 1952 **isxagan ilahligan** 'at the very place (where he had been killed)' (N.M. 3:8); E 1870 **satmalim hamix̂smiligan** 'even by the door' (Mark 2.2).

2.1.6.3.2. **-uuĝi-** relational noun

Such derivatives are used in the simple sg. abs. as preposed determiners, meaning 'which is to or in the -', and with 3A suffixes and a referent in the relative case, meaning 'the - side or part of', having in the latter case a loc. **-gan** and an abl. **-gaan** ; some are also verbal, meaning 'to be to the - '. E.g. E **iluuĝix̂ chux̂taqan** 'inner clothes, underwear', **ulam iluuĝii** 'the ceiling of a sod house', **ulaam iluuĝigan** 'up under the ceiling of her house' (J 60:3); E **qaluuĝix̂ kigusin**, Au **agalu(m) qaluuĝing** 'innermost teeth, molars', A **Samĝunam qaluuĝigaan** '(we shot reindeer) from inside S. (a village site)'; A **kaduuĝix̂ uluĝux̂** 'the front hatch (of a two-hatch baidarka)', En **kaduuĝigaan** '(the ship cracked) in front of it (a point)', E **kaduuĝilix**, A **kaduuĝil'**, Au **kayuuĝil** 'to be ahead, to be the first'.

2.1.6.3.3. **-mudaĝ-** 'to move -ward'

Like ordinary intransitive verbs these have further derivatives but also a common petrified 3A form **-mudaĝan** '-ward', e.g. **agalmudax̂six** 'to move backward (as of a boat); to go the rear (in a boat)', **agalmudaĝan** 'backward, back'; **qusamudaĝan**, Au **qusamuyaĝa** 'upward'. The suffix is apparently derived from a former allative suffix, cf. the demonstrative type **wangudax̂s(ix)** 'to come this way', **wangudaĝan** 'in this direction, toward here' and loc. E **wangun,** old A **wangus** 'here, hither' (see 2.1.7.9.1.).

2.1.6.3.4. **-uunu-** 'to go, move -ward'

E.g. **kaduunulix** 'to move further up front; to advance (of boat, person, work, etc.)'; **iluunulix** to go in, be on the way in (e.g. baidarka in bay)'. Likewise **tanaanulix** 'to approach land, etc.'; A **tanasxaanulix** 'to go out to the camps'.

2.1.6.3.5. **-uuĝa-** 'to come to, get at, arrive at -'

E.g. **iluuĝalix** 'to go in, enter, come in (e.g. baidarka in bay)'. Likewise **tanaaĝalix** 'to come back to his settlement'.

2.1.6.3.6. **-uutxa-** 'to be very or too -ward'

Such derivatives are also nominal and have a locative in **-n**, e.g. **kaduutxal(ix)** 'to be too far in front, to protrude', **kaduutxa-x̂** 'which is way up ahead', **kaduutxan** 'ahead'; **sitxuutxalix** 'to be way below', **sitxuutxan** '(too) far below'; **hadaatxa-**, A also **haduutxa-** 'nearness', loc. 'near to, close to' has possessive suffixes, the 3A sg. with a referent in the relative case, e.g. E 1833-1870 **hadaatxaming anax̂** 'the one who is close to me, my neighbor'; **Iirusaliimam hadaatxan aĝalix** 'approaching Jerusalem' (Matthew 21.1).

2.1.6.3.7. -(**i**)**ku-** 'to be or do (too) -ward' (restricted)

E.g. **kadiku-** 'to be ahead of time; to blow from the front'.

2.1.6.3.8. **-uuta-** 'to have in - (relation) to him/it'

This restricted suffix turns the relation of the underlying positional noun around, e.g. A 1971 **ayx̂aasix̂ qiigas kuutakux̂** 'the boat has grass on it (for protection)', **ayx̂aasim kugan qiigas akus** 'there is grass on the boat'.

2.1.7. Demonstratives

2.1.7.0. Introduction

The numerous demonstratives serve to locate the referent in the actual space and with their various forms and derivatives cover most of the word classes. The attested set includes thirty stems with five dialectal variants; three more are found in place names. In the course of time, however, some of the stems have become obsolete. In Eastern Aleut, from the beginning of the twentieth century on, the loss of the initial **h** has brought about the merger of the stems with an initial **h** and the corresponding ones with an initial vowel.

2.1.7.1. The stems

The following chart is a schematic classification of the main semantic oppositions in terms of aspects and fields (and angles); some semantic specifications follow in 2.1.7.11. Items with a hyphen are found only with certain suffixes.

		A		B	C	D
Aspects:		delimited		extended	motional	invisible
		a	b			
		straight	oblique			
Fields						
I		**uka**		**uda**	**wa**	**uma**
II	1.	**ika**	**iku**		**inga**	
	2.	**aka**	**aku**	**aga**	**awa**	**ama-**
III	1.	**hika**	**hiku**		**hinga**	
	2.	**haka**	**haku**	**haga**	**hawa**	**hama**
IV	1.		**ukna**	**una**		
	2.	**saka**				
V	1.	**qika**	**qiku**	**qiga-**		
	2.	**qaka**	**qaku**	**qaga**		

I: the speaker's field; **uka** 'in here'; **wa**, Au **ma**, as shown by the speaker.

II: on a level with the speaker, 1. transversally (across), 2. longitudinally ; a. straight, b. to the side. C **awa**, Au **ava-**.

III: up from the speaker (or erect), 1. transversally (limited), 2. longitudinally (illimited); a. straight, b. aslant. C-D mostly anaphoric (as mentioned or thought of); Eastern also anaphoric **ninga**, **nawa**, **nama** (partly obsolete); Attuan 2. **taga**, **tama** (C **ava** from E).

IV: down or (A) out on or (B) by the sea; **ukna** not in Attuan. In place names also **Uga-** (at mouth of inlet), **Sama-** (toward ocean).

V: outside (Aa, B) / inside (Ab), 1. near the entrance, 2. farther. **qaka** also, B mostly in reference to the East, opposed to **na-** 'West'; in names also **Qawa-** (East). **sada-** 'outside' is also a positional noun.

In addition: E **kama** 'absent; unknown where; where (in questions)'.

2.1.7.2. Stem forms

A bare demonstrative stem is used mostly in reference to an anaphoric subject or complement, constituting a nominal sentence or emphasizing the verbal predicate (3.1.3.1.), e.g. A **kiin hinga** 'who's that?'; **haqalakax̂ hinga** 'he has'nt come'; **tayakung wa** 'I bought this (rather than got it in some other way)'. The form **wa** is also used alone: 'here!' (as when handing over something) and for emphasis with the pronominal form: **wa wan** 'this one here' (not so, for example, **hinga**, at least not in Atkan).

With the pro-verb **ma-x̂** 'does/is so', the anaphoric **hinga** and **hama** have in Atkan variants without the final vowel: **max̂ hing** 'that's it (as you say)'; **max̂ ham** 'that's it (what I had in mind)'.

2.1.7.3. Pronominal forms

The suffixes corresponding with the simple number and relational case suffixes of ordinary nouns (2.1.1.1.1.) are the following:

	sg.	du.	pl.	
abs.	**-n**	**-kux**	E, Au **-kun**,	A **-kus**
rel.	-Vn	-”-	-”-	-”-

E.g. **wan**, Au **man** 'this, this one', rel. **waan**, Au **maa**, du. **wakux**, pl. E **wakun** (Eau **gukun**), A **wakus**, Ab **makun** 'these'. In the dual and plural (and in the locative, see 2.1.7.4.) the stems **hinga** and **hawa** have shorter variants, more common than the longer ones: du. A, Au **hiikux**, A 1950 also **hingakux**; pl. E **(h)iikun** (Au also **(h)iik**), A **hiikus**, E 1909 also **ingakun**, A 1862- **hingakus**; E 1826 **haakun**, 1909- **aakun**, A **haakus**, Eu 1909 also **hawakun**, A 1860- **hawakus**; likewise E 1826 **naakux**, 1832-1834 **naakun**, bare stem **nawa**. Note also the Eastern treatment of **-wa-** in Ea 1909 **agukun**, A **awakus** (difficult to distinguish from **hawakus**); E 1776 **Agun- Alaxsxa**, 1840 **Awan-Alaxsxa**, 1790 **Nagun-Alaxsxa**, 1778 (1833-) **Nawan-Alaxsxa(n)** 'Unalaska Island'.

The pronominal forms may have the syntactic function of a simple noun, e.g. A **akukus utikus** 'those over there are going down to the beach'; **wan sukuq** 'I

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took this one'; **waan sukungis** 'this one (the person by my side) took them'; **waan anĝaĝinangis** 'the people of this one (of this village)'. The abs.sg. is used also in reference to space or time, like a positional noun, e.g. **hingan ngus axchx̂ida** 'let me pass there (lit. that one)'; **ukan hnudaqadakux̂** 'he never comes in here (lit. this one in here) anymore'. Or they are used as determiners of nouns, with agreement in number and case, e.g. A **wan ukinax̂ tayakuq** 'I bought this knife'; **waan tayaĝum aguqaa** 'this man (by my side) built it'; **ikakus ayagas qasikus** 'the women over there (across the bay) are fishing'; in late Atkan the forms tend to be shortened to **wa(n)**, **ika(n)**, etc., without distinction of case or number.

With the enclitic negation **+ulax** the abs.sg. has in Atkan the additional nominal suffix -(**i**)**ĝ-** (**-x̂**, see 2.1.1.1.1.), e.g. 1860- **hinganiĝulax** 'not that one', rel. **hingaanulax**.

The pronominal forms also admit possessive suffixes, apparently more freely in Atkan (1979-) than in Eastern (Eun 1982-), with number and case agreement of the combined suffixes, e.g. A, E **waning** 'this one of mine', pl. **wakuning** 'these ones of mine'; A **hinganiin** 'that one of yours', rel. **hingaanimis**, pl. **hingakut** (or archaic **hiikut**); A **hingakut agiitakux̂** 'he was together with those of his' (in a free text); A **ayagamis hinganii** 'that one of your wife (e.g. her kit)', rel. **ayagamis hingaanigan** (En only **ayagamin maayuu**, rel. **maayugan**, see 2.1.2.2.).

They admit certain derivative suffixes as well, so at least in Atkan, also with agreement of the pronominal and the final number and case suffixes, e.g. A 1973 **hamanilĝux̂** 'that big one', rel. **hamaanilĝum**, pl. **hamakulĝus**; 1837 **ataqakus wakuhlis aluĝis** 'just this one book'; 1860 **hamaniiguzax̂** 'that very one' (John 13.13), **hamaniiguzax̂ tununax̂** 'that very prophet' (John 6.14), **hiikuugizas** 'these very things' (John 16.3).

2.1.7.4. Adverbial cases

locative E **-ngun**, A 1838-1862 **-ngus**, 1840- **-ng**, Au 1909 **-ngu**, 1909- **-ng**
ablative E -**Vgan**, A 1838-1860 -**Vga**, 1860- -**Vx**, Au 1909 -**Vga**, 1909- **-Vx**

E.g. loc. E **wangun**, A 1840-60 **wangus**, 1860- **wang**, Au 1909 **mangu**, 1909-52 **mang** 'here', abl. E **waagan**, A 1840 **waaga**, 1909- **waax**, Au 1909 **maaga**, 1952 **maax** 'from here; from now on'; loc. A 1909- **hakung** 'up there (aslant)', abl. E 1909- **akuugan**, A 1952- **hakuux**, Au 1909 **akuux** 'down from up there'. As in the pronominal du. and pl. (2.1.7.3.), the stems **hinga** and **hawa** have shorter variants in the locative, the latter also, in Atkan, in the ablative: loc. E 1804- **hiingun**, 1804-1909 also **hingangun**, A 1840 **hiingus,** 1840-60 **hingangus**, 1909- (also Au) **hiing**, 1971 **hingang** (rare); loc. E 1909- **aangun**, Ea 1909 **hawangun**, A 1840 **haangus**, 1860- **haang**, 1952 **hawang** (rare), abl. E 1909 **hawaagan**, A 1909- **hawaax**, 1950- **haax**. In the locative, too, eastern Eastern has **-gu-** from **-wa-**: Ea 1909 **agungun**, En 1950 **awangun**, A 1950 **awang** 'over there to the side'. The locative of the Attuan anaphoric **taga**, abl. **tagaax**, is **tuung**, perhaps from ***tagangun**.

With **-hli-** 'just, right' the locative is **-gan**, the ablative E **-gaagan**. A **-gaax**, e.g. **wahligan** 'here (as in this village), right here', abl. A **wahligaax** 'from here'; E

hingaligan, A **hingahligan** 'right there (where you are, etc.)', abl. E 1832- (only example) **hingaligaagan**, A 1860- **hingahligaax** 'from right there; at once, right away, suddenly'.

As in the case of the positional nouns (2.1.6.1.), a demonstrative locative may indicate a position at the referent as well as a motion to the referent, and the ablative a motion from as well as along the referent, and like the pronominal forms the adverbial forms may be used alone or (in the case of the simple forms) in agreement with a following phrase with a positional noun, e.g. A 1952 (N.M. 3) **udang txin tungax̂s** 'getting a firm hold here' (107); **haax ayx̂al** 'travelling along there' (71); **hamang adum qalan changanax** '(the two men) entered into the bottom of the cave' (73); **hikang kiiĝuusim kangan** 'up there on top of the mountain' (17), **hakaax kiiĝuusimax kangagaan** 'down from the top of their mountain up there' (21).

2.1.7.5. Compounds with **had(a)-**

Like positional nouns in the simple relative singular (2.1.6.0.), most of the demonstratives are found as referents of **hadaa** 'direction of -', loc. **hadan**, abl. **hadaan, hadagaan**, in Atkan either with a lengthened stem vowel (perhaps a former pronominal rel.sg.) or, in a few cases, with loss of the stem vowel **-a**, in Eastern Aleut and Attuan mostly with contraction of the vowels (after loss of the initial **h-**), e.g. A 1952 **waa-hadaa huĝnaazal** 'it is warm in here'; **udaa-hadaa** 'the region around here', loc. **udaa-hadan**, **ud-hadan** 'over here'; **qakuu-hadan** (1973 **qakuudan** from E) 'in here'; E 1870 **hinga-hadan**, 1984 **ingaadan** '(from here) to there'; 1909 **akuudaa**, Au **akuuyaa** 'direction up from the seashore', loc. **akuudan**, Au **akuuya** 'away up'.

2.1.7.6. Deictic forms

Forms with the suffix **-y** are deictic of place or time, possibly anaphorically (3.1.3.2.). The attested forms are **way**, **umay**, **hingay** (later E **ingay**), **haway** (later E **away**), **hamay**, e.g. A **way hitikux̂** '(look) he just went out'; **way Maksiim qangukux̂** 'right now Max came in'; **umay qangukux̂** 'now he is (heard) coming in'; E 1909 **Ingay ingaligan ulaakalĝisxalix ax̂sxaqax** 'Then they were put in the burial hut over there' (J 34:67); **Malix away qagaanuq(a)linax̂** 'So then he went eastward' (J 34:162).

Most of the demonstratives are found with the expanded suffix **-ya-** (possibly **a-**'be) with anaphoric 3A suffixes, sg. E **-ya** (shortened), A **-yaa**, Au **-ya(a)**, du. **-yakix**, pl. E **-yangin**, A **-yangis**. Such forms are used for presentation, alone or with specification of the place or referent, possibly a verbal phrase, and also together with another demonstrative form, e.g. A **ikuyangis** 'right over there (aside) they are'; **hikayangis qixyam kugan** 'they are up there, on the shelf'; **wayangis aniqduning** 'these here are my children'; **hingayaa tanĝix̂ kugan mayaaĝzaqaa** 'that one (you see there) is the island where he used to trap (foxes)'; En 1909 **wayangin imin aagayuuĝnaaĝikuning** 'here are the cormorants I caught for you'

(J 43:18); A **wayaa wang akux̂** ‘it is right here (you see)’; Eu 1910 **Uknungn** (< **uknangun**) **uknaya ulax̂ akux̂** ‘A little way below here (you see) is a house’ (J 15:54). They may also be used anaphorically, in reference to a presented term, e.g. A **Saĝuugax̂, hamayaa qawa(m) tanaa** ‘S. (an island), that’s a sea lion rookery’; Eu 1910 **Ingan ludaaĝix̂ ayagax̂ ingaya nung taĝax̂taasaangan aĝikung** ‘That older woman there, that’s the one I’ll be trying (to get)’ (J 17:143); En 1909 **laan kayux umniin kamayakix asx̂asxakux** ‘your son and your sister’s son, they are gone, were both killed’ (J 46:21). See further 3.1.3.3..

There may also be an enclitic negation: A 1971 **hingayaĝulaa** (for ***hingayaa(y)ulax**) **hingay agach** ‘it’s not that one but that one (the other one)’. With **-hli-,** E **-li-** ‘just, only’: **wayalingin imin aluĝasakuning** ‘this is all I write to you this time’ (J 39:71).

The following forms have a sg. 3R suffix in reference to the time: **wayaam** ‘now, today, nowadays’, **wayahliim**, E **wayaliim** ‘right now; still now’, E **wayasaaĝuum**, A **wayazaaĝuum** ‘recently, not long ago’; without **-ya-**: E **amaliim**, A **hamahliim** ‘long time ago’.

2.1.7.7. Verbal forms

Demonstratives take the verbal suffix **-ma-** ‘to do like -, to do -’ and derivatives, notably **-maasa-** ‘to be like - to’, **-mat-** ‘to do -’, **-mata-** ‘to be or do like -’. The attested stems are I (all), II **ika**, **iku,** III, IV **saka**, **ukna**, V **qaga**, and **kama**. **wama-** ‘to do like this; to do (be) here, now’, attested as such in A 1840-, En 1978, in Eastern has generally become **guma-**, also borrowed into Atkan, in Attuan **manga-** by dissimilation from ***mama-**. Likewise E (and A 1950-) **haguma-**, **aguma-**, A 1860- **hawama-** (Au **tagama**) ‘to do there or so’.

The forms are used, in the first place, as simple predicates or, more commonly, as auxiliaries with the conjunctive or intentional (3.8.1.2.), e.g. E **ingamaqadada**, A **hingamaqadaax̂t** ‘quit doing that’ (said to a child); Ea **kamamatakux̂** ‘where is he?’; A **ichingul hingamax̂t?** ‘do you feel chilly?’; Au 1909**... mal, haqal mangakuq** ‘..., that’s why I have come’ (J 82:37); A **qanan tanax̂ al sakaax kuuĝal sakamax̂ saka** ‘which island is (the one) emerging out there?’ (reported saying about Kasatochi Island emerging); A **qanaanuumis hingamax̂t** ‘where are you going?’. The derivatives **-mat-**, **-mata-** are used also, in the conjunctive, as a modal specification of a following predicate, e.g. A **hingamas hitikux̂** ‘he just went out like that’, **hingamatal hitikux̂** ‘he went out in that way’. Like other verbs, demonstrative verbs also have nominal uses, e.g. A 1860 **hingamax̂ malgadax̂** ‘so it is’, lit. ‘being like that is usually done’ (Luke 12.54), **hingamatam qunĝumaalinangis** ‘wonders of that sort, such wonders’ (Mark 6.2).

2.1.7.8. Relational nouns

Like positional nouns (see 2.1.6.3.2.), many demonstratives have forms with the suffix **-uuĝi-**, used mostly in the simple abs.sg. as preposed determiners, and (in Attuan variant **-uuĝiqa-**) with 3A suffixes and a preceding referent in the relative case, also with a locative in **-gan** and an ablative in **-gaan**, e.g. **waaĝi-**, Au **maaĝi-** 'the nearest, on this side' (in Attuan also used as a noun, J 82:12), E **waaĝix̂ ulax̂** 'the nearest house', **ulam waaĝii** 'this side of the house', loc. A **waaĝigan** 'on this side of it'; A 1840 **ukaaĝix̂ ulaa** 'its (ship's) cabin, lit. interior house', E **ulam ukaaĝii** 'the interior of the house', Au 1909 **chunguum ukaaĝiqagan iling** 'inside her nest' (J 81:12); A abl. **hikuuĝigaan** 'from farther up from it'.

2.1.7.9. Verbal derivatives

The following suffixes are largely shared by demonstratives and positional nouns, cf. 2.1.6.3.

2.1.7.9.1. **-ngudaĝ-**, Au **-nguyaĝ-** 'to move in - direction'

E.g. A **wangudax̂s** 'to come this way', petrified 3A loc. E, A **wangudaĝan**, Au **manguyax̂** 'in this direction, toward here'.

The suffix is derived from the adverbial locative (see 2.1.7.4.). It corresponds with **-mudaĝ-** added to a positional noun (2.1.6.3.3.).

2.1.7.9.2. **-uunu-** 'to go, move -ward'

E.g. **waanu-** 'to be on the way here'; with suffix **-usa-** A **hawaanuusazaningulax hawa** 'I never take them out there'; participial use A **tugimaĝim akaanugan huzuugizaa** 'all of the beach going out there, out all along the beach' (N.M. 3:21).

2.1.7.9.3. **-uuĝa-** 'to come to, get at, arrive to'

E.g. **waaĝa-**, Au **maaĝa-** 'to come here, arrive here; to come back'; with suffix **-usa-** E, A **waaĝaasa-** 'to bring here; to bring back'; with suffix **-t-** A **txin waaĝatikux̂** 'he came back here (a short time ago)'.

2.1.7.9.4. **-uutxa-** 'to be very or too -ward'

E.g. **waatxakux̂** 'it is near, close to me/us'; suffix **-t-** A 1860 **txin waatxatikux̂** '(the kingdom of God) has come near' (Mark 1.15); verbal noun A **agaatxax̂** 'way over there', A 1860 **isxam sakaatxagan ilan** 'in the lowest place' (Luke 14.9); loc. Ea **ukaatxan** 'far inside'; defective demonstrative **ama-**: **amaatxa-** 'to be far', E **tanam amaatxaa** 'a distant land', A 1860 **amaatxam ilugaan** 'from far off', E, A loc. **amaatxan** 'far away', abl. **amaatxaan** 'from far, far off'.

2.1.7.9.5. E **-hlita-**, **-lta-**, A **-hlix̂ta-** 'to go to, pay a visit to'

E.g. E **wahlita-**, **walita-**, A **wahlix̂ta-** 'to pay a visit here'; Eb 1984 **ingaan agalaan ingaltanĝulting** 'after that I did not go there'. Also E **ukalĝalta-** 'to pay a visit in here' from **ukalĝa(n)** (2.1.7.10.3.).

2.1.7.10. Other derivatives

2.1.7.10.1. -**Vng** ' - quantity'

E **hingaang asax̂** 'so much, so many'; **hamaang asax̂** 'that many'. Cf. **qanaang** 'how many' (2.1.8.3.) and **chaang** 'five', etc. (2.1.5.1.).

2.1.7.10.2. **-nga-** 'the - side'

Found only with a few stems, partly without deixis (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. 539), e.g. **aganga-** 'the other side', loc. A **chiĝanam agangan** (= **agaaĝigan**) 'on/ to the other side of the river'; **awanga-** E 'to take around', loc. **awangan** 'around (embracing); behind; A beyond', abl. E **awangaan**, A **awangagaan** 'around; A from beyond'; **qiganga-** 'east side; head part (of animal)', **nangaa** 'the west cape of (Atka)'. Former demonstratives in the place names **Qawangax̂** (beach on Unalaska), **Ugangax̂** (Ugamak Island).

2.1.7.10.3. **-lĝ-a** 'the settled place -'

ukalĝa, rel. **ukalĝan** 'the village in here, this village; the bay (with the village) in here', loc. **ukalĝan**, abl. E **ukalĝaagan**, A **ukalĝaax**. Found in a number of place names (villages, village sites), listed in *Aleut Dictionary* p. 520, including three with former demonstratives: **Qawalĝa** (Kavalga Island, Delarof Islands), **Ugalĝa** (Egg Island, Unalaska), **Samalĝa** (Samalga Island, Umnak). In modern Eastern the rel. or loc. **-lĝan** is used also as an absolutive.

2.1.7.11. General observations.

In the course of time, the set of demonstratives has been reduced, as seen also from 2.1.7.10.2-3. above. In Eastern Aleut, as mentioned in 2.1.7.0., the loss of the initial **h-** resulted in the merger of fields II and III. At Atka, all the stems tabulated in 2.1.7.1. were known in the 1950's but by 1971 the following had become obsolete: **inga**, **awa**, **haga**, **ukna**, **una**. In Attuan 1909, the initial **h-** of III may have been partly lost, in 1952 possibly reintroduced from Atkan, and IV **ukna** and V A are not attested; **qaku**, for example, has been replaced by **(h)aku**, e.g. **(h)akuun ula(m) qalagaan** 'from the rear of the house', **akuunul** 'to go into the other room', A **qakuunul**. Details are found in *Aleut Dictionary*.

Basically, the demonstratives are oriented in relation to the speaker. So also in reported speech, where the speaker is represented by the referent of a 3R suffix, e.g. A 1952... **udan sitxiin akalil aguu ...** 'when he (the other man) began to pass there (lit. here) below him (the reported speaker)' (N.M. 3:74, likewise 76); similarly Au 1909 **umak(u) anakin haqaku tutal** 'hearing those (lit. these) parents of his coming' (J 81:18).

With derivatives, the orientation may be turned to an object, e.g. A 1952 **hyaagax̂ agitaadaam kugan iikaanukux̂** 'the (one) log lies crosswise on the other (lit. its fellow)', cf. **ikaanul** 'to go over there (e.g. across the bay)'. With the proper deixis lost, many derivatives of demonstratives have become ordinary nouns or verbs, e.g. A **hagaaĝis** pl. 'upper teeth; mustache', cf. **hagaaĝix̂ husix̂** 'the upper jaw' (vs.

unaaĝix̂ husix̂), **hagakus** 'those up there (in a row or on a line)'; **qakuutxa-** 'to be deep (as of bay, den, bag)'. Thus the demonstratives constitute a large part of the Aleut lexicon.

All the demonstratives have a natural local or positional application, with varying ranges. I A **uka**, for example, may refer to the room within which the speaker is sitting, or to the bay within which his house is located, and **uda** may refer to the floor of his room or to his island, etc.: A 1950 **udang aĝada** 'put it here (at my feet, on the floor)', **udan Atx̂ax̂** 'this (island) Atka, Atka here (where we are)'. Thus field V has or had a domestic as well as a cosmic application, e.g. A **qaka** 'out there (outside of the house)', **qakaax** 'from out there', **qakaax ax̂tax̂** 'east wind'; **qaga** 'outside; east', **qagaaĝix̂** 'outer (1840); eastern, east', in the cosmic application opposed to the defective **na-** 'west, southwest' (also vs. **qiga-**): **naaĝix̂** 'western', E **naagan** 'from the west', etc. (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. 279 f.). The cosmic perspective is here the rising and setting sun, while the north-south axis goes with the positional nouns (2.1.6.0.).

A few demonstratives have also a temporal application, e.g. E, A **wan angalix̂**, Au **ma angalix̂** 'this day, today', A 1860 also **uman angalix̂** 'this (invisible) day'; A **akan slux̂** 'last year', E **akuu(n) slum ilan** '(in) last year' (II 2. "longitudinally"), E, A **ikun slux̂** 'next year' (II 1 "transversally"), E **ikun tugidax̂**, A **ingaaĝix̂ tugidax̂** 'next month'.

Demonstratives III C-D very frequently refer anaphorically to an utterance, or to common knowledge, while I D **uma** may refer cataphorically, e.g. A **hingaan aslaan** 'at that (just-mentioned) time'; **hawan ayagax̂** 'that (well-known) woman'; E **aman lax̂** 'that (before-mentioned) boy' (J 51:5); E 1870 **umaya kangtakungin**, A 1860 **umay kangtakuu** 'this (as follows) is what it means' (Mark 3.17). The adverbial ablative of the latter three serve also as more abstract generalizers, e.g. A 1952 **hagumatal hawaax hiisax̂tal ...** 'going on like that' (N.M. 3:5, etc.); E 1870 **Farisiiyan iliin (h)amaagan ngiin hiisaqangin** 'someone of the Pharisees said to them' (Luke 6.2, A 1860 similarly); A 1952 **hamaax anaĝim qalgadaĝanaa** 'anything had for food' (N.M. 1:8); **umaax ilan adaaĝanamax huzugan ilan** 'wherever they came ashore' (N.M. 3:10). The Eastern demonstratives with an initial **n-** and the Attuan ones with an initial **t-** seem to be, or have been, anaphoric only, e.g. En 1910 **qugax̂ ninga txin sakaax̂tikux̂** 'that (just-mentioned) demon has come down onto the floor' (J 48:38); Au 1909 ... **qiyanax̂ uuyax̂tal taga**, E **qidanax̂ ax̂takux̂ nawa**. 'he (the man introduced at the beginning of the story) cried, so the story goes.' (J 84:11); Au 1909 **tama hungii**, E **aman uhngii** 'that (mentioned) sister of his' (J 86/58:3).

Aspects A 'delimited' and B 'extended' are relatively straightforward; the distinctions of angle in A are of course missing in B. C 'motional' includes reference to something moving as well as motion in relation to the referent and may involve differences of number, e.g. A 1950 **furaaskiin chux̂takux̂ hinga** 'he has his cap on (you see)' vs. **furaaskidix chux̂takus hawa** 'they have their caps on'. As for D 'invisible', I **uma** refers to something sensed without being seen, III **hama** rather to something hidden, e.g. A 1952 **achunakux̂ uma** 'it is blowing now (I feel chilly)'; **alqum ilgaĝii umamakux̂ uma** 'what smell is in here'; **hamang akux̂ hama** 'it is behind there (as on the other side of the hill)'. The simple D II, functionally outside the demonstrative system, is a conjunction: **ama** (E also **hama**) 'or (mostly E); and (mostly A)'.

Eastern **kama**, indicating unspecified absence, in a sense is opposed to the rest of the system and verges on interrogation, e.g. Ea 1910 **kamakun alan ukux̂takiniin ingaaĝaqatxin ukux̂talakan** 'not seeing those whales he had seen on the way there' (J 17:150); Ea 1974 **kamamatakux̂ kaman lang lakusang kamaya** 'where is he (what is he doing), where is my son, my dear son' (song in story).

2.1.8. Interrogatives

The four interrogatives with their derivatives listed below match the major word classes. In direct quotations, they have the same place as the term or phrase called for in the answer, e.g. (Atkan) **Kiin Piitrax̂ kidul?** 'Who is helping Peter?' — **Paavilax̂ Piitrax̂ kidukux̂.** 'Paul is helping Peter'; **Piitrax̂ kiin kidul?** 'Who is Peter helping?' — **Piitrax̂ Paavilax̂ kidukux̂** 'Peter is helping Paul'. They are used also in reported ones, embedded under **ahmat-**, **ahmayaaĝ-** 'to ask' (3.15.4.), and, partly, under **anuxta-** 'to think', **hiisax̂ta-** 'to say' (3.15.3.). To a very limited extent, to be noted below, interrogatives have also an indefinite use.

2.1.8.1. **alqu-**, Au **aqu-** 'what, what kind, what part; to be what, to be how, to do what'

As indicated, this stem matches ordinary nouns (2.1.1.) and intransitive verbs (2.1.9.), e.g. A **alqux̂ hinga** 'what's that?' (possible answer **quganax̂ hinga** 'that's a rock'); **alquchxizax̂ hinga** 'what nice thing is that?'; **alqux̂ ax̂ hinga** 'what is s/he?' (**uchiitilax̂ akux̂ hinga** 's/he is a teacher'); **alqus hix̂tal hingamax̂t** 'what are you saying?'; **alqum kikaa** 'what bit him?' (e.g. a dog); **alqum sunaa anax̂** 'what kind of ship was it?' (e.g. *Navy*-**m sunaa** 'a Navy ship'); **sunam alquu six̂s** 'what part of the ship broke?'; **alquun aq** 'what (kind of relative) am I to you?'; **alqul hingamax̂t** 'what is it with you?'; E **wayaam alqukux̂txin** 'what have you done today?'; **alquumin aqanax̂txin** 'what did you come here for?'; A **alqul haqanaĝulax̂t** 'why (doing what) didn't you come?'; **alqukum uqitlakan hamamax̂** 'why doesn't he come back?', **ayagagan alqukum uqitlakan hamamatal anuxtaqaa** 'his wife wondered ("thought") why he didn't come back'.

Important derivatives: **alquusa-** 'to do what with (something)', e.g. A **alquusaamis aluĝasazat** 'why (in order to do what with them) do you write them (words) ?'; **alqut-**, **alqusix** '(doing) how?', E also 'somehow'; **alquta-**, Au **aquta-** 'like what; E, Au what (= **alqu-**); to be what, to be how, to do how', e.g. E **waya alqutax̂**, Au **maya aqutax̂** 'what is this?'; A 1860 **tunum alqutax̂ iĝayunaasangis** 'what strange words!' (lit. words awful with what, like what) (John 6.60); A **alqutam chixtii**, Au **aqutam ulaa** 'what (animal)'s den?'; E **alqutax̂txin**, Au **aqutat** 'what are you?', A **alqutat** 'how are you, how do you feel?'.

2.1.8.2. **kiin** abs. and rel., du. **kiinkux**, pl. E **kiinkun**, A **kiinkus** 'who?'

This is a strictly personal pronoun, corresponding ultimately with a personal name (cf. 2.1.1.4.3.) or the "demonstrative of speech" **tx(i)- / ti-** (2.1.2.1.), e.g. A **kiin hinga** 'who is that?', **kiinkus hinga** 'who are those?'; E **kiin txin**, Au 1909 **kiin tin**, A **kiin ax̂t** 'who are you?'; E, Au **kiin ulaa** 'whose house?' ; A **kiin aguqaa** 'who has built it?'. Note A **kiin asax̂tax̂t** (likewise E) 'what is your name?', lit. 'whom to you have as name(sake) ?'; modern A also **alqux̂ asax̂tax̂t**, probably an Anglicism. In an old Atkan song (V B 1:10) **kiin** is used in the indefinite sense of 'somebody, anybody'.

2.1.8.3. **qana-** 'where, which'

Together with its various forms and derivatives this stem matches formally the demonstratives (2.1.7.). The apparent stem form E 1791 **qana** 'where?', however, is not confirmed by later data.

2.1.8.3.1. Pronominal forms

Sg. abs. **qanan**, rel. **qanaan**; pl. E **qanakun**, A **qanakus**, e.g. A **qanan ilakiin alakat, wan asxuunulax hingan** 'which one of them do you want, this one or that one?'; **qanakus kamlixtat** 'which ones did you shoot at?'; **qanan tanax̂ hinga** 'which island is that?'; E 1870 (A 1860) **qanaan chasam (chasim) ilan** 'at which hour'; **qanan akiitalix** 'until when, how long'; A **qanan axsit** 'where did you pass?'. Note the serial meaning in A **qanan azax̂ isux̂** 'how many seals', lit. "being repeatedly (-**za**-) which seal".

Forms with a possessive suffix: A 1981 **maamax̂ agiichigaan txin kumsil txin qingul aguun, qananiin qinguzax̂** 'when mom sometimes take you (baby) up and kisses you, where on you does she kiss you?'; **qananimis** (or **qanaanimis**) **kugan txin anul** 'where (on which part of you) did he hit you?'; **qanakut akus nanal** 'which places on you are aching?'.

Forms with an emotional suffix: A 1973 **qananichxizax̂ suuĝnaq** 'what nice thing am I going to take (later)'; ... **qanaanichxizam hadan ting huyaalaaĝutaaax̂s anuxtanax̂ akuqaang ...** when I wondered to which nice place they (the military) were going to take me again' (ironical use).

2.1.8.3.2. Adverbial cases

locative E **qanangun**; A 1791-1860 **qanangus**, 1860- **qanang**; Au 1909 **qanangu**, 1952 **qanang** 'where?'
ablative E **qanaagan**, A, Au **qanaax** 'from where'

E.g. E 1804 **qanangun akux̂txin** 'where are you?'; A, Au **qanaax haqat** 'where do you come from?'. Indefinite: E 1805 **qanangunulux** 'nowhere'. With **-hli-**, E **-li-**: E 1819 **qanaligan kama** 'but where is he?'; A loc. **qanahligan** 'where?', abl. **qanahligaax** 'from where?'.

2.1.8.3.3. A **qanaa-hadaa** 'which direction?', abl. 1838 **qanaadagaan**, 1860 **qanhadagaan** 'whence?'.

2.1.8.3.4. Deictic forms

The properly deictic forms are supplied by **qaata-**, see 2.1.8.4. Formally, only the following form belongs here: **qanayaam**, A 1860 also **qanayiim**'when?', cf. **wayaam**, **wayahliim** (2.1.7.6.).

2.1.8.3.5. **qanamat-**, **qanamasix** 'doing in which way, how?'; A **qanamata-**'to be or do how, of what kind', e.g. 1860 **qanamatalix hilazat** 'how do you read them?' (Luke 10.26); 1862 **achixaasim qanamatangis** 'what (kind of) teachings?'.

2.1.8.3.6. **qanaaĝix̂** 'which one; which side', e.g. E 1833 **aalax ilkiin qanaaĝix̂ taqachx̂iiqing** 'which one of the two shall I release?'; A 1977 **tanĝim qanaaĝii agit** 'on which side of the islet did you pass?'

2.1.8.3.7. Verbal derivatives

qanangudax̂six 'to go where, in which direction', **qanangudaĝan** 'where, in which direction', e.g. A 1860 **qanangudaĝiimis**, E 1870 **qanangudaĝan huyakux̂txin** 'where are you going?' (John 16.5).

qanaanu- 'to go where, in which direction'

qanaaĝa- 'to be where now', Ek 1982 **qagaat(ing) maamang qanaaĝaax̂taa** (dubitative) 'well, where could mom be now?'.

qanaatxa- E 'to be how far?', A 'to be close to which side?'.

E 1804 **qanalix̂talitxin** 'where have you been?'.

2.1.8.3.8. **qanaang** 'how many'', **qanaangidim** 'how many times?', A 1840 **qanaangilus** 'how many?' match the numerals (2.1.5.).

2.1.8.4. **qaata-** (A, Au also **qata-**) 'where is - ?'

Taking 3A suffixes, this stem matches the deictic demonstratives (2.1.7.6.), e.g. A **qaatangis** 'where are they?'; **qaataa hlang** 'where is my son?' (possible answer: **akayaa qasikux̂** 'he is over there fishing'); **ayagaan qaataa** 'where is your wife?'; E 1909 **qaataa tayaĝungin** 'where are his people?', **qaatangin tayaĝungin** 'where are their people?'.

The following forms are indefinite: E 1834 **qaatam-adaan** 'everywhere, anywhere', A 1860 **qaatax hadakin** 'on each side' (John 19.18); A 1860-**qaatamudaĝan** 'in every direction'. The ablative with possessive suffixes (3A sg. **qaatagaan**, etc.) is a positional noun, meaning 'except, besides, other than'.

2.1.8.5. The interrogative particle

E **hi(i)'**, **ii'** (' = glottal stop), A, Au **ii**, with a rising tone (**?**), marks a yes-no question and may come last in the sentence, marking the whole sentence as interrogative, or after any other term put in question, having everywhere the rising tone, e.g. A **Qilagan Piitrax̂ hlax̂ tugal saĝanax̂ ii?** 'Did Peter knock the boy yesterday (or maybe he did not)?'; **Qilagan Piitrax̂ hlax̂ tugal ii? saĝanax̂.** 'Did Peter really knock the boy yesterday (or maybe just scolded him)?'; **Qilagan Piitrax̂ hlax̂ ii? tugal saĝanax̂.** 'Was it the boy (or somebody else) that Peter knocked yesterday?'; **Qilagan Piitrax̂ ii? hlax̂ tugal saĝanax̂.** 'Was it Peter (or somebody else) who knocked the boy yesterday?'; **Qilagan ii? Piitrax̂ hlax̂ tugal saĝanax̂.** 'Was it yesterday (or some other day) that Peter knocked the boy?'.

Questions with one of the interrogatives listed above have the same intonation as a declarative sentence. With a final particle with rising tone the question becomes a question about the question, e.g. A **Kiin haqal ii?** 'Who came? (is that your question?)'.

2.1.9. Verbs

2.1.9.0. Introduction

Verbs differ from nouns by having mood/tense suffixes. The so-called General (2.1.9.3.1.), however, is unmarked, and many stems are ambivalent (see 2.2.1.1.).

Like nominal stems (2.1.1.2.), a verbal stem may end in a short vowel or in a consonant: a velar or uvular fricative, a labial nasal, or **-t-**, which alternates with **-ch-** or **-s-** before the initial vowel of certain mood/tense suffixes (1.3.3.). Before certain mood/tense suffixes a consonant stem has an auxiliary vowel, which in the later language has largely become a stem vowel (1.3.4.1., cf. 2.1.1.2.1.), or a mood/tense suffix may have a postvocalic and a postconsonantal variant (separated by | below; cf. 1.3.4.3-4.).

Most of the verbal forms may come at the end of a sentence final (main) clause as well as at the end of a non-final (subordinate) one; some of them are used also in phrases with certain auxiliary verbs (2.1.9.10.3.; 3.8.). Two moods (2.1.9.6. Imperative and 2.1.9.7. Prohibitive) occur only in a final clause, while two other ones (2.1.9.8. Anterior and 2.1.9.9. Conditional) are primarily non-final.

In general, verbs with a fully specified or no complement are marked for the subject only, while a double marking includes anaphoric reference to a 3.p. complement (see 3.2. ff.). In many cases a simple subject is marked by a number suffix (2.1.1.1.1) or an enclitic pronoun (2.1.2.1.2.), while the anaphoric reference is marked by possessive suffixes (2.1.1.1.2-3.). In other cases there are special suffixes (including possessive ones) for the subject and/or for the anaphoric complement.

The negation is in some cases suffixal, preceding or combining with the mood/tense suffix, in other cases enclitic, possibly followed by the enclitic subject pronoun.

In certain cases, to be discussed in the syntax, a non-final verbal form has in addition an enclitic dative: a 3A form of the positional noun **i-** (2.1.6.1.3.), sg. **+(ng)aan**, Au **+aa**, **+ anaa**, du. **+ikin**, pl. **+(ng)iin**.

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2.1.9.1. -(**i**)**ku**-, neg. -**lakaĝ**- (late A -**laka**-) Present

E.g. **asx̂a-kux̂** 'he/it died', **asx̂a-lakax̂** 'did not die'; **ayug-ikux̂** 'he went out (in his boat)', **ayug-lakax̂** 'he did not go out'; (**tayaĝux̂**) **asx̂at-ikux̂** 'he killed (the man)', E **asx̂alakax̂** (deletion of **t** before **l**), A **asx̂at-lakax̂** 'he did not kill (the man)'.

Present forms are used as (1) sentence final predicates, (2) non-final (subordinate) predicates, (3) referent, in the relative case, of certain positional nouns.

2.1.9.1.1. Sentence final predicates

Forms with a subject marker only

	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	**-ku-x̂**	**-ku-x**	E, Au **-ku-n**, A **-ku-s**
1.p.	E **-ku-qing** A, Au **-ku-q**	= pl.	-"-
2.p.	E **-ku-x̂-txin**	**-ku-x̂-txidix**	E **-ku-x̂-txichi(n)**
	A **-kux̂t**, Au **-kut**	Au **-kutiyix**	A **-kux̂txichix**
			Au **-kutichi**
3.p.	**-lakax̂**	**-lakaĝix**	E **-lakaĝin**
		A also **-lakax**	A **-lakaĝis**, **-lakas**
1.p.	E **-lakaqing**	= pl.	-"-
	A, Au **-lakaq**		
2.p.	E **-lakax̂-txin**	**-lakax̂-txidix**	E **-lakax̂-txichi(n)**
	A **-lakax̂t**		A **-lakax̂txichix**

Forms with anaphoric reference to a complement (3.p.)

subject I anaph. sg.		du.	pl.
3A	**-kuu** (**-ku-a**)	**-kukix**	E, Au **-kungin**
			A **-kungis**
1.p.sg.	**-kung**	E **-kuking**	**-kuning**
		A **-kuk**	
2.p.sg.	**-kuun**	**-kukin**	E **-kutxin**
			A, Au **-kut**

anaph. sg./du./pl,

1.p. du-pl.. (E passive) A **-kumas**, **-kungin**, **-kungis**, Au **-kungin**

2.p.du. **-kudix**, Au **-kuyix**

2.p.pl. E **-kuchi(n)**, A **-kuchix**, Au **-kuchi(x)**

	anaph. sg.	du.	pl.
3A	**-lakaĝa**	(not attested)	E **-lakaĝ(i)ngin**
	late A **-lakaa**		A **-lakaĝis**, **-laka(ĝi)ngis**
1.p.sg.	**-lakaĝing**	A **-lakaĝik**	**-lakaĝning**
	late A **-lakang**		
2.p.sg.	**-lakaĝiin**		A **-lakaĝit**
	old A **-lakaĝin**, late **-lakaan**		

	anaph. sg./du./pl.
1.p.du-pl.	A **-lakaĝmas**, Au **-lakaĝingin**
2.p.pl.	A **-lakax̂chix**

In general, a statement in the grammatical present refers to a state-of-affairs that obtains (or does not obtain) at the time of speech, or to a process or an event that takes place (or does not take place) at the time of speech, or took place (or did not take place) a short time before the act of speech, e.g. **ulax̂ quhmakux̂** 'the house is white'; **ulax̂ tagadalakax̂** 'the house is old (lit. not new)'; **adang saĝakux̂** 'my father is sleeping'; A **Viirax̂ hilalakax̂** 'Vera is not reading (but doing something else)'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝakux̂** 'Peter is coming back' or 'Peter just came back'; **Piitrax̂ asxux̂ sukux̂** 'Peter is taking a/the nail' or 'Peter took the nail (right now)'; **Piitram sukuu** 'Peter took it (right now)'; Eu 1910 **aaliisimin ilan alax̂ imin kasukuqing** 'I have found a whale for you in your harbor' (J 35:52); Eu 1909 **maarsalam waaĝaqaa nidilim ilan txin aaĝatalakaĝim miigum boochukangin adaam aglakux̂** 'the marshal who came her has for a week without interruption been hauling barrels of beer to his place' (J 38:8).

The present is compatible with derivational suffixes such as E **-saaĝu-**, A **-zaaĝu-** 'recently, a while ago'. With certain other derivational suffixes and in certain phrases it refers to a near future (3.8.1.3.1. and 3.). It is compatible also with the counter-factual particle **kum** (2.1.10.4.), e.g. A **Piitrax̂ kum ting kidukux̂** 'Peter would have helped me (now, but he is not here)'.

In Eastern, and in Atkan influenced by Eastern, the present can be used also in a question, e.g. Ea 1910 "**Ingaya umning ax̂takux̂txin hi?**" 'Are you my nephew then (**-x̂ta-** inferential: judging from what you say) ?' (J 15:49); A (E) **ukukuun?** 'did you find it (right now)?' In Atkan, and frequently also in Eastern, a question referring to the present time or to the near past is put in the conjunctive (2.1.9.2.) or in the general (2.1.9.3.1.)

2.1.9.1.2. Non-final predicate

The forms listed above are used also in various non-final constructions to be discussed in the syntax, including 2.p. forms used as 3R (cf. 2.1.1.1.3. and 2.1.2.1.1-2.; E 3R pl. ***-kux̂-txidin** not attested). The time reference is then shifted from the time of speech to that of the following clause.

There are also simple relative forms, sg. **-kum**, **-lakaĝim**, du. and pl. like abs., used in coreference with a following 3.p. subject (3.11.1.1., etc.), e.g. A **anqax̂takum haqaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'he went away but will come back'.

Forms with the enclitic **+ngaan** etc. are 3.p.sg. **-kuĝaan** (Au **-kuĝaa**, **-kuĝanaa**), **-lakaĝaan**, du. **-kugikin**, pl. E **-kuniin**, A **-kuziin** (late **-kuzaan**), **-lakaĝiziin**; 1.p.sg. E **-kuqingaan**, A 1860 also **-kuqaan**, later **-kuqaang**, Au **-kuqaa**; 2.p. and 3R sg. E **-kux̂txinaan**, A **-kux̂taan**, **-lakax̂taan**, Au **-kutaan**, du. **-kux̂txidigaan**, Au **-kutiyigaan**, pl. A **-kux̂txichigaan**; 3A sg. **-kuungaan**, sg.1.p.sg. **-kungaan**, etc.

In the following construction (3.8.1.4.3.3.) the negation is enclitic, as of a participle (cf. 2.1.9.3): A 1862 **maaka-kuu-yulax aĝulax akux̂** '(God) is omnipotent, lit. one for whom there is not what he is not able to do'.

2.1.9.1.3. Referent of positional nouns

As the referent in the relative case of certain positional nouns the present has possessive suffixes for the subject like participles (3.14.4.4.), e.g. Ea 1910 **sanakuum ilan idgix̂talix** 'running as fast as he could, lit. in his being equal to' (J 13:42); A **waaĝakumchix agalagaan** 'after you came back'; A 1860 **hamaan anĝa idax̂talakaĝmax qulaan** 'because of their knowing his voice' (John 10.4).

2.1.9.2. **-lix** | **-six**, A, Au **-l** | **-s**, neg. **-lakan** Conjunctive

E.g. **asx̂a-lix, -l** 'dying', **asx̂a-lakan** 'not dying'; **ayux-six, -s** 'going out (in a boat)', **ayug-lakan** 'not going out'; **asx̂asix, asx̂as** (deletion of **t** before **s**), late **asx̂ati-lix, -l** 'killing', E **asx̂alakan** (deletion of **t** before **l**), A **asx̂at-lakan** 'not killing'.

The conjunctive admits neither simple number suffixes nor possessive suffixes. Anaphoric complements are marked by the suffixes sg. **-ka**, E and late A also **-kan**, du. **-kix**, pl. E **-kin**, A **-kis**. Before them, the conjunctive suffix is reduced to **-l-** or zero | **-s-** :

Eastern sg. 1778-1860 **-lka**, 1833-60 **-ka** | 1838-1909 **-sxa**, 1791- **-kan** | 1909 **-sxan**, du. 1870- **-kix** | 1870 **-sxix**, pl. 1833-39 **-lkin**, 1861 **-kin** | 1838 **-sxin**; neg. with deletion of the final **n**: sg. 1826-60 **-lakaka**, 1791- **-lakakan**, pl. 1838- **-lakakin**;

Atkan sg. 1780-1952 **-lka** | 1838-1952 **-sxa**, du. **-lkix**, pl. **-lkis** | **-sxis**, neg. sg. 1840-1952 **-lakanka**, pl. 1860 **-lakankis**; late A (from E) **-kan**, neg. **-lakakan** without distinction of number;

Attuan sg. **-ka**, du. **-kix**, pl. **-ki**, neg. **-lakaka**.

In sentence final position and before verbs of utterance and thought (with a different subject, 3.15.3.1.) a 1. or 2.p. subject of the simple conjunctive and the forms with a sg. anaphoric complement is marked by an enclitic pronoun, with deletion of a preceding **x** or **n**, e.g. Eastern 1834-1838 1.p.sg. **-liting**, 2.p.sg. **-litxin**, 1870- **-ltxin** | **-siting**, etc., neg. **-lakating**, etc.; Atkan with deletion of the **l** 1860- 1.p.sg. **-ting**, 2.p.sg. **-t** but **-siting**. **-sit**, neg. **-lakating**, **-lakat**, anaphoric sg. **-lkat**, **-lakankat**, late **-kating**, neg. **-lakakat**; Attuan like Atkan. The enclitic 1.p.pl. pronoun is known only from Atkan: 1860 **-timas**, 1979 **-tingis** (deletion of **l**). In forms with the anaphoric non-sg. **-ki-** a sg. subject is marked by the enclitic pronoun but a du. or pl. subject by a possessive suffix (the suffixal part of the pronoun): A 1950 2.p.sg. **-lkit**, du. **-lkidix**, pl. **-lkichix**, 1860 **-lakankichix**; E 1870 **-kichi**, but 1838 **-lakakitxichi** with the pronoun.

A statement in the conjunctive may indicate an ongoing activity or an act in progress, or may have the character of a performative, e.g. Ea 1910 "**Aang, angunasix txin qaĝaasalting. Ukung ulting. Wangun anqax̂tasigasiting.**" 'Yes, I thank you very much. I have reached my limit (lit. am reaching what I reached). I have been standing here for a long time." (J 17:153-155); "**Aang, uyung! txin qaangan aqalting.**" 'Well, my brother! now I come to eat you." (J 13:40), cf. the following report in the present: "**Unging ting qaaĝan aqakux̂.**" 'My sister is coming (has come) to eat me." (J 13:43). A 1909 **Maasanas inaqamax txidix haqaasal ax̂taaĝutakus, qangulix qagamal hinga** 'Those who did that (killing people) apparently came again by themselves, so now they are on their way in from out there' (J 76:235 f.); ... **qanguuĝ(an) ax̂s wa** 'is about to come in now' (J 77:187); A 1950 **txin achixating** 'I am teaching you (right now)'; **duraan umnayal** 'he is tightening his dory'; 1971 **awal hinga** 'he is working (right now)'; **wang anĝaĝiyukaqalil** 'he has been living here for a long time now' (**-qali-** 'to have started'); 1978 **aniqdux̂ huchuuzalakan** 'the child is not behaving'. In Attuan the conjunctive was used also in cases where Eastern and Atkan would have the present, e.g. 1909 **... mal aqating** '... that is why I have come (or set out)' (J 82:13, E **aqakuqing**); 1952 **mang unguchiting** 'I am sitting here' (A **wang unguchikuq**).

A question in the conjunctive corresponds with a statement (answer) in the present, referring to the time of speech or to the near past, e.g. En 1909 **dux̂taasaĝilakatxichi hi?** 'you don't have a guest, do you?' (J 41:26); En 1910 **txin asx̂asiting ii?** 'did I kill you (right now) ?' (J 61:10); Ea 1910 **alqulix ting adaluusaltxin** 'why did you deceive me?' (J 13:26); A **chaayuutut ii?** 'do you want (to drink) tea?' (possible answer **aang, makuq** 'yes, I do'); **qungtuxsiting ii?** did I snore (right now) ?'; **sulkis ii?** 'did he take them?' (**sukungis hinga** 'he did take them'); **qanaax haqat** 'where do you come from?'; **qanahligan ax̂sxat hama** 'where did you put it?' From Atkan is reported an old man's scolding with the enclitic subject pronoun following the interrogative particle, e.g. **hagumamalakaniitxichix** (**-ii-** with rising tone) 'don't you (boys) start doing that again (**-ma-**) !'

The conjunctive is (or was) used also in farewell formulas such as A 1950 **haqahlilix** 'come again!'; **ukudigalix** 'live well!' (also imperative **ukudigada**); **tuuhyulakan** 'don't be lonesome!'.

The conjunctive is very common in phrases and all sorts of complex sentences (to be discussed in the syntax), joining predicates that are on the same level of representation, indicating contemporaneous or consecutive events, and have a common subject, e.g. A **haqal qada** 'come and eat!'. In a complement clause dependent on verbs of utterance and thought, representing a final clause in the present, the conjunctive is used if the subjects are different (3.15.3.1.), e.g. A **sunax̂ haqal hix̂tanax̂** 'he said that the ship was coming', cf. **sunax̂ haqakux̂** 'the ship is coming' (if the subject is the same, that is, if it represents a self-report, the complement clause is participial, e.g. **qaatunaan hix̂tanax̂** 'he said that he was hungry', he said: **qaatukuq** 'I am hungry').

2.1.9.3. Participial tenses

The participial tenses are (1) General (zero tense suffix), (2) Recent past (E **-laaĝana-** | **-saaĝana-**, A **-laĝana-**), (3) Remote (**-na-**, **-(ĝ)ka-**). In a final clause they take the same subject markers (without or with anaphoric reference) as the present **-ku-** (2.1.9.1.1.), likewise in certain non-final clauses (cf. 2.1.9.2.). But in various participial constructions (3.14.) they have number, case and person suffixes like nouns (2.1.1.1.).

The negation is enclitic: Eastern **+(y)ulux**, Atkan **+ulax** or **+(y)ulax** (influenced by E), also **+(ng)ulax**, Attuan **+(ng)ul(ax)**, with certain reductions when followed by an enclitic subject pronoun, e.g.

Eastern 3.p.sg. **-ĝ+ulux**, pl. **-n+ulux**; 2.p.pl. 1838 **-ĝ+ulux+txichi**, 1860- **-ĝultxichi(n)**; 1.p.sg. 1834 **-ĝuluting**, later **-ĝulting**; sg.3A sg. **-a+yulux** (-V**+yulux**).

Atkan 1860 (-1952) 3.p.sg. **-ĝ+ulax**, pl. **-z+ulax**; 2.p.pl. -**ĝ+ulax+txichi[x]**, 1860 once (later general) **-ĝulax̂txichi[x]** (cf. present **-lakax̂txichix**); 1.p.sg. **-ĝulak**, also (later general) **-ĝulaq(ing)** (cf. present **-lakaq**); 2.p.sg. 1909 **-ĝulaxt**, 1950- **-ĝulax̂t**; sg.3A sg. **-a+ulax**, also **-ayulax** (in 1952 declared Eastern), sg.1.sg. 1979 **-angulax**. In later Atkan restructured, with the same order of the negation and the person markers as in the present: 3.p.sg. **-ĝula-x̂**, pl. **-ĝula-s**, sg.3A sg. **-ĝula-a**, sg.1.p.sg. **-ĝula-ng** (for **-ng+ulax**), sg.2.p.sg. **-ĝulaan** (for -V**n+ulax**).

Attuan 3.p.sg. **-ĝ+ul**; 1.p.sg. **-ĝulaq**; sg.3A sg. **-a+ngul**, pl. **-nginul**, **-ngul**; sg.1.p.sg. **-ng+ul**.

2.1.9.3.1. General, no tense suffix

The general is a zero tense, or a contextually determined present. A statement in the general may be generic or have a more limited generality, depending on the subject, e.g. A **isuĝix̂ alaĝum algaa ax̂** 'the hair seal is a sea mammal'; **Unangax̂ aq** 'I am an Aleut' (E 1910 **Unangaqing**, a nominal sentence); **asaa idax̂tahlingulax** 'its name I still remember' (**idax̂ta-** + neg. 'to know'); **haagaĝulaq** 'I do not starve (I have enough food)', cf. present **haagalakaq** 'I am not hungry (now)'; A 1860 **Txin idax̂taĝulak** 'I know You' (Mark 1.24; E 1870 present **kiin Anaan haqatakuqing** 'I know who You Are').

A statement in the general very often, in Eastern perhaps obligatorily, includes the derivational suffix A **-za-**, E (and A) **-da-** 'generally, usually', e.g. A **qawax̂ angunazax̂** 'a sea lion is big, the sea lion is a big animal'; **Piitrax̂ kurizaĝulax**, E **kuridaĝulux** 'Peter does not smoke, never smokes', cf. present **Piitrax̂ kurilakax̂** 'Peter is not smoking (now)'; E **awadax̂** 'he usually works', **awadaĝulux** 'he never works'; **qadangulux** 'I never eat it'. Admitting also the present and other tense suffixes, the suffix **-da-**, **-za-**, is not itself a tense suffix.

A question in the general does not admit a negation, except the Atkan (and Attuan) verb **idax̂ta**- 'ignore', which has an obligatory negation, meaning 'to know'. It may correspond with a statement (answer) in the general, as in A **Piitrax̂ kurizax̂ ii?** 'does Peter smoke, is Peter a smoker', but also with a statement in the present, being so opposed to a question in the conjunctive (2.1.9.2.). While the latter concerns the truth of the proposition, the "or not?", and in the case of an event refers typically to the near past, a question in the general concerns the range of the predicate, the "or what?", and refers to the actual time of speech, e.g. A **Mariiyax̂ hilax̂**

ii? 'is Mary reading (presently, reading or doing something else)?'; **ukux̂taan ii?** 'do you see it now?' (are you in the process of seeing it?), cf. conj. **ukux̂ta(l)kat ii?** 'did you see it (object gone)?'; **kiin ax̂** 'who is it (the person in the picture)?' or 'who is he?' (likewise E); A 1952 **kiin haqax̂** 'who is coming?' (as when one does not know which persons would be coming) vs. **kiin haqal** 'who is coming?' (as when you hear a person coming). In Eastern, it seems, the general is largely replaced by the present, a usage possibly due to Russian (or later English) influence.

Having no mood/tense marker, the general has various nominal uses, e.g. **qa-** 'to eat' (**qakux̂** 's/he is eating') in **qam agala** 'the time after eating, afternoon', **angalim utman qaa** 'the meal of the middle of the day, dinner'. However, a transitive verb remains transitive also when used as a noun, e.g. **liida-** 'to resemble, be like' in A 1860 **liidax̂ tachim ukux̂tamazulax** 'we have not yet seen anything like it' (Mark 2:12), with an anaphoric reference in the final verb (**-maz-** 'we it') to the implied object of **liidax̂**.

2.1.9.3.2. E **-laaĝana-** | **-saaĝana-**, A **-laĝana-** Recent past

This suffix, common in Eastern, refers to an earlier time of the same day or to the day preceding the day of the speech act, e.g. Eu 1984 **qilam / angalkingaan waaĝ**(**a**)**laaĝanax̂** 'he came in this morning / last night'; Ea 1952 **sngaxsaaĝanaqing** 'I was dreaming last night'; En 1952 **yam alqulaaĝanax̂txin** 'what were you doing yesterday?'; En 1935 **asx̂asaaĝanaa** 'he had killed it (before I found it)' (deletion of the **t** of **asx̂at-** 'to kill' before the **s**); E 1870 **Haman asix hinisaĝiiluĝim nagan txin ukux̂talaaĝanaĝulting hi'** 'didn't I see you in the garden with him?' (John 18.26). Possibly, however, the distance from the present may be more than one day (e.g., J 9:54). In the following case it is even combined with **unugulux** 'long ago', in a figurative sense, the real meaning being 'we are already lost': **Asagax̂, unugulux asx̂alaaĝanan ax̂takun** 'Cousin, we apparently (**ax̂ta-**) died long ago!' (J 68:39).

The Atkan variant apparently is (was) less common, the recent past being usually expressed by auxiliaries, e.g. 1952 **ukux̂talaĝanangin = ukux̂tal angalingin** 'we saw it earlier today'. In his manuscript grammatical sketch Jochelson listed for Atkan, as for Eastern Aleut, also negated forms, but in 1952 they were not accepted by the Atkan speakers consulted, who, for example, instead of **ukux̂talaĝanangulax** 'I did not see him/it earlier today' would say **ukux̂talakan angaling** (conjunctive neg. + auxiliary). Without a negation, the recent past is attested also in a cylinder text of 1909 (J 76:145, 277), but not in Salamatov's translations of about 1860. Where Eastern Shayashnikov used the recent past, Atkan Salamatov used the remote (e.g. in John 18.26). Perhaps the recent past in Atkan was a recent borrowing from Eastern.

According to Jochelson's grammatical sketch, the Attuan equivalent was **-lkuna-** | **-skuna-**, e.g. **isilkunax̂** 'had cut (the calf of his leg)' (J 86:11, translation of E **isilaaĝanax̂**); **[h]iskunaĝulaq** 'I did not go out' (stem **hit-**), **inaskunangul** 'I did not finish it' (stem **inat-**). This is apparently a combination of the conjunctive **-l** | **-s** (2.1.9.2.) and an auxiliary **+kuna-**, probably from **uku-na-**, **uku-** 'to see; to look or turn (in a specified direction), etc.', cf. **uku-t-** 'to turn (something)', with the conjunctive 'to have been or done for some time, for a long time', e.g. A (and E) **sunax̂ haqal**(ix) **ukutikux̂** 'the ship has been expected to come for some time'.

2.1.9.3.3. **-na-**, -(ĝ)**ka-** Remote

In a sentence final predicate, **-na-** is used in active verbs with a fully specified or no complement, while **-**(ĝ)**ka-** (cf. 1.3.4.4.) is used in forms with anaphoric reference, e.g. A **ukinax̂ ukunaq** 'I found the knife', **ukuqang** 'I found it', **ukuqangulax** (**ukuqaĝulang**) 'I did not find it'; **hlamaan qax̂ aĝnaq** 'I gave the boy a fish', **qax̂ ngaan aqang** (later **aĝiqang**) 'I gave him a fish'; **sabaakax̂ tayaĝux̂ kignax̂** 'the dog bit the man', **sabaakam kikaa** (later **kigiqaa**) 'the dog bit him'; **tayaĝux̂ chagix̂ asx̂atnax̂**, En **asx̂ahnax̂**, Eua **asx̂anax̂**, Au **ax̂sahnax̂** (later A, E **asx̂atinax̂**) 'the man killed (caught) a halibut', **tayaĝum asx̂atxaa**, Au **ax̂sataa** (later A, E **asx̂atiqaa**) 'the man killed it'.

-(ĝ)**ka-** with a simple (or no) subject marker, without an anaphoric reference to a complement, has a passive (or impersonal) sense, with or without a preceding passive suffix, e.g. A **ukulgaqax̂** 'it was found'; **ting kidulgaqax̂** 'I was helped, one helped me'; **ukan ulax̂ hamahliim agulgaqax̂** 'this house (where we are sitting) was built a long time ago'; Eu 1792 **Ayagangin suqax̂** 'His women were taken' (Census 10.11.33); A1860 **Subbootax̂ anĝaĝinam qulagaan aguqax̂** 'the Sabbath was made for man' (Mark 2.27, likewise E 1860); 1952 **ayx̂aasingis ... hamaax suqas** 'their boats were taken from there' (N.M. 3:69), cf. **ayx̂aasingis hamaax suqangis** 'they took their (the other people's) boats from there'; **Qas sulilgal, qakasxal, huuzuugizangis taxsazaqas ax̂takus.** 'Fish were salted and dried, and all of them were put away.' (N.M. 1:43); Ea 1909 **x̂aayax̂ ikin aniqax** 'a steam bath was lit for them' (J 4:35); En 1909 **Ingaagan sulgalix aygaxtusaqax̂.** 'Being taken from there, he was led away.' (J 46:8; **-usa-** is an active suffix, the corresponding passive being **-ula-**).

In a simple final predicate of a statement or a question the remote refers to a past removed from the time of speech by at least one day, e.g. A **qanayiim haqanax̂t** 'when did you come?'; **Piitrax̂ haman ulax̂ agunax̂** 'Peter built that house'.

In certain auxiliaries following the intentional (3.8.1.3.1.1. and 4.), the remote indicates a distant future, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝnax̂** 'Peter will come back later' vs. present for the nearer future: **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'Peter is coming, is about to come'; **qilagan waaĝaaĝan saĝanax̂** 'he will come tomorrow', **maangan saĝaqang** 'I will do it tomorrow' vs. main verb in the conjunctive for the past (only Atkan): **qilagan haqal saĝanax̂** 'he came yesterday', 1860 **chinglam aĝiisalka saĝaqaa** 'the fever left him yesterday' (John 4.52; E recent past **chinglagan ilaan agalaaĝanaa** 'his fever left him') (**saĝa-** 'to sleep, pass the night; to do with an interval of a night (or some time)'). In Eastern and Atkan 1860, **-naaĝ-** 'to try -, to nearly -' with a negated remote likewise refers to a non-immediate future, e.g. E 1870 **... aguuĝux̂siĝanaaqanulux** '(the saints) should not be made into gods'; A 1860 **igniqaĝisxumchigulax, Adachix kayix kuyuudam kugan aa, tunux̂taaĝu-**

chix imchi ignimanaaĝnaĝulax 'if you do not forgive, your Father in heaven will not forgive you your sins either' (Mark 11.26).

In participial use, with a subject indicated by a possessive suffix (with or without a complement), **-na-** has the same time relation to a following predicate as the present **-ku-** has to the time of speech, while **-(ĝ)ka-** is a remote in relation to a following predicate as well as to the time of speech (see 3.14.1.).

Both suffixes have also a nominal use, e.g. A **achixanax̂**, E **hachiganax̂** 'teacher', **txichi hachiganax̂** 'your teacher, the one who teaches you' (Matthew 9.11); A **achixaqax̂**, E **hachigaqax̂** 'disciple (Bibl.); pupil, student'.

2.1.9.4. *-iaĝ-*, neg. **-lagaaĝ-**, Au **-laguuĝ-** Optative

This suffix is at the base of three sets of forms: (1) optative, (2) intentional, and (3) gerundive, a participle of destination (not found with the negation). The negative apparently is a compound of the negative **-lag-** (cf. 2.1.9.6.) and the optative of **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be'.

2.1.9.4.1. Optative

2.1.9.4.1.1. The forms

With a simple 3.p. subject the optative suffix is expanded by **-ta**, the singular having in the 19th century language no suffix, later the usual sg. **-x̂** (-V**x̂tax̂** by younger Atkan speakers 1950- shortened to -V**x̂t**; Au 1909 -V**ta**, 1952 -V**t**), e.g. E 1870, A 1860 **tutaqaĝiix̂ta** 'let him hear, may he listen' (Mark 7.16); **ulaam nagan** (A **hadan**) **kimlagaax̂ta** 'let him not go down into his house' (Mark 13.15); Eu 1909 **chiiluux̂tax̂** 'for him to return' (J 34:86); A 1909 **hangaax̂tax̂ masxakux̂** 'as she was invited to come up' (J 78:186); A 1952 **haqaax̂tax̂** 'let him come, may he come'.

A 1. or 2.p. subject is marked by an enclitic pronoun added directly to the modal suffix, e.g. A 1860 **txin ungusax̂t** (stem **ungut-**) 'sit down' (Luke 14.10); 1950 **amaanulagaax̂t** 'don't go away'. In the old language the 1.p.pl. was like the 3.p.pl. as in the present (2.1.9.1.1.), e.g. E 1837 **kanax̂sax̂tan** (stem **kanax̂t-**), A 1838-1860 **kamgaax̂tas** 'let us pray'. In the later language one would use the passive or an impersonal construction (see 3.5.), e.g. E 1982 **ayuxtalgaax̂tax̂**, A 1952 **ayuxtalgaax̂t(ax̂)**, Au 1952 **ayuxtaluut** 'let us go out for a trip (in the boat)'; A 1952 **amax̂unax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us go racing!'

In forms with anaphoric reference the modal suffix is expanded by **-(ĝ)ka-**, e.g. A **suutul aguun suuqaa** 'if he wants to take it, let him take it'; **suuqaan** 'you take it'; **six̂ilagaaqaan** 'don't brake it'. In old Atkan likewise with a 1.p.pl. subject, but in Eastern and later Atkan with the passive or the impersonal construction, e.g. A 1860 **asx̂asaqamas**, E 1870 **asx̂asxaax̂ta** 'let us kill him' (Mark 12.7); A 1952 **husii igulgaax̂tax̂** 'let us take out its load (of the boat)', cf. **husii iguuqaan** 'take out its load'; **chisax̂tanax̂ al tanadgusim hadan huyaasanaaĝnam aaqaa** 'let us scatter and bring it (chase the reindeer) toward the village'. For the use with a positional noun see 3.14.4.4.4.

2.1.9.4.1.2. Semantics

In a final predicate the optative in the 3.p. expresses a wish, permission or concession, as in the examples above.

In the 2.p. it expresses a wish, command or order, perhaps with more insistence than the imperative (2.1.9.6.), e.g. A **haqaax̂t** 'come now!' (more impatient than **haqada**); **hisax̂t** (later **hitiix̂t**) 'go out now!'; **hiing aĝiiqaan** 'put it there!'. In Atkan, however, the optative 2.p. du. and pl. is used instead of the imperative, e.g. **qaax̂txichix** 'please eat', cf. sg. **qaax̂t** 'eat now!' vs. **qada** 'please eat'.

In the 1.p.pl. it expresses an exhortation, as in the examples above; similarly the 1.p.sg. in En 1952 **qaĝax̂ agacha iliin sunaaĝiiqing kayux ituĝnilagaaqing** 'I should rather try to take gratitude from them and not offend them'. In the 1.p.sg., however, the optative is mostly interrogative, calling for the addressee's wish, e.g. E 1870 **alqutan hayaaqing**, A 1860 **alqux̂ mangiiq** 'what shall I ask?' (Mark 6.24.); modern A **ilamiis agalagaaq?** 'you don't want me to go away from you, do you?' Then, in the older language, there is no overt anaphoric reference to an implied complement, corresponding with the fact that the 2.p.sg. imperative has no such reference either, e.g. E **imin aĝiiqing**, A **imis aĝiiq?** 'shall I give it to, do you want me to serve you?', possible answer: **nung / ngus aĝada** '(please) give it to me'. In 1979, however, a younger Atkan speaker could say **suuqaning?** 'shall I take them?', **sulagaaqaning?** 'shall I not take them?', cf. **suuqat** 'take them', **sulagaaqat** 'don't take them' (optative pl.2.sg.).

In a non-final clause the optative may express a wish or purpose, depending upon a following verb with a different subject or in the passive (3.10.1.2-3.), e.g. A **Piitrax̂ qanguuq hix̂tanax̂** 'Peter told me to go in'; **txin achixaaq anuxtat ii?** 'do you want me to teach you?'; En 1983 **amaya sux̂tanaaĝil(a)gaaqing kayux nung iistaqaa** 'he also told me not to try to hold it'; Ea 1909 **aman Miichim Aliiĝuu umlaax̂ta[x̂] amgiqalikux̂** 'he watched for M.A. to wake up' (J 8:28); En 1910 **ugiĝiiqing ayalgagung** 'whenever I was courted for marriage (lit. for me to have a husband)' (J 62:8). When the subject is the same as that of the following verb the intentional is used.

2.1.9.4.2. Intentional

2.1.9.4.2.1. The forms

In this set the subject is marked by a possessive suffix in the relative or locative case, with an irregular 1.p.sg. and no 3R distinct from 3A. The final uvular of the modal suffix is deleted before a nasal:

	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	***-ia*ĝan**	E ***-ia*x̂kin**	***-ia*ĝin**
	Au ***-iax̂***	A 1860 ***-ia*qin**, 1950- ***-ia*kin**	
1.p.	***-ia*ngan**		= 3.p.
	late A, Au -V**ng**		
2.p.	E ***-ia*min**, A ***-ia*mis**	***-ia*mdix**	E ***-ia*mchin**, A ***-ia*mchix**

Modern E 3.p.du. also -V**ĝikin**. Late A 3.p.pl. -V**ĝdix** (gerundive 3R) or -V**mdix**, 1.p.pl. -V**ngin**, -V**ngis** (cf. anterior 2.1.9.8.).

An anaphoric complement is marked in Eastern by an infix, sg. **-ka-**, pl. **-ki-** (the variants in parentheses are restructured after the simple subject forms):
sg.3.p.sg. -***ia*kagan** (Eap also -***ia*kaaĝan**), neg. **-lagaakagan**
sg.3.p.pl. 1870 -***ia*kagin** (Mark 5,10, John 5.18), 1839- -***ia*kigin**
pl.3.p.sg. 1860- -***ia*kigin** (Jochelson -V**kiiĝin** for -V**kigin**)
sg.1.p.sg. 1870- -***ia*kangan** (Eapu also -***ia*kaangan**), neg. **-lagaakangan**
pl.1.p.sg. 1870- -***ia*kingin**
sg.2.p.sg. 1839- -***ia*kamin** (Ep 1983 -***ia*kaamin**)
pl.2.p.sg. 1909- -***ia*kimin**
sg.2.p.du. 1909 -***ia*kamdix**
pl.2.p.du. 1909 -***ia*kimdix**
sg.2.p.pl. 1870- -***ia*kamchi(n)**
pl.2.p.pl. 1833- -***ia*kimchi**

Atkan Salamatov in 1860 used anaphoric suffixes, sg. **-ka**, pl. **-kis** (cf. conjunctive 2.1.9.2.), lost in modern Atkan; e.g. 3.p.sg.sg. **taangachx̂iiĝanka** 'in order to let it drink' (Luke 13.15); 3.p.sg.pl. **sismiiĝankis** 'to relieve them' (Luke 18.7); 1.p.sg.sg. **igniinganka** 'I will release him' (Luke 23.16); 1.p.sg.pl. **ukux̂taazaangankis** '(I go) to test them' (Luke 14.19); 2.p.sg.sg. **snganaadataamiska** '(you) to keep it holy, observe it' (Catechism).

In his grammatical sketch Jochelson listed forms with infixes of the Eastern type also for Attuan but in the texts one finds only a form of the old Atkan type: **asqasaĝika** '(he) in order to kill him' (J 81:32-33).

2.1.9.4.2.2. Semantics

In a final clause the intentional 1.p. expresses the speaker's intention or is used to ask for the addressee's permission, e.g. A 1950 **txin kiduungan** 'I'll help you'; **suungan ii?** 'may I take it?' The 2.p. forms are used to ask for the addressee's intention, e.g. A **ayuxtaamis?** 'are you going out (in your boat)?'; **qanaanuumis** 'where are you going?'; **igluqas suumis, ii?** 'you are going to take the skins (of the killed reindeer), are you?' The 3.p. forms are not used in sentence final position, except in the passive with the meaning of a 1.p.pl., e.g. Ea 1910 **Aang, maalaaĝan ama** 'Yes, we'll do that' (J 17:83).

In a non-final clause, having the same subject as the following verb, the intentional indicates intention, purpose, or motive (3.10.1.1.), e.g. A 1952 **aangsusangan** (later **aangsutiingan**) **anqal angaliq** 'I went out (in order) to pick berries today'; Ea 1983 **amchiguukagan ilan sakaaĝ(a)kuu** 'he went down there to meet him'; A **chix̂tilagaaĝan chix̂taliisiin chukux̂** 'in order not to get wet he put on his raincoat'; En 1910 **aman ayagax̂ saĝalagaaĝan anuxtaqalinax̂** 'that woman did not want to sleep (lit. wanted not to sleep)' (J 69:21); A **ayx̂aasing aguungan asxus alakuq** 'I need some nails to repair (lit. make) my boat'; E 1909 **ayuxtaamin maayuda** 'get ready to go out!'; A **awaangan matakuq** 'I have to (am supposed to) work'. The intentional may also be specified by a positional noun such as **qul(ag)aan** 'for the sake of, in order to' (3.10.1.4.), e.g. A 1952 **haagalagaaĝin** (later **haagalagaangin**) **qulagaan huzugaan qanaaĝzas** 'in order not to starve we always go fishing'.

2.1.9.4.2.3. Intentional with auxiliaries

Some verbs following the intentional have the formal or semantic character of auxiliaries (3.8.1.3.1.).

The most important is **aĝ-**, as an independent verb 'to put; to give', with the intentional a future marker. In the present it indicates an immediate future, in the remote a remote future (in Eastern obsolete), e.g. E **suukagan aĝikuu** 'he is going to take it'; A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'Peter is coming, is about to come', **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝnax̂** 'Peter will come back later'. It is used also in the conjunctive, as in A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan ax̂s ii?** 'will Peter be coming?', in older Eastern also in the optative, e.g. Ea 1910 **ayagam ugiĝigan ilan taaman aĝaamin aĝiix̂txin** 'by all means get inside a married woman' (J 16:24). But it does not admit a negation, except the obligatorily negated A **idax̂ta-**, e.g. **idax̂talagaamis aqaan** 'you will know it sometime' (for the negated future see 2.2.6.8. **-duuka-**). In Atkan, the phrases are shortened in fast speech to **waaĝaa-aĝikux̂**, **waaĝaa-aĝnax̂**, etc., in late Atkan fully contracted to **waaĝaaĝikux̂**, **waaĝaanax̂**, **suuĝikuu** 'he'll take it' (**suuĝan aĝikuu**), **suuqaa** 'he'll take it later' (**suuĝan aqaa**), **txin ukux̂tahliinaq** 'I'll see you again later' (**txin ukux̂tahliingan aĝnaq**); so also **haqaanax̂t ii?** 'are you coming later?' (**haqaamis aĝnax̂t ii?**).

The derivative **ax̂ta-** (suffix -(**x̂**)**ta-** 'to have V-ed, etc.') in the present and in the conjunctive (in questions) indicates a recent past, used mostly in Atkan, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan ax̂takux̂** (shortened **waaĝaa-ax̂takux̂**, contracted **waaĝaax̂takux̂**) 'Peter came back a while ago', **Piitrax̂ waaĝalagaaĝan ax̂takux̂** 'Peter did not come back (as we had expected)'; **ukuungan ax̂takung** (**ukuux̂takung**) 'I found it a while ago'; **Piitram ukuuĝan ax̂takan ii?** 'did Peter find it?'; A 1840 **hingaya malgahlilix anuxtaangan ax̂takuning malix ...** 'just as I have been thinking it to be' (V B 1:14). The only example found in Eastern is Ea 1909 **asx̂aam(i)n ax̂tagilkux̂txinaan** (**ax̂ta-gali-kux̂-txin-aan**) 'even after you were dead' (J 2:18, cylinder text); the usual Eastern expression is the derivative suffix *-ia***qalta-** (see 2.2.6.8.).

A, Au **amu-** in the present and conjunctive indicates a near future, in the remote a remote past, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan amukux̂** 'Peter will come soon', **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan amul ii?** 'will Peter be coming soon?'; **haqaaĝan amunax̂** 'he came (here) long time ago (perhaps several years ago)'; **ukuuĝan amuqaa** 'he found it long time ago', in fast speech shortened to **haqaa-amunax̂**, etc. In modern Atkan these phrases, too, are contracted: **haqaamunax̂**, **ukuumuqaa**, **chaayuumunax̂t** beside **chaayuumis amunax̂t** 'you drank tea', and tend to be used instead of the simple remote, much like an English past. The remote past is not used with a negation, the simple remote being used instead (the time of an event that did not take place could not easily be specified).

saĝa-, as an independent verb 'to sleep; to pass the night', in the remote, conjunctive (question), imperative, optative or intentional, indicates the following day, in modern Eastern also a more indefinite future, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan saĝanax̂** 'Peter will come back tomorrow'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan saĝal ii?** 'will Peter come back tomorrow?'; En 1982 2.p.sg. **suukam(in) saĝada**, 2.p.pl. **suukamchin saĝaaqachin** 'take it tomorrow'; Eu 1909 (translation from Attuan) **... qilagan txin asix Qixtikax̂ tanaadaaĝan saĝaakaaĝan ix̂taqaa** 'he told him to go visiting Q. with him the next day' (J 85:8); Eu 1984 **ux̂taang(an) saĝaqang** 'I will go there some time'. Cf. 2.1.9.3.3.

2.1.9.4.3. Gerundive

Used in participial constructions, with or without a nominal referent, this set has possessive suffixes for the subject (in Eastern no suffix with a passive in the sense of a 1.p.du-pl.), e.g. A **qax̂ qaaĝing ngus aĝnax̂**, Au **qax̂ qaaĝing nung ux̂s** 'he gave me a fish to eat'; A 1860/E 1870 **qaaĝis/qaaĝin ngiin aĝiiqachi** 'you (pl.) give them to eat' (Mark 6.37; Ea 1941 **qaaĝingin**); En 1909 **luugim sutuĝanaa kugan asx̂aaĝiin agulix qanakalinax̂ nawa** 'she spent the winter making a grass rug for herself to die on' (J 50:39); En 1952 **yaagax̂ ulux̂tax̂ ilaan aguuĝiin taxsaaĝan aygaxsix** 'walking in order to gather wood for himself to make a baidarka of'; A 1952 **ilan aĝiiĝiin imis hix̂taa-ax̂takung** 'I told you where to put it'; En 1910 **ludang ayagax̂taaĝa ngaan ukukuqing** 'I have found a wife for my older brother (lit. one for my older brother to have for wife)' (J 55:6); En 1909 **iqyam unamaaxtaax̂kin agunax̂** 'was making gunwales for a baidarka (lit. two for a baidarka to have as gunwales)' (J 45:25); A 1984 **ilan changaaĝiin alakux̂** 'he needs somewhere to crawl into (= he is embarrassed)'; Eu 1910 **... ugix̂taaĝdix kasunadix iistakix ... "ugiĝaax̂ kasulgakux̂" ...** '(the two) saying they had found someone to have for a husband ... "we have found someone to have for a husband (lit. one to be had for husband was found)" ... ' (J 35:27-28).

In the relative case, as the referent of a temporal positional noun (3.14.4.4.3. and 7.), the gerundive indicates an anticipated fact, e.g. Eu 1910 **Usilax̂ ax̂saĝan kadaan** 'before U. gets up' (J 35:49); A 1950-52 **ngasaĝan kadaa** (younger speaker: **ngatiiĝan kadagaan**) **chaayuuqaan** 'drink it (your tea) before it gets cool'; **aniqdum suuĝan kadaa hingaax agachada** 'get it away from there before the child takes it'; **tanadgusix̂ hnuuĝing kadagaan igax̂tax̂ iganax̂** 'the airplane took off before I could reach the village'; **ayuxtagungis ayagangis ugimax haqaaĝanaan (haqaaĝan+ngaan) unazakus** 'when they go out (in their boats) their wives cook for their husbands to come back'.

2.1.9.5. ***-iax̂ta-*** Dubitative

The suffix is like the optative with a simple 3.p.sg. subject (2.1.9.4.1.1.) but the subject is marked by possessive suffixes, the 1.p.sg. with a lengthened vowel, e.g. A 1950 **txin sasulitiix̂taang?** 'do I bother you?'. The negation is enclitic, e.g. Eu 1909 **ix̂tanangin adaluux̂taayulux ax̂saasaangan** '(I) to find out whether he told the truth (lit. whether his sayings did not lie)' (J 37:10).

In a final predicate (examples only from Atkan), the dubitative expresses a wondering question, see above and A 1950 **hiikus alaax̂taan** 'would you like these?'; **igax̂tax̂ haqanaa ukux̂taax̂tachix** 'did you (pl.) see the airplane coming?'; **kiin duuraa akum haqal hingamaax̂taa** '(I wonder) whose dory may be coming there'; **alqum kigiix̂taa** 'what (animal) bit him?'

The dubitative is common in all the dialects as the complement of verbs of asking, finding out, expecting, and ignoring (3.15.4.), e.g. En 1983 **Unangam tunuu agux̂tadaax̂taang nung ahmayaax̂tanax̂** 'she asked me if I spoke Aleut'; A 1952 **tayaĝum suux̂taang ngus ahmayaax̂taaĝan ax̂takuu** 'the man asked me if I had taken it'; Ea 1910 **ayagaĝiduukaax̂tadix aqatalakaĝix** 'they (two) did not know whether they were going to marry (have women)' (J 17:30); A 1952 **duurax̂ maqaĝiix̂taayulax taĝax̂taa-ax̂takuq** 'I tried out whether the dory was all right'; Au 1952 **mang ul maaĝaax̂taa hachaĝiing ux̂siting** 'staying here I'll wait until he comes'.

2.1.9.6. Imperative

2.p.sg. E, A **-(a)da**, Au **-(a)ya**, **-(a)y**; (t>ch) E **-aa**, A **-ada**, Au **-aa** (probably from Eastern), **-iya**; neg. E, A **-lagada**, Au **-laguya** (**-lag+ a-da, u-ya** 'be'); no marking of anaphoric complement. E.g. E, A **qanguda**, Au **qanguya** '(please) come in!'; E, A **qada** '(please) eat!' (A more politely **qadá** with lengthened final vowel); E/A **nung/ngus aĝada** (later A **iming aĝida**) 'give it to me'; E **ichaa**, A **hichada**, Au **hichaa** (stem **hit-**) 'go out!'; E 1909 **aqachaa**, Au **haqachiya** 'bring it'; E, A **sulagada** 'don't take it'; A **hyutlagada** 'don't spill it'; Au **iyax̂talaguya** 'know it!'

2.p. non-sg. **-a-** (t>s), neg. **-lagaa-**, Au **-laguu-**, with possessive suffixes (E; A 1909 in Jochelson's sketch only; Au) or enclitic subject pronoun (A 1840-1860, replaced by the optative 1950-; Au), e.g.

2.p.du. E 1909 **su[u]dix** 'take', **isadix** 'go out'; A 1860 **achuuĝiitxidix** 'answer' (Mark 11.3, E opt.), 1909 **su[u]dix**, **hisadix**; Au 1909 **uqlaĝatiyix** 'bathe' (J 82:24, note c.), **su[u]yix**, **hisayix**, 1952 **qanguyix** 'come in' (perhaps shortened by analogy of sg. **qanguya**)

2.p.pl. E 1870 **[h]amaanuuchi** 'go (away)' (Luke 10.3), 1838 **hix̂taax̂chi imchi an'gitalagaachi** 'do not worry about what you are going to say' (Matthew 10.19, 1870 opt.), 1982 **qanguuchin** 'come in', **isachin** 'go out'; A 1860 **hamaanuutxichi** 'go (away)' (Luke 10.3), **wakus quumaliisalagaatxichi** 'do not marvel at this' (John 5.28, E opt.), 1909 **suuchix**, **hisachix**; Au 1909 **suuchi**, **hisachi**, 1952 **qanguuch** 'come in', **qaatich** '(please) eat', **unguchi[i]tich** 'sit down' (the last two are possibly optative, A **qaax̂txichix**, **unguchiix̂txichix**).

In the 19th century sources there are also two types of imperative 2.p. du. and pl. forms with anaphoric suffixes:

(1) E 1826-1870 (perhaps eastern Eastern) **-kagan** (apparently from the intentional, cf. 2.1.9.4.2.1.) added to the subject forms, e.g. 2.p.du. + 3A 1870 **haqaasaadikagan** 'bring it' (Mark 11.2); 2.p.pl. + 3A 1838 **nung hiichikagan** 'tell me (about it)' (Mat-

thew 2.8, 1870 opt.); **txichi qaaĝin ngiin aĝachikagan** 'you give them to eat' (Matthew 14.16, 1870 **aĝatxin**, type (2)).
(2) E 1832-1870, A 1838-1860 **-at-** + 3A sg. **-xa**, du. **-xix**, pl. E **-xin**, e.g. E 1838-1870 **Ngaan kamgaatxa** 'pray to Him' (Matthew 9.38), **ngaan aĝatxa** 'give (it) to him' (Matthew 25.28); 1870 **hamasatxa** 'ask him' (John 9.21, A opt.); 1870 **inaqan ... aĝasxaatxix** 'put them (two) apart' (Acts 3.2, obscure use of passive); 1838-1870 **haqachx̂iitxin** 'let them come' (Matthew 19.14); A 1860 **tutaatxa** 'listen to him' (Luke 9.35, E opt.), **ukuutxa** 'see (him)' (John 11.36, E **ukux̂taachikagan**).

In the Attuan text J 82:24 the written version has ... **ik(i) uqlaĝatxix** 'bathe her for them (two)', with the 3A du. suffix, transposed into Eastern as **ikin uqlaĝatxa** with the 3A sg. suffix, but the original cylinder has the above-mentioned form **uqlaĝatiyix** without any 3A suffix.

As seen from the examples, the imperative expresses a command or an invitation, possibly in a milder form than the optative (see 2.1.9.4.1.2.).

2.1.9.7. *-iaĝana-* Prohibitive

Takes the same 2.p. suffixes as the present **-ku-** (see 2.1.9.1.1.), e.g. E 1870 **txichi hamanix̂taaĝanax̂txidix**, A 1860 **iĝatuuĝanax̂txichi** 'don't be frightened' (Mark 16.6); A 1860 **suglasxamaan timas aĝiiĝanax̂txin** 'lead us not into temptation' (Luke 11.4, E opt.neg.); A 1952 **hyusaĝanaan** (later **hyutiiĝanaan**) 'don't spill it'; Au 1909 **suuĝanaan**, 1952 **suuĝnaan** 'don't take it'.

The prohibitive expresses a warning, differing from the negative imperative or optative by referring to a non-immediate future, e.g. E 1982 **sisaaĝanax̂txin**, A 1950- **sisaaĝanax̂t** 'don't get lost (lose your way)'; E **ugunuuĝnaan**, A **ugunuuĝanaan** 'don't forget it'. In his biblical translations, however, Eastern Shayashnikov frequently used the negative optative where Atkan Salamatov used the prohibitive.

In the Attuan text J 82:9 there is a curious 1.p.sg. prohibitive form: **magu[v]yigul sanĝuyix kumugiiĝanaqaa**, transposed into Eastern as **magumdigulux sanĝudix kumugiiĝanaqing-aan** 'If you don't do it, beware that I peck your stomach' (the original cylinder has a different text). In his vocabulary Jochelson also noted the sentence **Txin qaaĝanaqing-ngaan** 'May I not eat you (chtoby ya tebya ne yel)'.The final **-aa** could perhaps have been the interjection **aa** (vocative), in Eastern understood as the enclitic **+(ng)aan** (cf. 2.1.9.1.2.).

2.1.9.8. *-iang-* Anterior

The subject is marked by possessive suffixes in the locative case (cf. 2.1.6.1.1.), with deletion of the final nasal of the modal suffix before the initial nasal of a suffix (the anterior coincides partly with the intentional, cf. 2.1.9.4.2.1.):

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	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	**-*ia*ngan**	E **-*ia*ngkin**	**-*ia*ngin**
	old A **-*ia*nganax̂**	**-*ia*nganax**	**-*ia*nganas**
1.p.	**-*ia*ming**	= pl.	-"-
	Au **-*ia*m(ing)**		
2.p.	E, Au **-*ia*min**	**-*ia*mdix**	E **-*ia*mchi(n)**
	A **-*ia*mis**	Au **-*ia*myix** (< E)	A **-*ia*mchix**
3R	E **-*ia*giim**	**-*ia*max**	E, Au **-*ia*mang**, A = du.
	A, Au **-*ia*m**	later E, A = 2.p.	late E, A = 2.p.

E.g. Ea 1910 **anaan asx̂aangan** 'when his (3R) mother died' (J 15:41); En 1909 **kimiingan** 'when he went down' (J 44:15); **sakin ungasangan** 'when she tore his (3R) parka' (J 50:29); **qaqaliingkin** 'when they (two) began to eat' (J 53:24); **tayağutxin ayugiingin** 'when his (3R) men had gone out' (J 44:21); En 1936 **isaming** 'when I fell' (stem **it-**); **adaa ayugiiğutaagiim** 'when his (3A) father had gone out again' (J 74:26); A 1860 **wakus ukuum** 'having seen this' (Luke 5.8, E conj.); **haqasam** 'when she knew (that ...)' (Luke 7.37, E conj.); E 1838-1870 **wakun tusamang** '(the disciples) having heard this' (Matthew 17.6).

The old Atkan 3.p. forms appear to be the 3.p.sg. with addition of the numbered forms of the auxiliary **a-** 'be', e.g. 1860 **viinax̂ chugalakan aanganax̂** 'when the wine was insufficient' (John 2.3, E **isxalakağaan**); 1909 **alağuğinas ayuxs aanganas** 'when the men set out to hunt on sea' (J 78:195). In later Atkan (1952) only the simple 3.p.sg. is found, of **a-** 'be' and in passive forms, e.g. **qudgiin akalil aangan** 'when he (3A) was passing right above him (3R)' (N.M. 3:76); **txidix hidulaqadaangan** 'when one had taken them (3R) out, when they were taken out' (ibid. 77). In other cases the present with the enclitic **(ng)aan**, etc., is used (2.1.9.1.2.).

In the other grammatical persons (coreferential with the subject of the following verb), the anterior is used mostly, in later Atkan and in Attuan exclusively, with the postbase -(ĝ)**kada-**'to stop, etc.' (virtually 'already'), e.g. A **chalaqadaam ayx̂aasiin sayukux̂** 'having landed he pulled up his boat'; **suqadaangin amaanuuax̂takungin** 'we took them and went away'; Au 1952 **hnuqayaam** 'having reached (the village)'. In late Atkan this anterior tends to be limited to **a-**'be' (with a preceding conjunctive), common also in the older language, and to be shortened to **aqadaa**, becoming thus a conjunction 'and then'.

In older Eastern there were also anaphoric infixes, sg. **-ka-**, pl. **-ki-** (the quantity of the preceding vowel is uncertain), e.g. 1870 **ungutachx̂iqadakaagiim** '(he) having had him seated' (Luke 10.34); **suqadakiimang** '(the disciples) having taken him' (Acts 9:25); En 1934 **ngiin kixchx̂iqadakiiming** 'after I had them keep it between their teeth (lit. bite)'. An anterior with or without an anaphoric infix may also have an enclitic **(ng)aan**, pl. **(ng)iin** for the anaphoric reference to continue into the following clause, see 3.12.1.2.

The negation in Eastern is enclitic, in Atkan suffixal, e.g. E 1870 **Hamaya ukuumangulugikin**, A 1860 **Haman ukulagaamax** 'when they did not find Him' (Luke 2.45).

As indicated by the examples, the anterior indicates an action completed before the completed action represented by the final predicate (see further 3.12.). It may also be used elliptically, e.g. A 1971 **hamaaĝax̂tal aqadaamis?** 'having arrived there (what did you do)?'

2.1.9.9. E, Au **-gu-** | **-ku-**; A **-(i)gu-**, **-sxu-** + neg. Conditional

The subject is marked by possessive suffixes in the absolutive or in the relative case. The negation is enclitic.

In Atkan the 3A suffixes are in the absolutive case. In Eastern the 3A sg. (A **-guu**) appears to have been replaced by the 3R sg. (**-guun**) by the 1830's (in Matthew 9.17 1838 **-guu-yulux**, in 1870 changed to **-guun-ulux**, the common form also in 1838), e.g. A 1860 **daan hagyaguu**, E 1870 **daan aamalisigaguun** 'if your eye is clean' (Luke 11.34, likewise E 1838-1870 in Matthew 6.22); A 1860 **tduugiguu** (stem **tduug-**), E 1870 **tugamikuun** (stem **tugamig-**) 'when he knocks' (Luke 12.36). In Eastern the 3A du. has the relative form (1838-70 **-gukin** in Matthew 26.2, Mark 14.1, A **-gukix**), while the 3A pl. has no case distinction (**-gungin**, A absol. **-gungis**).

The 1.p.sg., without case distinction, has in eastern Eastern (Ea) and in Atkan a lengthened vowel (**-guung**), cf. dubitative (2.1.9.5.).

The 2.p. and 3R suffixes are used in Atkan both in the absolutive and in the relative case, with a certain temporal distinction (simultaneity vs. succession, cf. present 2.1.9.1.2.), while in Eastern the relative case forms appear to be nearly generalized (except the 3R sg. used for the 3A sg.), e.g. A 1950 **laavkim imdaa tayahligudix tukuĝalax hitzakus** 'they buy the things in the store until they make it poor (short of supplies)', **qalgadas ilgal lagumax haqaasazakus** 'they look for food and when they get it they bring it back' (1959:77 f., (7) (33-34), (6)); A 1860 **tanadgusim il aĝatigumdix** 'when you (two) get into the city' (Luke 22.10); E 1870 **chx̂atxumchi** 'if you fulfill' (John 8.31).

The 3A forms may include an anaphoric reference, shown by the number and by the case of a possible nominal subject, e.g. A 1950 **uknaax Sampuulam kugaan sunam haqal uyagungis, hamaaĝal hamang awal sluzakus** 'when the ship comes from St. Paul Island out there and fetches them, they go there and work there in the summer' (1959:78, 7 (29-30)), cf. **sunax̂ haqaguu** 'when the ship comes'); A 1952 **tayaĝum ngus aĝil** (for **ax̂s**) **agungis suungan aĝikuning** 'if the man gives them to me I will take them'; E 1861 **Hamaan ... kumin waaĝachx̂igungin-iin, txin ungatadaaĝanax̂txin** 'if He lets them (the temptations) come upon you, don't be confused'; En 1983 (with the modern substitute for the 3A sg.) **ugigan nuguum txin aygaxtikux̂** 'when her (eider) husband comes to [her] she walks off'. In the case of the other forms, the anaphoric reference would be marked only in the following verb, entailing an enclitic dative **(ng)aan**, **(ng)iin**, if the verb does not otherwise include such reference, e.g. A 1952 **qaguung-aan sadmudaĝan hitaangan aĝikung** 'when I have eaten it I will go out'; **sugumizaan txin sihmiingan aĝikung** 'if you take it I will spank you'; **suutugumis suuqaan** 'if you want to take it, take it'. See further 3.13.2.

Atkan Salamatov used also a simple pl. with an obscure long vowel: **-guus** (3.13.2.8.), e.g. John 21.25 **alux̂sxaguus** 'if they were written', E 1870 **aluĝalagungin-iin**.

Phrases with the conditional of **a-** 'be' and a preceding conjunctive are common in the old as well as in the later sources, e.g. modern Atkan **haqal aguu(n)** 'if he comes', **haqalakan aguu(n)** 'if he does not come' (old **haqasxuu(n)ulax**). In late Atkan these are contracted to **haqaluu(n)**, **haqalakuu(n)**, a new synthetic conditional.

Translatable as 'if' or 'when' or 'whenever', the conditional is used in three types of sentences which all contrast with expressions of a realized (completed) fact (3.13.1.):
(a) sentences referring to the future (including the imperative), e.g. A **haqal agungis agiitadaangan aĝikuning** 'if (or when) they come, I will go with them'; **hamaax waaĝal ax̂taguu ngaan ahmayaax̂taangan aqang** 'when he has come back from there, I will ask him'; **kimiguun haqayada** 'when you go down be careful'; more examples above; elliptical A 1950 **hingamatayugaaqadagumis?** 'when you will have been like that for a while (what will you do)?' (meaning: will you be staying here for a while?);
(b) sentences marked (in the final predicate) by the suffix **-da-**, A **-za-**, as habitual, in the general, present or past, e.g. A 1952 **txin saĝaniqadaguun txin qungtukalizax̂** 'when he has fallen asleep he starts snoring'; A 1937 **alitxuuĝin aĝigumax chaduĝnam ilaa qazanas** 'when they were about to attack they would eat a piece of blubber'.
(c) sentences marked by the particle **kum** (old A **kumaan**, **kuma**, late A also **kam**) as counter-factual, in the present or the past, e.g. A **matal aguung kum imis aĝikung** 'if I had it I would give it to you'.

In the relative case, in Atkan, the conditional may also be the referent of a temporal positional noun, see 3.14.4.4.1. and 3.

2.1.9.10. Verbal subclasses

2.1.9.10.1. Valency

As mentioned in 2.1.0., many stems are ambivalent, both nominal and verbal, to be discussed in 2.2.1. The valency of most (if not all) verbs (and nouns) can be changed by derivational suffixes, see 2. 2.

Most verbs are either intransitive or transitive, the latter having a specified object in the absolutive case or a suffixal anaphoric reference to a preceding 3.p. term. Some verbs, however, are both intransitive and transitive, e.g. **qa-** 'to eat', **taanga-** 'to drink' (also a noun 'water'), **kalu-** 'to shoot', **una-** 'to cook'.

The intransitive verb **huya**- 'to go in some direction' has an obligatory local complement, the locative of a form of **had(a)**- 'direction' (2.1.6.2.) or a demonstrative or interrogative form in **-ngudaĝan** (2.1.7.9.1., 2.1.8.3.7.). This seems to be true also of the transitive verb **aĝ-** 'to put (something somewhere); to give (something to someone)'. A local complement may also change the meaning of a verb, e.g. **aĝa-**

without a complement 'to become visible, appear' (also 'to open, become open; to be born'), with a locative 'to get, arrive (somewhere)', with an ablative 'to get near, approach' (see the dictionary).

Most transitive verbs probably admit a reflexive pronoun (2.1.2.1.1.) as their object, either in reference to the subject of the verb itself or to that of a following clause, e.g. **quhmat-** 'to make (something) white', reflexive 'to become white' (pres. 3.p.sg. **txin quhmatikux̂**). The verb **quyu-** 'to go to bed' used to be reflexive only (**txin quyukux̂**), but in Eastern since 1909 (and in late Atkan) it is also intransitive. A reflexive verb like **aygaxt-, txin aygaxtikux̂** 'he walked off', with the transitivizing suffix **-usa-** 'with' becomes reflexive-transitive: **iglim aygaxtusakuu** 'he walked off with it', the pronominal object being turned into the dative **iglim** (2.1.6.1.3.); likewise **ting aygaxtikuq(ing)** 'I walked off', **ngus** (E **nung**) **aygaxtusakung** 'I walked off with it', etc.

2.1.9.10.2. Moods and negation

Intransitive verbs translatable by English adjectives such as **quhma-** 'to be white', **tagada-** 'to be new', **anguna-** 'to be big, large, much', **hasina-** 'to occur in great quantity', **ayangi-** 'to be foggy' (also a noun 'fog'), do perhaps not admit the imperative or prohibitive mood, but the matter has not been investigated.

With verbs indicating dimensions and some other gradual characteristics the negation is contrary rather than contradictory: **adu-** 'to be long', neg. 'to be short'; **qaya-** 'to be high, tall', neg. 'to be low, short'; **slag-** 'to be wide, broad', neg. 'to be narrow' (also **qudug-**); E **kaxtu-** 'to be wide', neg. 'to be narrow'; **qamda-** 'to be deep', neg. 'to be shallow' (also A **chix̂sag-**); **anguna-** 'to be big, large, much', neg. 'to be small, little'; **chuquda-** 'to be small (E extremely small)', neg. 'to be big'; **tagada-** 'to be new, fresh', neg. 'to be old (not of persons)'; **tungaĝ-** 'to be strong, firm, hard, tough', neg. 'to be weak, soft, tender'; **iĝamana-** 'to be good, nice, useful', neg. 'to be bad, ugly, in bad condition'. In Eastern the negated forms have mostly the diminutive suffix **-aada-**. For details see the dictionary.

Atkan **idax̂ta-** (and passive **idaĝa-**), Au **iyax̂ta-** ('to ignore') has an obligatory negation, meaning 'to know', in Eastern **haqata-**. The latter verb in Atkan and Attuan is used mostly, once perhaps exclusively, with a negation : 'to not know'.

2.1.9.10.3. Pro-verbs and auxiliary verbs

For fuller information, the following verbs, with their derivatives, must be looked up in the dictionary. The relevant constructions will be discussed in the syntax.

2.1.9.10.3.1. **a-** 'to be' is used with a nominal or pronominal complement in the absolutive case to indicate identification or attribution (**kiin ax̂** 'who is he?', **alqux̂ ax̂** 'what is he?'), with a local complement to indicate location (E **qanangun alix** 'where is he?'), see 3.1.2. and 3.3.2. It constitutes indefinite constructions of the types **Piitrax̂ kidunax̂ akux̂** 'someone is helping Peter' and **hix̂takung aqadakux̂** 'I have nothing more (**-qada-**) to say', see 3.5. And it is used in certain periphrastic constructions (3.8.1.1., 3.8.2.2.2.), and in various forms as a connective, in sentence initial position with adversative force (3.16 (4)); E **aguunulux**, **aguumulux**, A **asxuunulax**, **asxuu** 'or', lit. 'if it is not'.

a-x̂ta- 'to apparently be' with the conjunctive and participial tenses constitutes an inferential mood (3.8.1.4.1.).

a-x̂tagali- 'although, even if' is used with the conjunctive and participial tenses, and as a connective 'nevertheless, however' (A also **aaĝda-gali-**).

a-masu-, E also **amusu-**, Au **umasu-** 'to possibly or probably be, perhaps, maybe' is used with the intential and participial moods (3.8.1.4.2.).

aasa- 'to do with; to do, do so (anaphoric)', **aasa-lix** 'so, then; and'; E **aasxuunulux** 'or', lit. 'if does not'.

at-, E **asxan** 'bringing it about, in order to' (with intentional).

A, Au **aaĝa-** 'to do in vain' (E **-iiĝali-**), used with the conjunctive, may likewise be derived from **a-** but no Au ***uuĝa-** is attested.

2.1.9.10.3.2. Demonstrative verbs in **-ma-** (2.1.7.7.) are used with the conjunctive and the intentional, passive derivatives in **-maala-** also with the optative (3.8.1.2.).

A, Au **ingaaĝi-** 'to have to, must, should, ought to', derived from the demonstrative **inga** 'right there in front', is used with the intentional (3.8.1.4.4.).

2.1.9.10.3.3. **aĝ-**, Au **uĝ-** (as a full verb 'to put; to give') with the intentional expresses a near (-**ku-**) or distant (-**na-**, *(ĝ)* **ka-**) future (3.8.1.3.1.1.).

A (and Ea 1909) **ax̂-ta-** with the intential expresses a recent past (3.8.1.3.1.2.).

2.1.9.10.3.4. A, Au **amu-** (as a full verb 'to dress', *'to get ready') with the intentional expresses, in the present a near future 'to be ready to, about to; A will soon; Au to start to', in the past a distant past 'before, long time ago' (A) or a nearer past 'a while ago' (A 1909, Au) (3.8.1.3.1.3.).

2.1.9.10.3.5. **saĝa-** 'to sleep, to pass the night' as an auxiliary is used with the intentional in the sense of 'tomorrow, the day after', in Eastern also 'some time in the future', and, in Atkan, with the conjunctive in the sense of 'yesterday, the day before' (3.8.1.3.1.4.).

2.1.9.10.3.6. Temporal auxiliaries, used with the conjunctive (3.8.1.3.2.), are further

(a) in the general **angali-** 'to have done earlier the same day', A **angalikingsi-** 'to have done in the evening', A **dayax̂si-**, Au **ayax̂si-** 'to have done last night', A **qilax̂si-** 'to do in the morning, this morning'; in the present and other tenses **angali-** 'to pass the day (doing so and so)', **amag-**, A **amaxsi-** 'to do in the night', **qila-** 'to do in the morning, until the morning', **qanag-** 'to do in the winter', E **qanikingt-** 'to do in the spring', A **slu-** 'to do in the summer'.

(b) **hula-** ('to dawn') 'to do in or until the morning or tomorrow'; A **ngat-** ('to cool off, grow cold') 1909, Au 1909 **at-** 'to do until daybreak'; **haĝit-** ('to lift, raise up; to wake up') 'to be/do or have been/done for some time'; **ukut-** ('to turn toward; to show up') 'to have been or done for some time, for a long time'; E **uniiĝna-** 'to be or do recently, some time ago' (**uniix̂** 'recently').

2.1.9.10.3.7. **ma-** 'to do, to do so' has several anaphoric and connective uses, also with the meaning 'so, therefore, because', and in Atkan also has a contrastive use with the general (3.8.1.4.5.; 3.8.2.1.1.; 3.9.3.4.1.; 3.11.5.; 3.16 (3)).

ma-qa-x̂ta- with the general 'to do usually, all the time'; with a passive general **maqaĝa-**.

maasa-, passive **maala-** 'and so, and; so, therefore, because' (3.11.4.).

mat-, **masix** 'while doing' with a participle and other uses (3.8.1.4.5.; 3.8.1.2.; 3.8.2.2.1.).

mata- 'to be such as, to be like', 'to have to, be supposed to, should' with the intentional or the general (3.8.1.4.5.; 3.8.1.2.; 3.8.2.2.1.; 3.14.5.2.).

2.1.9.10.3.8. **liida-** 'to resemble, be like'; 'to seem to, be likely to' with participial forms (3.8.2.1.2.; 3.8.2.2.3.); used also in comparisons (3.14.5.2.).

2.1.9.10.3.9. **haqa-** 'to come', with a verbal noun as the subject 'to become' (3.8.2.1.3.).

2.1.10. Particles

The enclitic negation

E **+(y)ulux**, A **+ulax**, **+(y)ulax**, **+(ng)ulax**, Au **+(ng)ul(ax)**, is used both with verbal forms, namely participial tenses (2.1.9.3.), dubitative (2.1.9.5.), anterior in E (2.1.9.8.), and conditional (2.1.9.9.), and with other forms, e.g. pronominal demonstratives (2.1.7.3.) ; E 1860 **tingulux**, A 1860 **ting ulax** 'not me' (Mark 14.19); A **anaĝiĝulax** 'nothing, nobody'; Au 1952 **agiichaĝingul** 'nothing else'; E **ataqasimulux**, A **ataqadimulax** 'not only once, several times'; E 1860 **Aguuĝumngaanulux**, A 1860 **Aguuĝumulagaan** 'not for God' (Mark 10.27); A 1909 **qixiichx̂izulax ilangin** 'not into the rushes' (J 77:105); En 1935 **angaasinulux unuuxsalix** 'singing about nothing', lit. 'not-songs'; A 1862 **ayagaanulax** 'not his own wife, another one's wife'.

2.1.10.2. Transitive postposition **asix**, A, Au **as** 'with, together with' (conjunctive of a stem **at-**, conceivably **a-t-**), e.g. E 1909 **adaan asix waaĝakux̂**, Au **ayaan as maaĝakux̂** 'he came here together with his father'; A 1952 **txidix as waaĝanas** 'they came here at the same time, lit. together with each other'; **sunax̂ as txin liidakux̂** 'it resembles a ship, lit. it is like itself with a ship' (N.M. 1:26). Cf. **agiita-lix** 'accompanying, together with', **sux̂ta-lix** 'using, with'.

2.1.10.3.Conjunctions.

ama (E also **hama**, Au also **am**) E 'or', A, Au 'and'; A **am-asxuu** 'or' (cf. 2.1.9.10.3.1.); **amasix**, A **amas** 'and' (**ama + asix**); E **amayux**, **amay** 'and, and also' (cf. **kayux**).

E **kayux**, A **kayix**, **kay**, Au **kayu**, **kay** 'also, too, (not) either; further, (but) still; E and also, and; Au again'; A 1860 **kayiiĝutalix** 'again'.

2.1.10.4. Modal particle expressing hypothesis or unreality (like Russian *by*) **kum**, old Atkan also **kum-aan**, **kuma**, 1950- **kam**, e.g. A 1952 **malakan agumchix kum ugunuumchix aqachix** 'if you don't do it you might forget it'; 1971 **qanang kum hama** 'where might he be ?'

2.1.10.5. Temporal particles.

tachim, E also **taching**, **tachin** '(not) yet', A **tachimulax**, E **tachingulux** 'not yet'.

tataam (3R sg. loc.) 'again, anew, once more; back again; in turn, also, too', A **tatahliim** 'again, over again', **tatahliiĝutaam** 'again, once again'; old A **tataax** (abl.) 'again, anew; especially', **tataaganaan** 'especially, in particular'.

taaman 'only, then only, then indeed'; E **taamanaan** 'now (finally), now indeed; all the more, especially'; E **taamanulugaan**, old A **taamanulax** (neg.) 'all the more, more and more'; E **taamnisxulgaan**, **taamnasxulgaan** 'now finally; especially' (**+ asix +ulux +(ng)aan**).

A **taama(a)zagaan** 'all the more, still more, more and more'.

2.1.10.6. Adversative particle **taĝa**, A 1909- **tax̂** 'but, however' and 'now! (signal to start), well!'

E **qanang**, **qan**, A **qa** 'well, now!' (with imperative or optative).

2.1.10.7. Question and answer.

E **hi(i)'**, A, Au **ii?** (see 2.1.8.5); A **iyaa**, **yaa** 'isn't it?' (**yaa** also affirmative).

aang 'yes, you are right (also confirmation of a question in the negative, in English 'no')' (also 'hello, hi, hail').

E **kuuguu**, **kuugulux**, A **nangaa** 'no'.

2.1.10.8. Interjections.

aa, Au **a** 'ah' (surprise, fear), E also 'what?' and vocative 'oh'; Ea **ax̂** 'ah!'.(surprise, wish).

E **(h)ii**, A **ay**, 1860 also **ngay** (Mark 15.29) 'oh, ah' (wonder, contempt);.

E **aya** 'listen!', **ayaa** 'look!'; **ayayaa** 'ah' (dismay or the like); E **ayaqaa** 'oh' (fear or wonder), **ayaaqagaating** "holy smokes" (wonder).

A **atii** 'golly, gee'.

E **ating**, **atingyaa**, **aatingyaa**, A **akaayak** 'ouch!'.

E **qagaa**, **qagaatii**, **qagaating(yaa)** 'now, gee-whiz, holy smokes'.

A **uu** 'ouch' (from Russian).

A **avava** 'brr, it's cold' (from Russian).

Au 1909 **huux** exclamation on killing an animal (J 80:8).

2.2. Derivation (postbases)

2.2.0. General observations

2.2.0.1. Number of derivational suffixes

About 570 derivational suffixes, including many composite ones, are listed in *Aleut Dictionary* (with examples). About two thirds of them, however, are found only in a very small number of words, some only in one or two. The more common suffixes number about 175, including composite ones.

2.2.0.2. Simple and composite suffixes

Suffixes may combine in strings of perhaps half a dozen components. Some components belong closely together, forming composites, although the difference between a composite suffix and a sequence of two simple suffixes is not clearcut.

The components of a common composite suffix may be rare, e.g. A -**yugaaĝ-** 'for a while; a little', apparently derived from the rarer **-yuug-** (-**yug-**) 'a little' (E 'for a while') with an otherwise unknown component **-aaĝ-**. Or the components may be common but the meaning of the composite special, e.g. E (**ada**)-**ĝiisi-** 'step(father)', a compound of **-ĝi-** 'have' and **-usi-** 'means', both very common. A composite suffix like -**ĝiiluĝ-** 'place for having or holding' as in **atx̂uĝiilux̂** 'finger hole in spear thrower', **tutxaĝiilux̂** 'ear lobe, lit. place for having earring', could perhaps also be seen as a sequence of **-ĝi-** 'have' and -**aluĝ-** 'place for -ing'.

Suffixes may also belong together without forming a composite, for example when E -**yukat**- 'for a long time' is quantified by -**aasaada**- 'very' as in **aqa-yukach-aasaada-na-n ax̂takun** 'they apparently spent a very long time coming (here)'.

2.2.0.3. Types of stems (bases).

The great majority of derivatives have a single stem which occurs also without the suffix(es) in question.

Some stems are bound, occurring only with some derivational suffix(es), e.g. **ima-t-** 'to shout, call out once', **ima-chx̂i-** 'to shout, scream several times or continuously'; **iĝa-t-** 'to scare, frighten', **iĝa-x̂ta-** 'to fear, be afraid of', **iĝa-na-** 'to be terrible, frightful', etc. (E 1834 **iĝa-** 'to be afraid' is obsolete).

In a few cases the stem is a close-knit nominal phrase with subtraction of an inflectional suffix, e.g. **kamga-m ula-a** 'church, lit. house of prayer or service', **kamgam ula-ĝi-** 'to have a church; to be in church', **kamgam ula-x̂ta-** 'to use (a room) as church', cf. **ula-ĝi-** 'to have a house; to have one's house, to live (somewhere)', **ula-x̂ta-** 'to use for house, to live in (house, tent, etc.)'.

For special derivatives of positional nouns see 2.1.6.3, of demonstratives 2.1.7.8-9., and of **qana-** 'where, which' 2.1.8.6-7.

2.2.0.4 Syntactic and semantic functions of suffixes

By suffixation, a noun may be turned into a verb or vice versa. Many stems, including some derivatives, are ambivalent, both nominal and verbal, but the ambivalence may also be viewed as suffixless conversion.

The valency of a verb may be changed by suffixation, a subject or an object being added or subtracted.

Other verbal suffixes modify the verb or predicate in terms of aspectoidal character, plurality, intensity, contrast, stage of realization, temporal specification, or modality.

Nominal suffixes may change the type of reference of a noun or specify it in terms of size, importance, age, quality, or emotional evaluation. Some suffixes pass to the verb in the case of anaphoric reference.

Some modifying suffixes are class free.

2.2.0.5. Order and scope of suffixes

In word forms with two or more suffixes each successive suffix mostly modifies the preceding string, e.g. Atkan **kuri-za-qada-naaĝi-itu-udahli-laka**(ĝ)**-q** 'I don't even want to try to quit (habitual) smoking' (the English translation mirrors the Aleut order; note the combinations **-qada-naaĝ(i)-** 'try to quit' and **-aatu-udahli-** '(not) even want'). The negation, however, must come last, together with the basic tense or mood suffixes (here the neg. present -**lakaĝ-**) and the person markers (here **-q = (ĝ)+ting** 'I'), even if it modifies the stem alone, for instance the obligatory negation of **idax̂ta-** '(not) ignore' ('to know'), e.g. **idax̂ta-hli-ng-ulax** 'I still (**-hli-**) know it'.

Some suffixes always come immediately after the stem and naturally modify the stem. In the case of verbal stems (including denominal and lexicalized deverbal derivatives), such suffixes may modify the verb in terms of aspect or *Aktionsart,* or affect its valency. Suffixes which may come later in a string can have a wider scope: the predicate with its arguments, the proposition, or the sentence as a whole, possibly a complex one.

This is seen most clearly in the case of permutable suffixes, e.g. A **-za-**, E **-da-**, and **-qali-** 'start, have started': **hla-x̂ txin kuri-za-qali-ku-x̂** 'the boy has started to smoke (habitually), has become a smoker' vs. **qilam txin kuri-qali-za-x̂** 'he usually starts smoking in the morning'. The final **-za-** 'habitually' goes with the whole sentence, like a tense suffix (the suffix **-x̂** is the 3.p.sg. general, a zero tense), while the non-final **-za-** 'habitually' rather marks the aspect of the proposition or the predicate. The two positional variants also combine, meaning 'habitually (or repeatedly) as a custom' or the like, e.g. E **tugidam agnagan tamadaga baabkagan chaĝi-da-da-a** 'every month her midwife massages her (the pregnant woman)' (J 36:4).

2.2.1. Ambivalent stems

Verbal stems used as nouns and nouns used as verbs may be viewed as suffixless conversion (much as in English), corresponding to suffixes that turn verbs into nouns

(2.2.2.) or nouns into verbs (2.2.4.). There seem to be no formal criteria for determining the direction of the conversion, however, and the nominal use of a verbal stem may be difficult to distinguish from the suffixless tense called general (2.1.9.3.1.).

2.2.1.1. Verbs converted into nouns

Intransitive verbs yield action nouns and agentive nouns difficult to distinguish from verbal nouns and participles, e.g. E **idgu-**, A **hiidu-** 'to be drafty (inside of house)' and 'draft (in house)'; **awa-** 'to work' and 'work; worker (formerly also servant, bondman)'; **alitxu-** 'to wage war' and 'war; warrior, war party (also crew)'; **adalu-** 'to lie, tell a lie' and 'lie; liar'; **hanika-** 'to float' and 'float, buoy'; A **igidgu-** 'to fall down' and 'waterfall'. The following Russian loanwords rather yield nouns indicating means: **kadi-** 'to incense, burn incense' and 'censer'; **kuri-** 'to smoke tobacco' and 'a smoke, cigarette'.

Several transitive verbs yield nouns of result, e.g. **isi-** 'to cut (as with a knife), to make a cut into; to cut across (go across)' and 'cut, wound; slice', e.g. **isii qamdakux̂** 'the cut (his wound) is deep', **xliibam isii** 'a slice of bread'; **una-** 'to cook, boil, bake' and 'something cooked, old food'; **halu-** 'to sew' and 'seam'; A **chx̂uuĝ-** 'to wash (dishes, clothes)', **chx̂uuĝis** pl. 'washed clothes'. E **chimx̂a-** 'to shoot with a shotgun' (also 'to splash') rather yields a noun indicating means: **chimx̂a-x** du. 'double-barreled shotgun'.

2.2.1.2. Nouns converted into verbs

The semantic relations of intransitive verbs to the respective nouns can be summarized roughly under the following headings:

(a) 'to be or be like N, to have N in it, or to produce N', e.g. **alix̂** 'old man' and 'to be an old man'; **suganĝ-** 'youth, young person' and 'to be young (person)'; **uchiitila-** 'teacher' and 'to teach, be teaching'; **sla-** 'wind' and 'to blow'; **qaniix** 'snow' and 'to snow'; **alaĝu-** 'sea' and 'to run high (of sea)' (cf. (b) below); **ayangi-** 'fog' and 'to be foggy'; E **uĝdu-** 'moss' and 'to be mossy'; **chaxa-** 'hollow, depression; pit' and 'to have a depression in it (of rock)'; **tunu-** 'voice, sound; word, language, etc.' and 'to sound; to speak, etc.'; E **quyx̂i-**, A **qingdi-** 'spit, sputum' (mostly pl.) and 'to spit'; **aamax** 'blood' and 'to bleed'.

(b) 'to stay at, to get to, or to pass N', e.g. **ixsx(i)-** 'rookery' and 'to stay in a rookery'; **qigla-** 'snag, place where fishline sticks' and 'to snag, stick in the bottom'; **alaĝu-** 'sea' and 'to go into the sea; to go by the sea'; **sisx-** 'isthmus, portage' and 'to pass an isthmus'; **akayu-** 'strait' and 'to pass a strait'; **amax** 'night' and 'to spend the night (somewhere)'; **angali-** 'daylight, day' and "to pass the day (doing so and so)', cf. 2.1.9.10.3.6.

(c) 'to gather, use, or consume N', e.g. **qiiga-** 'grass' and 'to gather grass'; **ikla-** 'firewood' and 'to pick wood for fire'; E **qaayu-** 'berry' and 'to pick berries' (but A **aangsu-t-**); **alga-** 'mammal' and E 'to catch sea mammals'; E **imgax̂**, A **imyax̂** 'fish line for deep sea' and 'to fish with deep-sea line'; **angu-** 'lamp' and 'to warm oneself over lamp'; E **miichi-** 'ball' and 'to play ball'; **maqda-** 'breast, teat' and 'to suck (of baby)'; **kuufya-** 'coffee' and 'to drink coffee'; **chax̂sa-**, **nax̂na-** 'soup' and 'to eat soup'.

A phrase like **krupam suupaa** 'rice soup' is turned into a verb with the adjunct as an object: **krupax̂ suupa-** 'to eat rice soup'; likewise A **itx̂aygim sakligigan** [3A sg.rel.] **suupaa** 'reindeer rib soup': **itx̂aygim sakligingis** [3A pl.abs.] **suupaatuzaq** 'I like to eat reindeer rib soup'.

Transitive verbs converted from nouns indicate

(d) 'to provide with N, to apply N to, to use N for, or to be N to', e.g. **qiiga-** 'grass' and 'to cover with grass'; **ikla-** 'firewood' and 'to put firewood into (stove)'; **achxu-** 'share' and 'give a share to'; **kamu-** 'roof' and 'to roof'; A **amu-** 'clothes' and 'to dress'; **chiku-** 'piece of food (put into a pot for cooking)' and 'to put pieces of food into (pot), to fill'; **chadu-** 'oil' and 'to oil'; **asxu-** 'nail' and 'to nail, nail on'; **anax** 'club' and 'to club'; **qigda-** 'hook' and 'to hook'; **igda-** 'flint' and 'to set fire to'; **kita-** 'foot' and 'to kick'; **tuga-** 'fist' and 'to strike, hit'; **cha-** 'hand' and 'to pick'; E **dux̂taasa-**, **guusti-**, A **agiida-** 'guest' and 'to visit'. Special relation in **kitu-** 'louse, lice' and 'to clean (head) from lice'.

(e) 'to make N of', e.g. **huda-** 'dried fish or meat' and 'to dry (fish or meat)'; **hadgu-** 'pile' and 'to pile, heap up'; **haĝu-** 'pack' and 'to pack'; **husi-** 'load' and 'to load'; **udix** 'share' and 'to divide'.

(f) 'to put (something) into N, to take (something) from N': **aĝda-** 'stomach, bladder filled with blubber, seal oil, or dried fish' and 'to put (blubber or dried fish) into a sea lion stomach'; **kuchi-** 'boulder, big rock' and 'to fish (pogies) among boulders'.

On the verbal use of numerals see 2.1.5.1.

2.2.2. Nouns derived from verbs

These nouns indicate the actor of an action (agentive nouns), the object of an action, or the instrument, place, time or way of an action. Agentive nouns may also be verbal, ambivalent (cf. 2.2.1.1.). Nouns derived from transitive verbs may have an object like the underlying verb.

2.2.2.1. Agentive nouns

-na- 'V-er, to be a V-er', functional variant of the active remote and participle (2.1.9.3.3.), e.g. **una-** 'to cook': **unana-** 'cook; to be a cook, do the cooking'; **taya-** 'to visit the market, to shop; to buy': **tayana-** 'trader; to do trading'; E **hachiga-**, A **achixa-** 'to teach': **hachigana-**, **achixana-** 'teacher'. In Atkan also 'being more or most V', e.g. **hlam anguna-a** 'a big boy': **hlam angunanaa** 'the biggest boy'.

-(x̂)ta- 'habitual, skilled or professional V-er; to be a skilled, etc. V-er', e.g. **awa-** 'to work': **awax̂ta-** 'skilled worker; to be a skilled worker'; **angaachaĝi-** 'to sing': **angaachaĝix̂ta-** '(a / to be a) professional singer'; **kalu-** 'to shoot': **kalux̂ta-** '(a / to be a) sharp shooter'; **aygag-** 'to walk': **aygaxta-** 'a good walker'.

E **-n(a)sika-**, **-snika-** 'habitual, skilled or professional V-er', e.g. **(h)alu-** 'to sew': **alunsika-**, **alusnika-** 'seamstress'; **aluĝ-** 'to write': **aluĝnasika-**, **alux̂snika-**

'writer, author'; **atxax̂ta-** 'to keep in order': **ulaan atxax̂tanasikax̂** (**matanax̂**) '(had) a steward of his house' (1870, Luke 16.1; **ulaan** sg. 3R sg. abs. object).

A 1840-60 **-dgux̂ta-** (**-dgu-x̂ta-**) 'who is V-ing', e.g. **alaqaĝi-** 'to be in need': **alaqaĝidgux̂taz-iin** 'to the poor' (Mark 10.21).

A 1840-60 **-alux̂ta-** (**-alux̂-ta-**) 'one who has V-ing as a profession', e.g. **gorsuuka-x̂si-** 'to make pots': **gorsuukax̂six̂tax̂** 'potter'; **isxuli-** 'to exchange': **qichitix̂ isxulilux̂tas** 'money-exchangers' (John 2.14).

-gali- | **-(ĝ)kali-** 'one who is to V, going to V; one to be V-ed, ready to be V-ed', e.g. **ayx̂a-** 'to travel, go by sea': Ea **ayx̂agalix̂** 'he who is to travel' (J 24:7); **ukux̂ta-** 'to see': Ea **ukux̂taqaan ukux̂tagalix̂** 'he who is to see what he has seen before' (J 25:10); **waaĝa-** 'to come here': E 1870 **waaĝagalin hayada** 'ask people to come' (Luke 14.27; A likewise).

2.2.2.2. Object nouns

-(ĝ)ka- 'someone or something V-ed', functional variant of the remote and participle (2.1.9.3.3.), e.g. E **hachiga-**, A **achixa-** 'to teach': **hachigaqa-**, **achixaqa-** 'pupil, student, disciple'; **mayaaĝ-** 'to hunt, trap': A **mayaaqa-** 'what is hunted, fur, pelts'; **qa-** 'to eat': **qaqa-** 'food, dish'.

-(ĝ)kuli- 'something to be V-ed, something for V-ing; to produce something to be V-ed', e.g. **qa-** 'to eat': **qaquli-** 'something to be eaten (salted)'; A **hila-** 'to read': **Niiĝuĝim hilaqulingis** 'Atkan readings'; **tat-** 'to burst': A **tatxuli-** 'bomb'; **ma-** 'to do': **maquli-** E 'law', E, A 'to order, command'.

-ga- 'something to be V-ed' (restricted), e.g. **taĝax̂taasa-** 'to understand by': **taĝax̂taasaga-** E 1838 'footnote', A 1860 'sign'.

-(**i**)**gna-**, E also -(**i**)**kna-** 'result of V; to be a result of V', e.g. **hig-** 'to burn': **higigna-** 'ashes'; **six̂t-** 'to break': E **six̂tikna-**, A **six̂tigna-** 'broken piece'; **chix̂t-** 'to become wet': E **chix̂tikna-** 'to be soaked wet'.

2.2.2.3. Nouns of instrument, place, or way of action

-usi-, **-asi-** 'means for V-ing; place for V-ing; way of V-ing' (cf. 2.1.1.2.4.), nominal counterpart of the verbal suffix **-usa-**, **-asa-** (2.2.5.1.), e.g. **ayx̂a-** 'to go by sea': **ayx̂aasi-** 'boat'; **mayaax̂ta-** 'to catch (e.g. **chagi-x̂** a halibut)': E **chagim-aan mayaax̂taasix̂** 'the implement for catching the halibut'; **ukux̂ta-** 'to look at': E 1792 **Tukum Igim uukux̂taacha** 'Chief's Means for Looking at Himself (mirror)' (name of boy, Census 7.2.34); **taanga-** 'to drink': **taangaasi-** 'place for drinking' (J 3:24); **hag-** 'to grow up': **hagusi-** 'growth, stature'; **haĝit-** 'to lift up (**dakin** your eyes)': E 1861 **daminikin haĝidusitxin** 'the way (lit. ways) you lift up your eyes'; **axta-** 'to pass (**kuu** upon him)': A 1840 **kux̂ (kuu) axtaasix̂** 'attack, assault', lit. 'passing upon (him, it)'.

-aluĝ- 'place for V-ing; time for V-ing; way of V-ing', e.g. **una-** 'to cook': **unaalux̂** 'cooking place; bonfire'; A **achixa-** 'to teach': **achixaalux̂** 'school'; **agalĝ(i)-** 'harpoon; to harpoon': **Agalĝalux̂** 'time for hunting sea lion and sea otter: E November, A December'; **hi-** 'to say, utter, tell': **hilux̂** 'expression, word; dialect'.

-aat- 'extent of (possessor's) V-ing' (dimensional V), e.g. **adu-** 'to be long': **aduucha, aduutii** 'its length', A **aduuting mas hamang ting ayutnaq** 'I fell (making) my length there'.

2.2.3. Nouns derived from nouns

Most of these suffixes modify the stem in terms of size, importance or resemblance, quantity, quality, speaker's emotional attitude, relation, or state. Some of the suffixes indicating size or emotional attitude pass from the noun to the verb in the case of anaphoric reference (3.1.1.4.; 3.2.3.). Some suffixes are also verbal. A few composite suffixes (denominal verb plus deverbal noun) indicate place or means for dealing with N.

2.2.3.1. Size

E -**(i/a)lgu-**, A -(i)**lĝu-** 'big, large N; to be a big N' (also 'to V greatly'), e.g. **tayaĝu-** 'man': A **tayaĝulĝux̂** 'big man', **qalĝukux̂** 'the big one is eating'; **ula-** 'house': A **ulalĝux̂** 'a big house', **ulalĝukux̂** 'it is a big house'; **tx-in** 'you': **txilĝuun** 'you big one'.

-kucha- or -(i)**kucha-** (after **u** -**kicha-**) 'little, small, small-sized N', e.g. A **hla-** 'boy': **hlakuchax̂** (**hilakux̂**) 'the little boy (is reading)'. **hilakuchakux̂** 'the little one is reading'; E **lakaaya-** 'boy': **lakaay(a)kuchax̂** 'small boy' (smaller than **lakaayaada-**, see 2.2.3.2.); **isux̂** 'seal': A **isukicha-**, **isuĝikucha-** 'small-sized seal'; **tx-in** 'you': A **txikuchaan** 'you little one'.

A **-laayakucha-** 'very small, tiny'.

-kda- 'small' (restricted), e.g. **hani-** 'lake': A 1840 **hanikdax̂** 'small lake'.

E **-miklu-** 'big' (restricted).

Au **-sugaaya-** 'big'

2.2.3.2. Importance and resemblance

-iigamag- 'major, main, chief, or favorite N', e.g. **isux̂** 'seal': **isuĝiigamax** 'adult seal'; **tanadgusi-** 'village': **tanadguchiigamax, tanadgusiigamax** 'main village; town, city'; E **aygaĝasi-** 'basket': **aygax̂siigmaging** 'my favorite basket'; **kamga(m)-tukuu** 'priest' (lit. chief of prayer or service): A **kamga-tukuugamagii** 'bishop', 1860 **kamga-tukuugamagix** du. (underlying phrase treated as a simple stem) 'high priests' (Luke 3.2.).

-aada- 'minor N; resembling N, to resemble N; play N, to play with N; E, Au little, small N; E dear N' (also 'V a little', see 2.2.6.2.), e.g. **isux̂** 'seal': **isuĝaadax̂** 'young seal'; **uxchu-** 'tufted puffin': A **uxchuudax̂** 'ragwort'; **hla-** 'boy': **hlaadax̂** 'doll', A **hlaada-l** 'to play with a doll'; E **lakaaya-** 'boy': **lakaayaadax̂** 'little boy'; **ana-** 'mother': **anaadang** 'my dear mother'.

-**Vquda-**, E -**Vqusa-**, A -**Vquza-** 'kind of N, resembling N' (restricted), e.g. **chigda-** 'gut parka': E **chigdaaqudax̂** 'old gut parka'; **chikna-** 'limpet': E **chiknaaqudax̂** 'pimple'.

-dug- 'approximate N' (restricted), e.g. **alix̂** 'old man': E **aliĝdux** 'middle-aged man'.

2.2.3.3. Quantity

-kidaag-, Au **-kiyaag-** 'many, lots of N', e.g. **tayaĝu-** 'man': E **tayaĝukidaax**, Au **tayaĝukiyaagin** pl. 'many men'; **sa-** 'bird, duck': E **sakidaax** 'lots of ducks'.

A **-yuukicha-**, **-yuukucha-** (**-yuug+kucha-**) 'a few N', e.g. **ikla-** 'wood, firewood': **iklayuukuchas** pl. 'a little wood, a small amount of wood'.

-ĝahlina- (**-(ĝ)a-hli-na-**), A 1860 **-ĝahliida-** (**-(ĝ)a-hli-aada-**) 'every, any, all sorts of N', e.g. **angali-** 'day': E **angaliĝlinax̂**, A **angaliĝahlinax̂** 'every day'; **ayx̂aasi-** 'boat': A **igluqam ayx̂aasiĝahlinangis** 'all sorts of skin boats' (N.M. 1:16).

2.2.3.4. Quality

E **-chxisa-**, with negation **-chxida-**, A **-chxiza-**, Au **chixt'a-** 'a nice, pretty, fine or good N; to be a nice, pretty or good N', with negation 'a bad or poor N', e.g. **sla-** 'weather': E **slachxisax̂**, A **slachxizax̂** 'nice weather', E **slachxidaĝulux**, A **slachxizaĝulax** 'bad weather'; **ayaga-** 'woman': A **ayagachxizax̂** 'a pretty woman', **ayagachxizakux̂** 'she is a pretty woman'; **tx-in** 'you': A **txichxizaan** 'you pretty one'.

E **-chxisaada-** (**-chxisa+aada-**) 'a nice, pretty N', e.g. **tayaĝu-** 'man': **tayaĝuchxisaadax̂** 'handsome man'.

2.2.3.5. Speaker's emotional attitude

The following suffixes pass from the noun to the verb in the case of anaphoric reference.

-x̂siida- 'poor, pitiful N; A dear N', e.g. **ada-ng** 'my father': A **adax̂siidang** 'my poor (deceased) father'; **inaqa-ng** 'I myself': **inaqax̂siidang** 'poor me'; **qaatu-** 'to be hungry': A **qaatux̂siidat ?** 'are you hungry, poor thing ?' (said to baby).

-iiklu- expresses anger or contempt (also jokingly): 'bad, nasty, clumsy N'; in A amplifies **-lĝu-** 'big', may be doubled, and may follow suffixes of the same type, e.g. **ula-** 'house': **ulaaklux̂** 'old, bad house', A **ulalĝuuklukux̂** 'it is a real big house'; **hix̂ta-** 'say': A **alqux̂ hix̂taaklul hingamax̂t** 'what are you trying to say ?' (said to a small child); **tx-in** 'you': A **t(x)iikluun** 'you clumsy one', **txinax̂chx̂iilkidaakluun** 'you clumsy damned one'.

-iilkida- expresses annoyance or a certain showoff: 'the darned or wretched N', e.g. A 1979 **haman** *barge***iilkidax̂ chuqudaalkimalakax̂** 'that darned barge was not (darned) small either'; **qawa-** 'sea lion': E **qawalguulkidax̂**, A **qawalĝuulkidax̂** 'a darned big sea lion'.

-namqu-, Au **-naqu-** 'the darned, wretched N', e.g. **ula-** 'house': E **ulanamqux̂** 'a big ugly house'; **asx̂a-** 'die' : A **aqadaam asx̂anamquulkidanax̂** 'whereupon the darned man died' (J 76:72).

Au **-nungi-** expresses anger: 'darned, dash it' (J 80:23, 81:7).

-nax̂chx̂i- expresses anger (also jokingly): 'the damned N', e.g. A **sabaaka-** 'dog': **sabaakanax̂chx̂ix̂** 'damned dog"; **hingaya-a** 'there it is': **hingayanax̂chx̂iilkidaa** 'there is that damned thing (dog)'; **qaatu-** 'to be hungry': **qaatunax̂chx̂il gumakuq** 'I'm damned hungry (now)'.

Also the following may belong here:

E -**kuda-** expresses anger (J 49:36).

A, Au 1909 **-kuta-** 'poor (?)' (J 76:80, 188; 82:39).

E **-kusa-**, A **-kuza-** (after **u -kiza-**) 'dear N', e.g. **hla-** 'boy, son': E **lakusaking** 'my two dear sons' (J 8:30).

The restricted suffix **-aanguusi-** 'intimate (?)' is probably nominal only, e.g. **alix̂** 'old man': Eaun 1952- **aliĝaanguusing** 'my old man (father or husband)'; E **aqicha-ng** 'my (special) friend': Eun 1984 **aqichaanguusing** 'my best friend'.

2.2.3.6. Relations

-duda- 'N's mutually', e.g. **asaga-** 'cousin': **asagaduda-x** du. 'cousins mutually'.

-qasi- 'x's fellow N, another N, an N like x', e.g. **Unanga-** 'Aleut': Ep 1983 **Unangaq(a)sining** 'my fellow Aleuts'; A 1860 **ukuqulax̂ ukuqulaqasiin ii akiiĝasaakalix** 'can the blind lead another blind ?' (Luke 6.39).

E **-ĝiisi-** (-**(a)ĝi+usi-**) 'step-N', e.g. **ada-** 'father': **adaĝiisii** 'his stepfather'.

2.2.3.7. States

-**(ĝ)ana-**, A -**(i)ĝana-**, Au **-ĝuna-** (-**(ĝ)a-**, Au **-ĝu+na-**) 'which is an N, which is used for N', e.g. E **tahla-**, A **awa-** 'servant': E **anĝaĝinam tahlaĝanaa**, A **ayagam awaĝanaa** 'maidservant' (Mark 14.69); **Maarfa-** 'Martha': A 1860 **asx̂ax̂tam uhngigan Maarfaĝanagan** (**Ngaan tunux̂takuu**) 'the dead's sister Martha (says to Him)' (John 11.39).

-liga- 'future N, material for N', e.g. **ugi-** 'husband': **ugiliga-** 'bridegroom'; **ayx̂aasim igluqaa** 'baidarka skin': A **ayx̂aasim igluqaligaa** 'material for baidarka skin'.

-iigu- 'old, worn N' (restricted), e.g. **chigda-** 'gut parka': **chigdaagux̂** 'old gut parka'.

-**(x̂)taqa-** (-**(x̂)ta-qa-**) 'used N, old, worn N; former N', e.g. **chux̂taqa-** 'clothes': E **chux̂taqax̂taqa-n** 'worn out clothes', A **-s** 'used clothes'; **ayaga-** 'wife': A 1860 **hamaan ayagax̂taqaa** 'his former (deceased) wife' (Mark 12.19).

-(i)txa-, Au **-ta-** (**-t+ka-**) 'gotten (caught, killed) by (person)', e.g. A **uuquchiing(i-)** 'fox': **uuquchiingitxaning** 'the foxes I have caught'.

2.2.3.8. Composite suffixes indicating place or means

-dgusi-, E **-dgasi-** (**-dg-usi-** / **-asi-**) 'container for N, place for putting or finding N', e.g. **qalgada-** 'food': A **qalgadadgusix̂** 'pantry'; **ikla-** 'firewood': A **ikladgusix̂** 'place where driftwood is found'.

-**(a)ĝiiluĝ-** (-**(a)ĝi+aluĝ-**) 'place for having or holding N', e.g. **atx̂u-** 'finger': A **atx̂uĝiilux̂** 'finger hole in spear thrower'; **tutxa-** 'ear pendant': **tutxaĝiilux̂** 'ear lobe, lit. place for having ear pendants'.

-siiluĝ- (**-si+aluĝ-**) 'place for gathering or picking N', e.g. A **uugli-** 'coal': **uuglisiilux̂** 'place for gathering coal, coal supply'.

-liisi- (**-li+usi-**) 'means for removing N', e.g. E **qidĝu-** 'ear wax': **qidĝuliisix̂** 'ear pick'.

-siisi- (**-si+usi-**) 'means for getting or gathering N', e.g. **chala-** 'clam': **chalasiisix̂** 'shovel for digging clams'.

2.2.4. Verbs derived from nouns

These suffixes indicate, roughly speaking, having, looking for and getting, providing, making, dealing with, or resembling N, having the smell or taste of N, but some of them include more than one type of meaning.. Some of the suffixes are also nominal (cf. 2.2.1.1.), and some are also deverbal (cf. 2.2.5.).

2.2.4.1. Having

-(**a**)**ĝi-** 'to have N, to get N; to have N in it or on it; to use N, to go in N (boat); to deal with N; to be in or at N, to hunt or fish on/in N; to go to N' (also deverbal, see 2.2.5.1.), e.g. **ula-** 'house': **ulaĝi-** 'to have a house, live in a house; to stay at home' (cf. 2.2.0.3.); **cha-** 'hand': A **chaĝil qakuq** 'I am eating with my hand'; A **Chunixsa-** name of camp: **Chunixsaĝilgaax̂tax̂** 'let us go to Ch. (to fish)'.

-(**a**)**ĝi-qada-** (**-qada-** 'to stop, no more') 'to lose N, to run out of N', e.g. **ugi-** 'husband': **ugiĝiqada-** 'to lose her husband, become widowed'.

-(**a**)**ĝiqada-t-** 'to deprive of N'.

-(**x̂**)**ta-** 'to have as N, to use as N; to have N of, to have (x number) N', transitive equivalent of -(**a**)**ĝi-**, e.g. **ula-** 'house': **ulax̂ta-** 'to use for house, to have as a house, to live in (house, tent, cave, etc.)'; **ayaga-** 'woman, wife': **ayagax̂ta-** 'to have as wife, to be married to'; **da-** 'eye': **ataqan dax̂ta-** 'to have one eye (only), be one-eyed'. Note the copying of the noun with an adjunct or a qualifying or possessive suffix in E **aaykaaĝum tutusikix tutusix̂takux̂** 'has fox ears as ears, has fox ears' (J 64:25); A **dalĝuuchxuzas dax̂tal** 'having awfully big eyes'; A **ingtingin agach ingtix̂tazakuziin ...** 'we used only our blankets'. The close-knit phrase **kamgam ulaa** 'church' is treated as a single word in A **kamga(m) ulax̂taqangin** 'we used it as church, it was our church'.

-(**ĝ**)**a-**, Au **-ĝu-** passive of the preceding (cf. 2.2.5.1.), e.g. **ayagaĝa-** 'to be had as wife, to be married'; A **kamgam ulaĝazaqax̂** 'was used as church'.

-(**a**)**ĝu-** 'to have many N', e.g. **aniqdu-** 'child': **aniqduĝu-** 'to have many children'; E **anĝaĝi-** 'person, man': **adum anĝaĝiĝugan nagan** 'into a cave with many men in it' (J 46:9).

-tu- 'to have a big N, to have much N, to have much N on/in/to it', e.g. **adi-** 'lip': **aditu-** 'to have big lips'; **chugu-** 'sand': **chugutu-** 'to be full of sand, to be covered by sand'.

-diga-, Au **-yiga-**, and E **-siga-**, A **-ziga-**, Au **-t'iga-** 'to have a good, efficient N', with negation 'to have a poor N'; also nominal 'a good, efficient N' (and deverbal verb, see 2.3.6.2), e.g. **angali-** 'daylight, day': **angalidiga-** 'to be bright, light'; **sla-** 'weather': **sladiga-** 'good, right weather'; **kamu-** 'roof': **kamuzigalakan ichaxs hingamakux̂** 'it (house) has a poor roof and is dripping'.

-lug-, **-luxta-** (+(**x̂**)**ta-**) 'to have a bad N, to have pain in N, to suffer from N' (also deverbal, see 2.2.6.2.), e.g. **kita-** 'foot': A **kitalug-** 'to have pain in one's feet', E **kitaluxta-** 'to be crippled'; **kahnu-** 'nasal mucus': **kahnulug-** 'to have a cold'.

-qula- 'to be without N' (restricted; also deverbal), e.g. **tana-** 'space': E **tanaqula-** 'to have no room; to be narrow'.

2.2.4.2. Looking for and getting

-naaĝ- 'to go for N, try to catch N, hunt N; to look for N' (also deverbal 'to try', thus possibly N converted to V, cf. 2.2.1.2. (c)), e.g. **isux̂** 'seal': **isuĝnaaĝ-** to hunt seal', A **isuĝnaaĝnaaĝnas** 'they tried to hunt seal'; **ikla-** 'firewood; to pick wood for fire': A **iklanaaĝ-** 'to look for wood'.

-aaĝu- 'to look for N, to look for his/her N' (also deverbal), e.g. **isux̂** 'seal': **isuĝaaĝu-** 'to look for seal'; **chihmi-** 'track'; **chihmiiĝu-** to follow the tracks of (fox)'.

-siiĝu- 'to look for N, to gather N, to catch N'.

A, Au -**saaĝu-** 'to look for, hunt for N', e.g. **isux̂** 'seal': **isux̂saaĝu-** 'to hunt for seals'.

E -(**a**)**ĝut-**, A -(**a**)**ĝu-** 'to ask to be N, to look for N', e.g. **ayaga-** 'wife': E **ayagaĝut-** 'to ask (woman) in marriage; to look for a wife'.

-si- 'to get N (especially game), to pick N, to gather N, to store N; to get N on', e.g. **chngatu-** 'sea otter': E **chngatusi-** 'to get sea otter'; **qa-** 'fish': **qasi-** 'to fish for supply, to store fish'; **sitxi-** 'excrement': E **sitxisi-** 'to get excrement on (his hands)'.

-t- 'to get N, to pick, gather N (cf. 2.2.1.2. (c)); to hit on the N side of (game) and miss', e.g. **taanga-** 'water': **taangat-** 'to get, fetch water'; **anga-** 'side': **angatikung** 'I hit beside it (seal)'.

-txaĝi-, Au **-taĝi-** (2.2.3.7. **-txa+ĝi-**) 'to catch or find (some) N', e.g. **qa-** 'fish': A **qatxaĝit ii?** 'did you catch any fish ?'; **ula-** 'house': A **ulatxaĝit ?** 'did you find a house ?'

E 1834 **-txula-** (**-tx(a)-ula-**) 'to catch no N'.

2.2.4.3. Providing

-lĝ(**i**)- | **-sx̂**(**i**)- (± **-t-**) 'to provide with N, to put N on or into, to put in N'; vr. 'to supply oneself with N, to get N, to get N on it', e.g. **ayaga-** 'wife': **ayagalĝi-** 'to marry, give a wife; vr. to marry, get a wife'; **uluuda-** 'red (fox)': A **Sitxinax̂ txin uluudalĝinax̂** 'Sitkin Island got red foxes on it'.

-lĝita- | **-sx̂ita-** (-(**x̂**)**ta-**) 'to have provided with N; to keep N on or in; to keep in N', e.g. **ula-** 'house': **ulalĝita-** 'to keep indoors'; **umna-** 'rope': A **asux̂ umnalĝital inkatal** 'having the pot hanging on a rope'.

-usa-, **-asa-** 'to take as N, to give as N (**ngaan** to him/her)', special use of the deverbal suffix (2.2.5.1.), e.g. **ugi-** 'husband': A **iligiimdix ataqan tayaĝux̂ ngaan ugiisaqangis** 'they gave her one man from among themselves as husband'; **ula-** 'house': A 1840 **tanĝaaĝim chixtigan naga igim ulaasalix** 'taking a bear's den's interior for abode (for herself), settling inside a bear's den' (V B 3:2).

-li- 'to remove N from, to lose N from', also 'to go to or into N' and 'to make N, to prepare N', e.g. **qaagu-** 'dust, dirt': **qaaguli-** 'to clean (house)'; **alaĝu-** 'sea': **alaĝuli-** 'to go into the sea'; phrasal base **Kanaaĝim tanaa** 'the land of the Koniags' in E **Kanaaĝim tanalinax̂** 'whoever visited the land of the Koniags' (J 17:160); **humaĝi-** 'inflated decoy seal': E **isuĝim umaĝili-** 'to make a decoy seal'.

2.2.4.4. Making

-(x̂)si- 'to make (manufacture, build) N, to make N of (material); a made N; vr. to become N; to deal with N; E to put N in; A to kill N (game); Au to gather, store N; Au to celebrate N', e.g. **ula-** 'house': **ulax̂si-** 'to build a house'; **alix̂** 'old man': **txin alix̂sikux̂** 'he is getting old'; **anĝaĝim anĝaĝii** 'human being': A 1862 **txin anĝaĝim-anĝaĝix̂sinaa** 'becoming man'; with additional **-usa-** 'with' and phrasal base Ea 1909 **Tanax̂-Amix̂** 'St. Paul Island' in E **Tanax̂-ngiin Amix̂siisaax̂txin** 'go to T.A. with us' (J 9:15).

2.2.4.5. Dealing with N

-limaĝ- | **-simaĝ-** 'to deal with N', e.g. **hyaaga-** 'wood': **hyaagalimaĝ-** 'to do carpentry'; **qa-** 'fish': A **qalimaĝ-** 'to cut fish'; **sla-** 'weather': A **slalimaĝ-** 'to check, forecast the weather'.

E **-likda-**, E, A **-ligda-** 'to clean N; to punish, beat N', e.g. **qa-** 'fish': A **qaligda-** 'to clean fish'; **hla-** 'boy, son': A **hlaligda-** 'to shake, punish his son'.

-lix̂ta- (**-li-x̂ta-**) 'to have had too much N; to suffer in N; A to make, prepare N', e.g. **taanga-** 'water, liquor': **taangalix̂ta-** 'to be drunk'; **kamg(i)-** 'head': E **kamgillix̂ta-** 'to be crazy'; **kuufya-** 'coffee': A **kuufyalix̂ta-** 'to make coffee'.

-lig-, **-lixt-**, **lixta-** 'to have a presentiment of N' (also deverbal), e.g. E **ux̂taasi-** 'guest': **ux̂taas(i)lixta-** 'to have the presentiment of a guest'.

2.2.4.6. Resembling N, having the smell or taste of N

-su- 'to resemble N; which resembles N, N-like', e.g. A **daax̂tu-** 'kidney': **daax̂tusu-la-** 'to be crimson, purple'; **ula-** 'house': **ulasu-** 'hut, temporary shelter'.

-aada- and E **aasa-**, A **-aaza-** 'to resemble N, resembling N; to play with N, play N' see 2.2.3.2. and cf. 2.2.6.2.

-nu- 'to smell or taste of N', e.g **qa-**'fish': **qanu-** 'to smell of fish'; **saaxara-** 'sugar': **saaxaranu-** 'to taste of sugar'.

E **-nuuĝ(i)sa-**, A **-nuuĝiza-**, **-nuuĝida-** 'to smell of N, to have the nice odor of N; to taste of N', e.g. **qa-** 'fish': E **qanuux̂sa-** 'smell of cooked fish; favorite, appetizing food'; **taanga-** 'water': A **taanganuuĝida-** 'to taste flat, insipid'.

2.2.5. Change of verbal valency

These suffixes add or remove a subject or an object and some of them may combine. The more important ones will be discussed in more detail in the syntax (3.4.).

2.2.5.1. Addition of subject

-(**i**)**chx̂i-** (in the conjunctive also **+-t-**), Au -(**x̂**)**chi-** 'to have, make (cause by positive action) or to let (allow, not prevent) x to V; to think x to V; E 'to wait for x to V', combinable with verbs (also derivatives) of any valency, e.g. **qa-** 'to eat': **qachx̂i-** 'to feed, give to eat'; **haĝu-** 'to pack, carry': **haĝuchx̂i-** 'to let (**ngaan** him) carry'; **chula-** 'to dress (**txin** herself)': **chulachx̂i-** 'to let (**ngaan** her) dress (herself)'.

The following suffixes derive transitive verbs from intransitive ones, with no deverbal suffixes before them:

-ni- 'to cause to V, to make (somebody or something) V; vr. to begin to V, to become V (gradually)', e.g. **saĝa-** 'to sleep': **saĝani-** 'to put to sleep; vr. to go to sleep, to fall asleep'.

-nisa- 'to wait for to V; to cause to V, induce into V-ing', e.g. **haqa-** 'to come': **haqanisa-** 'to wait for to come; to decoy, imitate in order to make (game) come'; A **aqla-** 'to be angry': **anaan aqlanisal** 'causing his mother to get angry'.

-t- 'to cause to become V, to make V; vr. to become V; to start V-ing', e.g. **adu-** 'to be long': **adut-** 'to lengthen'; **asx̂a-** 'to die': **asx̂at-** 'to kill'; **aygag-** 'to walk': **txin aygaxt-** 'to walk off'; transitive base **qadgi-** 'to go through': **qadgit-** 'to put through'.

-ta- (**-t-**(**x̂**)**ta-**) 'to have made V; to keep V-ed; vr. to have become V; to have started V-ing', e.g. **aduta-** 'to keep (hair) long'; **asx̂ata-** 'to have killed'; **qadgita-** 'to go through; to see through'.

-(**i**)**dgu-**, (**ĝ**)**-adgu-**, **-iidgu-**, frequentative of **-t-**, e.g. **slag-** 'to be wide': **slagi**(**i**)**dgu-** 'to make (several things) wider'; **asx̂a**(**a**)**dgu-** 'to kill (several)'.

-(**a**)**ya-** 'to try to make V (try to **-ni-** or **-t-**), e.g. **saĝaya-** 'to try to put to sleep (child, as by rocking)'; **asx̂aya-** 'to try to kill'.

-qalĝi- (**-qa-lĝi-**) 'to make V-ing; vr. to become V-ing, more V-ing', e.g. **taĝa-** 'understand': **huzugaan txin taĝaqalĝikux̂** 'he always understands more, makes progress (in the school)'.

-i- 'to cause a change of state' (restricted), e.g. **la-** 'to escape (of air)': **li-** 'to let out (air)'; **six̂-t-** 'to break, go to pieces': **six̂i-** 'to break, smash to pieces'.

-mi- 'to let, make V' (bases in **-t-**), e.g. **sit-** 'to be cut off': **sitmi-** 'to cut, erode'.

-aaĝu- 'to expect to V; to wait for to V' (restricted), e.g. **qasa-** 'to surface': **qasaaĝu-** 'to wait for (animal) to surface' (same as **qasanisa-**).

2.2.5.2. Addition of object

-usa-, (after the uvular or velar fricative of a polysyllabic stem) **-asa-** 'to V with (together with, by means of, because of), toward, along, by (quantity, time)', combinable with verbs of any valency (for the passive see 2.2.5.3.), e.g. **haqa-** 'to come': **haqaasa-** 'to come with, to bring'; **qisat-** 'to tie (rope, boat, etc.)': A **qidux̂ ngaan qisadusada** 'tie it (**ngaan**) with a rope'. With a participial in the plural the suffix indicates a fact, manner or reason (3.14.4.1.), e.g. **ting kidukux̂t** 'you are helping me': **ngus kiduusanat qaĝaasakuq** 'I thank you for helping me'.

-aata- (2.2.2.3. **-aat-** + 2.2.4.1. -(**x̂**)**ta-**) 'to have the V (extension) of, to be as V as', e.g. **qamda-** 'to be deep': A **qankus sigas qamdaatakux̂** 'it is three fathoms deep'; **kagna-** 'to be heavy': E **anaĝim anĝaĝix̂ kagnaataqaa** 'something as heavy as a person' (J 43:28).

2.2.5.3. Removal of subject

The first three of the following suffixes are passive, with the underlying object kept as such or turned into a subject. They also commonly imply a first person plural actor (see 3.1.1.2.).

-lga- | **-sxa-** (late Atkan also **-lĝa-** | **-sx̂a-**), Au **-lu-** | **-su-** passive of all sorts of verbs (except the following derivatives), including intransitive ones, e.g. **ayuxta-** 'to go out (in a boat)': A **ayuxtalgaax̂tax̂**, Au **ayuxtaluut** 'let us go out'; A **kidu-** 'to help': **hlas kidulgaqas** 'the boys were helped', **hlas kidulgaqax̂** 'we helped the boys'. In the case of **su-** 'to take' and A **atxaza-** 'to catch' a nominal subject may become the stem of the passive, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ ukinax̂ sunax̂** 'Peter took the knife', **ukinax̂ Piitralgaqax̂** 'the knife was taken by Peter'.

-(**ĝ**)**a-**, Au **-ĝu-**, passive of -(**x̂**)**ta-** (2.2.4.1. and 2.2.6.1.), e.g. **ayaga-x̂ta-** 'to have has a wife, to be married to': **ayagaĝa-** 'to be had as a wife, to be married'; **uku-x̂ta-** 'to see': **ukuĝa-** 'to be seen'.

-ula-, **-ala-**, Au -Vlu-, passive of **-usa-**, **-asa-** (2.2.5.2.), e.g. **haqaala-** 'to be come with, to be brought'; **asx̂ad-usa-** 'to kill with', e.g. A 1860 **quganas ngiin asx̂adulazaax̂tas** 'that they should be killed with stones, be stoned' (John 8.5); E **ngaan asx̂adulanax̂ ilgaaĝlikan** 'trying in vain to find out how he was killed' (J 16:10).

-(**a**)**ĝi-** 'to be V-ed, to be in the state of having been V-ed' (simple past **-na-** rather than **-qa-**; denominal 2.2.4.1.), e.g. **agu-** 'make': A 1860 **alux̂ aguĝinax̂** 'a superscription was made (above Him)' (Luke 23.38).

-naĝi- 'to be V-ed' (**-na-ĝi-** 'have a V-er'), e.g. **amgiĝ-** 'to watch': A **amgiĝnaĝinax̂** 'was watched, had a guard'.

E, Au **-chi-** 'one ought to V, to be good, the right time to V; ought to be V-ed, to be good to V (be V-ed)', e.g. **qa-** 'to eat': **qachikux̂** 'it is time to eat, let's eat; it is fit to eat'.

-na- 'to be such that one may or must V, to be V-able', e.g. **lu-** 'to believe': A **hix̂tanangis lunalakax̂** 'one cannot believe what he says'.

-aatuna- (**-aatu-na-**) 'to be such that one wants to V, to be good to V', e.g. **qa-** 'to eat': **qaatuna-** E 'to be such that one is hungry for it', A 'to be good to eat, taste good'.

E **-suna-** (**-su-na-**) 'to be good to V, to be easy to V', with negation 'to be bad or hard to V', e.g. **qasunakux̂** 'it is good to eat, is delicious'; **sux̂ta-** 'to hold': **sux̂tasunalakan** 'is hard (or bad) to hold (e.g. too hot)'.

E **-suda-** (**-su-da-**) 'to be good to V', e.g. **qasudakux̂** 'is good to eat, is delicious'.

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2.2.5.4. Removal of object

-(ĝ)kaĝi- (-(ĝ)**ka-** + 2.2.4.1. -(**a**)**ĝi-**) 'to V somebody or something', e.g. **asx̂at-** 'to kill': E 1870 **asx̂atxaĝilagaax̂txin**, A 1862 **asx̂atxaĝilagada** 'do not kill (anybody), do not commit murder'.

2.2.5.5. Combinations

Addition of object and subject **-usa-chx̂i-**, e.g. A **ngaan txin ayx̂aasachx̂il** 'letting it carry (swim with) herself'. The opposite order is participial, e.g. A 1860 **Ngus haqachx̂usaqatxin** '(believe) that you have sent me (let me come)' (John 11.42).

Addition and removal of subject **-chx̂isxa-** (**-chx̂i-t-** + **-lga-** | **-sxa-**), e.g. **qachx̂isxa-** 'to be fed'; E **aqadguusix̂ ikin suchx̂isxalix** 'being had to hold on to the paddle' (J 4:24); A **anĝaĝinaziin anĝaĝiisachx̂isxazaqax̂** 'was given the people to live on (**-usa-**)' (N.M. 1:22). The opposite order is probably not possible because **-chx̂i-** has the same object as an underlying transitive verb.

Addition and removal of object **-usa-qaĝi-**, e.g. A 1860 **waaĝax̂taasaqaĝinas** 'those who brought [them, the children]' (Mark 10.13). Opposite order **-qaĝiisa-**, e.g. A 1860 **tutusidix tutaqaĝiisaduukakus** 'they will hear with their ears' (Mark 4.12).

Addition of subject and removal of object **-chx̂i-qaĝi-**, e.g. E 1870 **Hadan qanguchx̂iqaĝiqangin** 'they had somebody go in to Him' (Mark 3.31). Both orders: A 1860 **tutaqaĝichx̂iqaĝinax̂** 'he published, lit. let (people) hear (something)' (Mark 1.45).

Addition of object and removal of subject: 2.2.5.3. **-ula-**, **-ala-**.

Removal of object and subject **-qaĝi-lga-**, e.g. E 1870 **nagan amaagan tachim ax̂taqaĝilgaqaĝulux** 'in it (the grave) one had not yet put anybody' (John 19.41). The opposite order is probably not possible, because **-lga-** is not transitive.

2.2.6. Verbal modification

The following suffixes modify the verb, predicate, proposition or sentence in terms of state, degree (amount and intensity), speed, duration, frequency, phases of completion, addition, tense or modality. Some of them include more than one type of meaning, especially those which have different scopes depending upon the relative order (cf. 2.2.0.4.).

2.2.6.1. State

-(**x̂**)**ta-** ranges in scope from aspectoidal to temporal and modal:

(a) with an inceptive base it indicates a temporally limited state, e.g. **uku-** 'to get sight of': **ukux̂ta-** 'to see'; **kig-** 'to bite': **kixta-** 'to hold in the mouth'; **asx̂a-** 'to die': **asx̂ax̂ta-** 'to be dead'; with a terminative base the time limitation is predominant, e.g. **sisug-** 'to go over to the other side (of an island)': **sisuxta-** 'to go over to the other side and come back'; **hnu-** 'to reach': A **Amlagix̂ hnux̂tat ii?** 'did you go to Amlia Island (at this occasion) ?'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝax̂takux̂** 'Peter has been in here (and left)';

(b) indicates a time limitation with a wider scope, possibly after (a), e.g. A **Amlagix̂ hnux̂tax̂tat ii?** 'have you ever been to Amlia Island ?'; A 1860 **liidax̂ tachim ukux̂tax̂tamazulax** 'anything like it we have not yet seen' (Mark 2.12);

(c) inferential, indicates an event experienced otherwise than by eyesight, e.g. E **wan ayagaan asx̂ax̂tax̂takux̂ ax̂saasaagiim** 'realizing that his wife was dead' (J 14:13); A 1860 **anĝaĝinas ilaan agzax̂takus tusix** '(the blind man) hearing the people continuously (2.2.6.5. **-za-**) passing by him' (Luke 18.36); E **Piitrax̂ waaĝax̂takux̂** (A **waaĝal ax̂takux̂**) 'Peter apparently has come in (somebody told me, or I saw his boat, etc.)'; **ugunu-x̂ta-** 'to forget': E **ugunux̂tax̂takung** (A **ugunul ax̂takung**) 'I must have forgotten it'.

2.2.6.2. Degree (amount and intensity)

-iigamaxsi- (2.2.3.1. **-iigamag-** + 2.2.4.4. -(**x̂**)**si-**) 'to be too much V, to V too much; E to actually V', e.g. A **tunux̂taagamaxsizakux̂** 'he talks too much'; E **alquugamaxsikux̂** 'what does he actually do ?'

E **-aasaada-** 'to be very V, to V very much, strongly, thoroughly; to be too V, to V too much', e.g. **adu-t-** 'to make long': **aduchaasaada-** 'to make too long'.

A **iichxuza-** 'to be very V; to V very much, strongly', also 'very VN; very ADV', e.g. **agitaadaam ilagaan aduuchxuzakux̂** 'it is much longer than the other one'; **ngus qaĝaasaachxuzaqang** 'I was very grateful for it'; **waan kadiichxuzagaan** 'long time before now'.

-tuuqi- 'to V much or too much', e.g. E **saĝatuuqiisaad(a)kuqing** 'I've slept far too long'.

E -(V)**q(u)la-** 'to be very V, too V' (restricted), e.g. **adu(u)qla-** 'to be very long'.

-(ĝ)katu- (2.2.2.2. **-(ĝ)ka-** + 2.2.4.1. **-tu-**) 'to V much, to V well', e.g. **qaqatu-** 'to eat (too) much'; **ukuqatu-** 'to have good eyesight'.

-(ĝ)kaada- 'to more or less V; more or less V-ed', e.g. E **uugun(u)qaada-** 'to be forgetful'; **chigi-t-** 'to attach, stick': A **chigitxaada-** 'to be sticky'.

E **-naang(i)**- 'to V more; to V for a while; to almost V', e.g. **ilaan manaangkuu** 'it is more than that'.

E **-naangta-** 'to V more; E 1834 not quite'.

E **-laang-** 'approximately' (restricted).

E **-laangta-** 'to be a little V, a little more V; almost N', e.g. **adulaangta-** 'to be longer'; **husulaangtangin** 'almost all of them'.

A **-naax̂ta-** (**-naaĝ-** + -(**x̂**)**ta-**) 'to V a little more; to almost V; almost N', e.g. **agitaadaam ilagaan adunaax̂takux̂** 'it is a little longer than the other one'; **huzunaax̂tangis** 'almost every one of them'.

-nuuqi- 'to V to some degree, to V a little more', e.g. A **slagnuuqikux̂** 'it is somewhat wide'.

-aada-, Au -Vya-, and E **-aasa-**, A **-aaza-**, Au -V**t'a-** 'to V a little, to slowly, barely V; E to V at ease, please V; E to V for nothing; to pretend to V' (nominal 2.2.3.2.), e.g. **chix̂ta-** 'to rain': E **chiix̂taadakux̂** (cf. 1.3.1.) 'it is raining a little, just sprinkling'; E **saĝaasa-** 'to have a relaxing sleep'.

-V**yukna-** 'to be V partly, in spots' (restricted), e.g. **usa-** 'to lose hair': E **usaayukna-** 'to be bald in spots, partly bald'.

-diga-, Au **-yiga-**, and E **-siga-**, A **-ziga-**, Au **-tʳiga-** 'to be very V, to V well, properly; to be well V-ed' (denominal 2.2.4.1.), e.g. **ukudiga-** 'to be healthy, successful'; A **uluudadiga-** 'to be bright read'; A **agudigakux̂** 'it is well made'.

E **-sigat-**, A **-zigat-** 'to V firmly, carefully, fully, much', E also, Au **-tʳigat-** 'to have V-ed for a long time' (cf. 2.2.6.8.), e.g. E **susigat-**, **susixt-** 'to grab firmly'; **hag-** 'to grow up': A **hagzigat-** 'to come of age'.

-lug- 'to V badly, roughly' (denominal 2.2.4.1.), e.g. A **kim-dug-** 'to rain': **kimduglug-** 'rain is pouring down'.

-dug-, Au **-yug-** 'to intensely, suddenly' (restricted), e.g. **kim-** 'to descend': A **kimdug-** 'to pour down (of rain)'.

A **-tux̂sa-** 'to V in heaps hurriedly or violently' (cf. 2.2.6.5. **-tuĝ-**), e.g. **slam ilan six̂tux̂sanax̂ ax̂takux̂** '(the boat) was badly damaged in a storm'.

2.2.6.3. Speed

-du- 'to V fast', with negation 'to V slowly', e.g. **qadu-** 'to eat fast'; A **tunux̂taduzalakating ii?** 'do I talk slowly enough ?'.

A **-aadi-**, Au **-aayi-** 'to V fast' (restricted), e.g. **kim-** 'to descend': **kiimaadi-**, Au **kimaayi-**'to hurry down, to dive'.

A **-daĝit-** 'to V quickly, all of a sudden', e.g. **txin saĝanidaĝitikux̂** 'he fell asleep quickly'.

2.2.6.4. Duration

E **-sigata-**, A **-zigata-** 'to V for a long time; E to V much; A to V well, firmly', Au **-tʳigata-** 'to be pretty (quite) V', e.g. E **sisuxsixtalix angalkuqing** 'I spent the day walking over to the other side'.

A **-yuka-**, E, A **-yukat-** 'to V for a long time; E to V much', e.g. A **chix̂tayukaqalikux̂** 'it has been raining for a long time now'; E **chix̂taykutxalilakax̂** 'it has not been raining for a long time'.

E **-yugaada-**, **-yugaasa-**, A 1838-60 **-yuĝaaĝ-**, 1909- **-yugaaĝ-** 'to V for a while, for a short time; A to V a little', e.g. A **ting saĝaayuchx̂iyugaaĝada** 'let me have a nap for a while'.

2.2.6.5. Frequency

-da-, A mostly **-za-** or **-zada-**, Au **-ya-**, **-yaaya-**, has different semantic variants depending on the syntactic scope (cf. 2.2.0.4):

(a) 'generally', especially common in the general (2.1.9.3.1.), e.g. A **qagidax̂ uxchux̂ lidazax̂** 'the horned puffin looks like a tufted puffin';

(b) 'habitually, usually', with negation 'never' ("habitually not" rather than "not habitually"), e.g. A 1937 **alitxuuĝin aĝigumax chaduĝnam ilaa qazanas** 'when they (the former Aleuts) were about to attack they would eat a piece of blubber';

(c) 'recurrently, intermittently, each time', e.g. A **qawas qasanangis**

ukux̂tazanaq 'I saw the sea lions surfacing, each time they surfaced';

(d) 'distributively, each, one another', e.g. A **aniqdus huzungis ataqan kanfiixtax̂ atxazazakus** 'all the children got one candy each'.

-mig- 'to V repeatedly; to V back and forth; to V off and on', e.g. **qasamig-** 'to go up and down in the water (of whale, etc.)'.

A **-migda-** 'to keep on V-ing repeatedly', e.g. **agmigda-** 'to make repeated movements along'.

-mixta- 'to V repeatedly, one after another', e.g. Au 1949 **tanaygusix̂ kalumixtal** '(the soldiers) were shooting at the village' (1959:126, 34 (6)).

-mikda- 'to V repeatedly, constantly', e.g. E **sitx̂imikda-** 'to squeeze, pinch several times'.

-laĝ- 'to V repeatedly, back and forth' (restricted), e.g. **agi-** 'to open one's mouth': E **agilaĝ-** 'to yawn'.

E **-lamig-** 'to V time after time', e.g. **aygagnaax̂six ting taĝagung, ayul(a)mixsix nuĝin ukux̂talakan utximixtalix** 'when I tried to walk I fell time after time and hit rocks without seeing them'.

-tuĝ- 'to V in great numbers; to V many times', e.g. **it-** 'to drop': **ituĝ-** 'to drop in great numbers'.

A **-yag-** with **-da-** or **-za-** and negation 'to V rarely, not often, to hardly V', e.g. **hnuyagzaqangulax hama** 'I did not go there often'.

2.2.6.6. Phases of completion

-aatu- 'to want to V, to like to V, to need to V; to tend to V', e.g. **qaatu-** 'to want to eat, be hungry'; A 1860 **waaĝax̂taasaqaĝinas hingaaĝax̂tachx̂iituzanazulax** '(the disciples) did not want to let those who brought [the children] get there' (Mark 10.13).

-yuug- 'to want to, tend to V' (restricted), with negation 'to not want to V, to try not to V', e.g. A **suyuuglakaĝa** 'he does not want to take it'; **iĝatuyuuglakax̂** 'he tries not to be scared'.

-naaĝ- to try to V; to nearly V', with remote tense and negation 'to not V in the future, later', e.g. A **hunkinaax̂s taĝaaqaan** 'try to tip it over' (**taĝa-** 'to try'); **Iilam kugan axchx̂inaax̂sxazigataqadaam** 'after they (in Aleut passive: **-sxa-**) had for a long time tried to make him pass to Iilax̂' (J 76:327). For the order in relation to -(**i**)**chx̂i-** and passive see 3.4.2.1-2. and 3.4.3.7.

E **-naaĝiiĝ(dag)ali-** 'to be unable to V, lit. to try in vain to V', e.g. 1878 **aygagnaaĝiiĝdagalinaqing** 'I couldn't walk, was unable to walk'.

E **-su-**, A **-zu-** 'to be good at V-ing, to V well, ably, easily', e.g. A **tunumkaazazuzax̂** 'he is a good storyteller'.

-aayu- 'to be ready to V, to approximately V' (restricted), e.g. A **saĝaayu-** 'to doze off, take a nap'.

-(ĝ)**kali-** 'to begin to, start to V; to begin, start V-ing; to have started V-ing, to V now or then', with a negation 'to stop V-ing, to no more V' (antithetic equivalent of -(ĝ)**kada-**), e.g. A **chix̂taqalikux̂** 'it has started to rain', **chix̂tayukaqalikux̂** 'it has been raining for a long time now'; E **maakananing aqatanaĝulting** 'I no more knew what I could do'.

-(ĝ)kada-, Au **-(ĝ)kaya-** 'to stop V-ing, cease V-ing, to finish V-ing, to no more V, to not V anymore; to have already V-ed, to have V-ed some time ago', as an inchoative of the contrary negation 'to begin to V' (antithetic equivalent of **-(ĝ)kali-**), e.g. A **quganas amnixtaasaqadada!** 'quit throwing rocks!'; **guudam ilan haagaagamaxsidaqadanas** 'they were no more too hungry during the year'; **imis hix̂taqadakung** 'I have already told it to you'; **tagada-lakax̂** 'it is not new = old'; **tagadaqadakux̂** 'it is getting old'.

2.2.6.7. Addition

A **-(a)ma-** 'to V also, too (frequently with reference to the subject or object); to V again, on the other hand'; with negation 'to not V either' (also E); E 'to V finally, for sure' (A 2.2.6.8. **-maaya-**), e.g. A **uuquchiingix̂ ukux̂tamanaq** 'I too saw a fox' (cf. **uuquchiingix̂ ilax̂taa ukux̂tanaq** 'I saw a fox, too'); **ting kaluchx̂imaax̂t** 'let me too shoot'; **haman** *barg***iilkidax̂ chuqudaalkidamalakax̂** 'that darned barge was darned big (lit. not small) too'; **kay** *radio***ĝizamalakaĝis** 'we did not (never) have a radio either'.

2.2.6.8. Tense

-duuka-, A **-zuuka-** 'to V in the future' (A only negated);

(a) E 'will, would, could V'; with negation (or **-(ĝ)kada-**) 'to not (no more) be going to or be able to V'; with **-(x̂)ta-** (2.2.6.1.) 'will possibly or probably V', e.g. E **qilagan ukaaĝ(a)duu(ka)kux̂** 'he'll come in tomorrow' (A **ukaaĝaaĝan saĝanax̂**); **anuxtagumin nung aluĝasaduukakutxin** 'if you want to, you could write to me about it' (J 38:18).

(b) A with negation (or **-(ĝ)kada-**) 'will not (no more) V', referring in the general to an indefinite or unlimited future, in the present to a near future; with a double negation it indicates a strong prediction or a future obligation (3.8.3.4.3.), e.g. **ugununaaĝzuukaĝulang** 'I'll try not to forget it'; **wan angalix̂ uqitduukalakaq** 'I'll not return today'; **haqataĝulax aduukalakaĝiin** 'you can't fail to know it'.

E **-*ia*qila-** 'to V soon, in a little while, after a while', used with remote tense and participle, and with optative (negated **-l(a)aaq(i/a)laaĝ-**), e.g. **txin akuuĝaasaaqalnaqing** 'I will carry you to the shore' (J 28:11).

A **-hlug-** 1840-60 'to V straightway, soon, sooner', with negation 'to not V straightway, only after a while', 1973- 'to not V as much as one should', e.g. 1973 **waaĝahluglakax̂** 'he did not come right away, only after a while'; **qahluglakax̂** 'he did not eat as much as he should (not as much as expected)'.

E **-saaĝu-**, A **-zaaĝu-**, Au **-tʳaaĝu-** 'to have recently V-ed', e.g. E **umlasaaĝukux̂** 'he woke up a while ago'; A **hamaaĝazaaĝukus atuung asx̂atinas** 'shortly after we came there we killed six (reindeer)'.

E **-*ia*qalta-** 'V-ed a little while ago, a short time ago', used in the present, conjunctive and participial, not with negation, e.g. **qaaqaltakux̂** 'he ate a little while ago' (A **qaaĝan ax̂takux̂**).

Ea **-qalsaaĝana-** (**-qali-t-** + 2.1.9.3.2. recent past) 'to have V-ed some time ago'.

A **-maaya-** 'to V at last, to now/then finally V' (E **-ma-**, see 2.2.6.7.), with negation 'not V this/that time', e.g. **way hitmaayakux̂** 'now he went out at last"; **qa anax̂ amaayaĝulax** 'well, it isn't anything this time, it's easy'.

A 1860 **-hlix̂ta-** 'already' (**-hli-x̂ta-** "temporarily nothing but"), e.g. **quganax̂ agachaĝihlix̂takux̂ ukunas** 'we saw that the stone was already removed' (Mark 16.4).

A **-zax̂chi-** 'to V for the first time', e.g. **tanaagamagix̂ hnux̂tazax̂chiing**(**an**), **hnux̂tamaayanaq** '(there then) I got to the mainland for the first time', lit. 'in order to get to the mainland for the first time, I got to (the mainland) at last'.

E **-liiĝ(a)li-** | **-smiliiĝli-** (2.2.7. **-hli-** | **-smi-** + 2.2.6.9. **-*ia*ĝali-**) 'while V; V (in vain) until', e.g. **aman sax̂ chmaxtaliiĝlikun, angalix̂ inatxalikun nawa** 'they chased that bird until the end of the day' (J 29:4).

2.2.6.9. Modality

-*ia*ka- (a) 'can, be able to V', e.g. A **aluĝiikaq** 'I can write'; **tunungin tunux̂taasaakazaĝulax** 'he cannot speak our language'; **saĝaakaqadanaq** 'I could not sleep anymore'.

(b) 'can, have the possibility or occasion to V', e.g. A **ngus chx̂uuĝiikaan ii?** 'can you wash it for me ?'; **chix̂taakanax̂ liidaqalikux̂** 'it looks like it is going to start raining, lit. it begins to resemble what can rain'.

(c) 'can, might, be likely to V', e.g. E **aman tayaĝux̂ ... sadaltaakax̂ anuxtaasaqalinax̂** 'she thought that that man might come out' (J 69:47).

(d) 'shall, should, ought to, must, have better V', e.g. A **alix̂ kiduukakuq** 'I must (have better) help the old man'; **sulgaakakux̂** 'it should be taken' (E 2.2.5.3. **suchikux̂**).

(e) 'may (might), would that V', e.g. E **aating ingan aniqdux̂ chimagnung ix̂taakax̂** 'would that that child would ask for my big toe' (J 6:17); A **iĝatuqadaakax̂** 'would that he would stop being scared' (order opposite of (a)).

-(**a**)**masu-**, E 1909- **-m(u)su-** 'may, might V, supposedly, probably V, perhaps V', also with **-x̂ta-** 'apparently' (2.2.6.1.), modern E **-mustu-**, e.g. A **atxaĝamasukux̂** 'he is right, I suppose'; **chix̂taqadamasuhliiĝan aĝikux̂** 'it may still (**-hli-**) stop raining'; E **waaĝaaqaltamsukux̂ aqatalkaĝing** 'I don't know if he (possibly) came'; A **ting akiiĝasanaan igiim sakaaĝataasamahlimasulakaĝim mal ...** 'perhaps he was worried, too, for having taken me (a kid) along ...' (**sakaaĝata-** vr. 'to have calmed down', neg. 'to be worried'); **ting adaluusanaaĝiiĝutamasux̂takux̂** 'perhaps he tried to fool me again'.

A 1860 **-*ia*gatu-** 'to reasonably V', **-*ia*gatuuka-** 'could reasonably V; would that V'.

A **-*ia*gatu-masu-** 'may V, to probably V; to be (**a-**) probably N', e.g. **ayugiigatumasulakax̂** 'he may not have gone out'; **tuutx̂aaĝutam kugaan qudus al ax̂taguun kum maqaĝiigatunuuqizuukaĝulax amasukux̂ gumanaan anuxtal** 'thinking that it would probably be quite al right (2.2.6.2. **-nuuqi-**) to urinate from a dry parsnip stem' (J 78:130); **hamaan asagaam hlaagatukix amasux̂tal anuxtalix** 'thinking that they were probably his cousin's two sons' (J 76:95).

E ***-ia*ĝ(a)li-** 'to V in vain; to V but; although V, even if V; to V for a while (until), while V (until)', e.g. **ingasxan uĝulux̂taaĝalikuun, asx̂alakan** 'he threw and hit him but did not kill him' (J 45:9).

-iiĝdagali- 'to V in vain; to V but; although V, even though V; to V for a long time (in vain)', e.g. E **Ilaan aĝanaaĝiiĝdagaliqangin** 'they tried in vain to come close to Him' (Luke 8.19); A **hamayangis ukuqaĝiiĝdagalikus ukuqaĝilakaĝis** 'they may look but not see' (Luke 8.10).

-(**x̂**)**tagali-** 'although, even though, even if V; V but', e.g. Au **ugigan anagan tamaanulaguut hix̂tax̂tagalikuu, tamaanul** 'even though her husband's mother told her not to go there, she went there' (J 84:3).

A **-hliida-** (2.2.7. **-hli-** + **-aada-**) 'to V anyhow', e.g. 1840 **manaaĝnaning mahliidaqing anuxtaasalix** 'thinking that I would (anyhow) carry out what I tried to do' (V B 1:5).

2.2.7. Class-free suffixes

Some of the suffixes listed above are both denominal and deverbal and may be both nominal and verbal, see especially 2.2.3.2., 2.2.4.6. and 2.2.6.2. **-aada-** and 2.2.4.1. and 2.2.6.2. **-diga-**, etc. The following suffixes derive more specifically nouns from nouns and verbs from verbs, indicating like the preceding ones degree, limitation, contrast or the like.

-la- 'lots of N (also to have lots of N); REL one another' and 'to V repeatedly, time after time; to V one after another (subject or object)', e.g. **tux̂ti-** 'spot, dot': A **tux̂tila-s** 'spots, dots' (**-l** 'to be spotted'); **kamgaaĝin haqalal hagumakus** '(the campers) are coming to have church'; **xliibax̂ isilakuq** 'I am cutting bread'.

E **-laangta-** 'almost N' and 'to be a little V, a little more V', e.g. **husulaangtangin** 'almost all of them'; **ayaĝiislaangtaliqang** 'I still (**-li-**) was a little bashful about it'.

A **-naax̂ta-** 'almost N' and 'to V a little more; to almost V', e.g. **udam alinaax̂tan** 'almost in the middle of the bay'; **achunanaax̂taguun hilmakuchas agux̂tazax̂** 'when it blows a little more there will be small whitecaps'.

-lax̂si- 'small N' and with negation A 'to be very V', e.g. E **atxidlax̂sin** 'small cods'; A **adulax̂si-lakan** 'to be very long'.

E **-tuqda-**, **-tx̂uda-** 'big N' and 'to be very V', e.g. **ulatx̂uda-** 'a big house'; **qayatuqda-**, **qayatx̂uda-** 'to be very high, really tall'.

E -(**i**)**lguuda-** (2.2.3.1. **-lgu-** + **-aada-**) 'fool, damned N', with negation 'small N', and 'to be very V', e.g. **dalguudaĝulux** 'small eye (of person or needle)'; **kaangulguudalilakax̂** 'he is still very sick' (J 38:10).

E **-iigusa-**, A **-iiguza-** (after **u -iigiza-**), Au ***-ia*gut'a-**

(a) 'real, veritable N; the very N, really N; quite ADV' and 'to really, surely V; to (not) V at all', e.g. A **Unangam hlaaguzaa** 'a real, veritable Aleut boy'; **adaluugizaĝulax̂t ii?** 'do you really tell the truth ?'.

(b) 'specifically N; only N', e.g. A **tiiguzang ukux̂taqadaax̂t** 'quit looking at me specifically !'

(c) 'exactly (like) DEM' and 'to exactly V (to do the same as V)', e.g. A **hingakuugizas** 'exactly (like) those'; **kumax malgaaguzanas makus** 'they did exactly (the same as) what was done to them'.

(d) 'as soon as V', e.g. E **qaqadaagusakux̂ uyalgakux̂** 'as soon as he had finished eating he was fetched'.

(e) 'most N, ADV' and 'to be most V; to mostly, most often V', e.g. E **iqyachxisaagusax̂** 'the very best baidarka'; A **chadux̂ anaĝim suĝaaguzaa azax̂** 'oil is a thing we use most often'.

E **-iigusali-**, A **-iiguzahli-** 'only N' and 'to be sure to V; to V often, constantly, all the time; E while V', e.g. A **qichitis samiiguzahlix̂ maqax̂tal** 'he is counting money all the time, does nothing but count money".

-hli- (E mostly **-li-**) | E **-smi-**, **-smili-**, A **-smihli-**, **-hli-**; Au **-si-**

(a) 'just N, only N; the same N, the very N; even N', e.g. A **Unangam ulahlii** 'just an Aleut house, an ordinary Aleut house'.

(b) 'to still, constantly V; to V still, further; to V again; to just V (without ado); to still, nevertheless V; to V already', with negation 'not at all ("only not" rather than "not only"), not even V', e.g. A **achunax̂ malgahlikux̂** 'it is still windy'; **yaxtahlikung kay hagumaasahlikung** 'I love him but still (nevertheless) do so to him (spank him)'.

(c) 'while V; V until; as soon as V', with negation 'not yet V; not V before, not V until', e.g. E **qalikuqingaan ting uyaaĝin ukaaĝanan** 'while I was eating they came in to fetch me'; A **inax̂tahliĝulagaan qan'gix̂ ikaaĝazaqaa** 'it (the food) did not end before the winter was over' (N.M. 1:19).

(d) 'to be rather V, fairly V (verbs of distance, size, etc.)', e.g. A **sagnihlikux̂ amaatxahlikux̂** 'it is fairly distant, pretty far away' (N.M. 3:18).

(e) 'whatever V', e.g. E **ugux̂talinakix ugux̂six** 'cut every joint in their bodies, lit. whatever they had as joints' (J 17:146).

E **-iichikaada-** 'only, just N' and 'to only V, to just (barely) V; to V right away', e.g. **ataqasi-m** 'once': **ataqasiichikaadamulux** 'not only once'; **asx̂atiichkaadada** 'just kill it'.

-aadahli-, E **-aadali-** 'even N; (no) N at all; A at least N' and 'even V; (not) at all V', e.g. A **txiidahling qachx̂ikux̂** 'she fed even me'; E **awan chngatum iĝax̂taadaliqaayulux** 'of that the sea otter was not at all afraid' (J 4:19); A **haqaadahliikakux̂** 'hope he comes, lit. he could (**-Vka-**) even come'.

-*ia*ĝuta-, E also **-*ia*ĝ(u)tu-** 'N in turn' and 'to V again = once more, back into a former condition, or in turn, now (then), also; (not) V either', e.g. A **hlaaklukichaaĝutax̂ ... ukux̂tal** 'seeing a little clumsy boy (in turn) ...' (J 77:167); **ataqadiiĝutahliim** 'once more again'; E **tataam ting ahmasax̂(u)tanax̂** 'he asked me again'; A **Filiip kay qaĝax̂taaĝutamalakaĝa hama** 'Philip, too (**kay -ma-**), disliked it (did not like it either)' (1959:81, 19 (5)). Note A **awaqaliiĝutanax̂** 'he again started working (the same job)' vs. **awaaĝutaqalinax̂** 'he started working again (at another place)'.

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3. Syntax

3.0. Introduction

Most Aleut sentences and clauses have a verbal predicate, which normally comes at the end (qualification in 3.1.1.1.). Nominal sentences are constituted by demonstratives (3.1.3.). In Eastern Aleut there are also nominal sentences of the Russian type, no doubt due to the Russian impact, while the corresponding sentences in Atkan and Attuan have a verbal copula (3.1.2.). The verbal predicate of a simple sentence or of the final clause of a complex one carries the temporal and modal marking in relation to the act of speech, while the verb of a non-final clause is marked in relation to the following clause. A complex sentence may contain an unlimited number of clauses, in actual texts recorded on a cylinder phonograph (Jochelson 1909) or on magnetic tape up to some fifty. Quite often the speaker appears to have the choice between making a "full stop" (the final absolute tense and mood marker) or adding more clauses to his sentence. An Aleut complex sentence thus appears to be a chaining structure constituted by a "running superordination".

A simple sentence or clause may include a subject or no subject (3.1.1.3. meteorological expressions, 3.4.3. clauses in the passive). The predicate may be a verb with no complement, a predicate noun with a copula (3.1.2.), or a verb with a preceeding direct object in the absolutive case (3.2.) and/or an oblique term or local complement (3.3. a positional noun in a local case with a nominal adjunct and/or a possessive suffix, or a demonstrative or interrogative form). The number of terms (arguments) may be increased or decreased by verbal derivative suffixes (2.2.5., 3.4.). In addition there may be a temporal adverbial (3.7.).

The terms (arguments) of a clause may be specified (explicit) or anaphoric.

The verb of a simple sentence or a final clause with fully specified or no complements may have a nominal subject in the absolutive case or a 1. or 2.p. subject marker, enclitic or suffixal (3.1.1.1-2.). If the nominal subject is left out as known from the context or the situation the verb implies an anaphoric reference to it, e.g. (hyphens added for clarity)

tayaĝu-x̂	**awa-ku-x̂**
man-sg.abs.	work-pres.-sg. 'the man is working'
awa-ku-x̂	'he is working'.

There are no non-reflexive 3.p. pronouns other than demonstratives.

If a 3.p. complement or a subordinate part of it is left out as known from the context or the situation there is in general a suffixal reference to it in the final verb and a nominal subject is in the relative case, e.g. (Atkan)

Piitra-x̂	**tayaĝu-x̂**	**kidu-ku-x̂**	
Peter-sg.abs.	man-sg.abs.	help-pres.-sg. 'Peter is helping the man'	
Piitra-m	**kidu-ku-u** (< -a)		
Peter-sg.rel.	help-pres.-sg.3A 'Peter is helping him'		
Piitra-x̂	**tayaĝu-m**	**had-a-n**	**huya-ku-x̂**
Peter-sg.abs.	man-sg.rel.	direction-3A-loc.	go-pres.-sg.
'Peter is going toward the man'			

Piitra-m	**had-a-n**	**huya-ku-u** (< -a)
Peter-sg.rel.	direction-3A-loc.	go-pres.-sg.3A
'Peter is going toward him'.		

If also the nominal subject is left out the verb includes a double anaphoric reference: **kidu-ku-u** 'he is helping him', **had-a-n huya-ku-u** 'he is going toward him'. Under certain conditions to be discussed in the relevant sections below, the referent may be included in the sentence as an outer subject preceding the referential phrase.

A nominal term may be simple or complex, possibly including a nominal adjunct in the relative case (in the simple dual and plural like the absolutive case) and/or a possessive suffix. If the nominal adjunct is left out as known from the context or the situation the possessive suffix of the head includes a reference to it and the anaphoric reference is marked also in the final verb (qualifications in 3.1.1.6.2.), e.g. Atkan

hla-s	**ada-a**	**awa-ku-x̂**
boy-pl.	father-sg.3A	work-pres.-sg. 'the boys' father is working'
ada-ngis	**awa-ku-s**	
father-3A pl.	work-pres.-pl.	'their father is working'

When the adjunct is specified (**hla-s**), the verb agrees in number with the head of the subject (**ada-**), here a singular (**-x̂**). When it is anaphoric, its number is included in the possessive suffix of the subject (**-ngis** 'their') and the verb agrees in number with the referent, here a plural (**-s**). Also in such cases the referent may be included as an outer subject of the sentence (3.1.1.6.3.).

The choice between a fully specified term and an anaphoric reference to it runs through the whole sentence structure, determining also the transition from one clause to the following one in a syntactic chain.

3.1. Subject and predicate

3.1.1. Verbal predicate.

3.1.1.1. Nominal (3.p.) subject and verbal predicate

In general, a nominal subject precedes the verbal predicate and the verbal predicate agrees in number with the nominal subject.

In a final predicate in the present (2.9.1.), in participial tenses (2.9.3.), and in the optative (2.9.4.1.), the number of the nominal subject is marked in the verb by a simple number suffix, e.g. present A **tayaĝu-x̂ haqa-ku-x̂** 'the man is coming', **tayaĝu-s haqa-ku-s** 'the men are coming'; remote past E **alix̂ awa-na-ĝ-ulux** 'the old man did not work', **aliĝ-in awa-na-n-ulux** 'the old men did not work'; optative A 1860 **Angali-in haqa-ax̂ta** 'Thy kingdom (lit. daylight) come' (Luke 11.2), modern A **haqa-ax̂ta-x̂** 'may he come, let him come'.

The conjunctive (2.9.2.) has no number suffixes, e.g. A **Mariiyax̂ hila-l ii?** 'is Mary reading ?', **asxinu-s hila-l ii?** 'are the girls reading ?'. In the dubitative (2.9.5.) and in the non-final moods intentional (2.9.4.2.), anterior (2.9.8.) and conditional (2.9.9.), the number is marked by possessive 3A suffixes, e.g. dubitative A

kiin ayx̂aasii akum haqal hingama-ax̂ta-a '(I wonder) whose boat (it is that) is coming there ?';... **itx̂aygi-s a-ax̂ta-ngis (ukux̂tanaax̂s)** '(trying to see) if there are reindeer (there)'.

A collective singular may have the verbal predicate in the plural, e.g. En 1909 **... iqyamixti-x̂ ... iluuĝaqalix̂ta-ku-n ...** '(saw) a fleet of baidarkas beginning to come inside' (J 45:3). Similarly with a numeral or quantifier construction formally in the singular, e.g. Eu 1909 **Atim signaĝii tayaĝu-x̂ Ikalĝan kugaan walita-ku-n.** 'More than ten men came here from Chernofski' (J 38:34); **Ukalĝan anĝaĝigan usu-u kaangulix kayux ukudiga-ku-n.** 'All the people here are well and in good health.' (J 39:2.).

In Atkan and Attuan a plural or dual subject may occasionally have the predicate in the singular, e.g. A 1909 **waan tanadgusim anĝaĝina-ngis hagang al ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'the people of this village were apparently up there' (J 78:102); **waku-x aliĝnamqu-x agisadix hangalix, angali-ku-x kanga[an] aĝa-ku-ĝ-aan** (3.11.1.1.), **...** 'the darned old men ascended their observation hill and when they reached the top of it, ...' (J 79:14-15).

Sentences with no subject word are mostly anaphoric. For example, a story begins as follows (En 1910): **Ayaga-x̂ malga-qa-x̂ ax̂ta-ku-x̂. Ugiĝi-ix̂ta-[x̂] ayagaĝusxadaaĝali-ku-m, ugiĝiitu-na-ĝ-ulux.** 'There was a woman. She was constantly courted for marriage but did not want to marry.' (J 62:1-2).

In Eastern a definite subject frequently comes last, as a repetition of a previously mentioned one (possibly a case of Russian influence), e.g. En 1910 **Amaligan alix qingaadalix, qidaqali-na-x̂ aman ayaga-x̂.** (lit.) 'Being there feeling cold, she began to cry, that woman.' (J 55:18; A 1973 **Haman ayagax̂ hamahligan al achul qidaqalinax̂**). In Atkan this usage seems to be rare, having more the character of an afterthought, e.g. 1952 **Qichitim angunaa agunax̂ ax̂ta-ku-x̂ hama-n chngatu-x̂, kadim hadaan aasa-na-x̂ ax̂ta-ku-x̂.** 'It apparently made much money that sea otter, formerly it apparently did.' (N.M. 2:50); **Aagayuuĝis kamlixtal hamama[na]x̂ ax̂takux̂, Taakdaadax̂ akum.** 'He apparently was out shooting cormorants, "Bladder Pouch" (nickname) was.' (**a-ku-m** subordinate sg.rel., coreferential with the main predicate).

3.1.1.2. Verbal predicate with a 1. or 2.p. subject

In the moods and tenses where a 3.p. subject is marked by a simple number suffix, the speaker and the person(s) spoken to are marked as subjects by enclitic personal pronouns, the "demonstrative of speech" **ti-**, **tx(i)-** with possessive suffixes for the respective grammatical persons, added to the 3.p.sg. form (2.2.1.2.), virtually suffixes (see 3.1.1.4.), e.g. E **chitaaya-ku-qing (-ku-x̂+ting)** 'I am reading', **chitaaya-ku-x̂-txin** 'you (sg.) are reading'; A **hila-ku-q** 'I am reading', **hila-ku-x̂-t** 'you are reading', **hila-lakaq (-lakax̂+ting)** 'I am not reading'; Au 1952 **chumu-ku-q** 'I am stepping down in the snow', **unguchi-ku-t** 'you are sitting'; E **awa-na-ĝ-ul-ting** 'I did not work', **awa-na-ĝ-ul-txin** 'you did not work' (cf. 2.9.3.); A **qa-ax̂-txichix** 'please (you pl.) eat' (see 2.9.4.1.1.). Likewise in the prohibitive (2.9.7.), e.g. E **sisa-**

aĝana-x̂-txin, A **sisa-aĝana-x̂-t** 'don't get lost'. The enclitic person markers are added to the conjunctive as well, e.g. A **qaatu-t ii?** 'do you want to eat ?' (deletion of **-iix**); E **qa-laka-txin ii?** 'didn't you eat ?' (deletion of the final nasal of **-lakan**); **dux̂taasaĝi-laka-txichi hi?** 'you don't have a guest, do you ?' (J 41:26).

In the dubitative, intentional, anterior, and conditional, the person markers are possessive as in the 3.p., e.g. dubitative A **txin sasuliti-ix̂ta-ang** 'do I bother you ?' (see 2.9.5.). The imperative has a special suffix for the 2.p.sg. and possessive suffixes or enclitic pronouns for the 2.p.du. and pl. (see 2.9.6.).

For the non-singular first person (the speaker with one or more other persons) one uses the 3.p.pl. form or, especially in Eastern and later Atkan, a passive form (2.2.5.3.), e.g. A **awa-ku-s**, E **-n** 'they/we are working'; optative E 1837 **kanax̂s-ax̂ta-n** (stem **kanax̂t-**), A 1838-1862 **kamga-ax̂ta-s** 'let us pray'; En 1910 **Asagax̂, unugulux asx̂a-laaĝana-n ax̂ta-ku-n !** 'Cousin, we are already lost (lit. died long ago) !' (J 68:39); E, A **awa-lga-ku-x̂** "there is being worked" = 'one is working, we are working'; optative A 1952 **ayuxta-lga-ax̂ta-x̂**, Au **ayuxta-lu-ut** 'let us go out (in the boat)'. The difference between a 3.p.pl. and a 1.p.pl. would show up in a following superordinate verb, the reference to the speaker entailing no anaphoric reference.

In Eastern the 1.p.pl. may be marked also by the free pronoun **tuman** 'we, us', old E **tumaniin** 'for us', see 2.1.2.1.3. In Atkan the 1.p.pl. pronoun is used as an enclitic subject marker in the conjunctive (with deletion of **-iix**), e.g. 1860 **alqux̂ maaka-timas** 'what can we do ?' (Luke 3.10, E optative **tumaniin alqutan maax̂tan**); 1979 **iĝanax̂ malgal ayx̂al gumal ax̂ta-tingis** 'we were (apparently) travelling in rough water (lit. it being terrible)'. In the optative, an indefinite construction (see 3.5.1.) may imply reference to two or more persons including the speaker, e.g. A 1952 **amax̂u-na-x̂ a-ax̂ta-x̂** 'let us go racing (in skiffs)'.

For the use of free pronominal forms as an additional subject see 2.1.2.1.3. For the contrastive **inaqa-** '-self' see 2.1.3.1.

3.1.1.3. Sentences without a subject

A sentence without a subject word may have an anaphoric subject (3.1.1.1.) but meteorological expressions have no subject, e.g.

chix̂ta-ku-x̂

be wet-pres.-sg. (1) 'it (e.g. the ground) is wet', (2) 'it is raining'.

The difference would show up in a following, superordinate verb (cf. 3.15.1.1.2.1.), e.g. A

(1) **chix̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂ta-qa-ng** 'I saw that it was wet'

(**-ng** sg.1.sg. 'it I', see 3.2.2.),

(2) **chix̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂ta-na-q** 'I saw that it was raining'

(**-q = -x̂+ting** 'I', see 3.1.1.2..);

(1) **haqa-ax̂ta-a haqata-lakaĝ-ing** 'I don't know whether he is coming' (dubitative),

(2) **ayangi-ix̂ta-a haqata-lakaq** (**-lakax̂+ting**) 'I don't know whether it is foggy'.

3.1.1.4. Subject with a movable derivational suffix

Two of the suffixes indicating size (2.2.3.1.) and the suffixes expressing the speaker's emotional attitude (2.2.3.5.) in the anaphoric version move from the subject noun to the verb, e.g. Atkan **hla-kucha-x̂ hila-ku-x̂** 'the little boy is reading', **hila-kucha-ku-x̂** 'he is reading, the little one'; A, En **tayaĝu-x̂siida-x̂ saĝakux̂** 'the poor guy is sleeping', **saĝa-x̂siida-kux̂ hama** (cf. 3.1.1.5.) 'he is sleeping, the poor one'; A 1971 **anax̂ ma-lĝu-utulakan hagumazakux̂** 'he usually (**-za-**) doesn't want (**-aatu-**) to say (lit. do) anything, that big one', namely **Siirgi-lĝu-u** 'big Sergey' (**Sirgii**, formally with a 3A sg. suffix, see 2.1.1.4.3.).

In Atkan also personal pronouns admit these suffixes, e.g. **txi-kucha-an** 'you little one', **ti-x̂siida-ng** 'poor me', **txi-nax̂chx̂i-ilkida-aklu-un** 'you clumsy damned thing'. In the case of an enclitic subject pronoun, however, the suffixes are suffixed to the verb, e.g. A 1977 **qaatu-x̂siida-t ?** 'are you, poor thing, hungry ?' (said to a baby); **hingama-kucha-qada-da** (imper. 2.p.sg.), **hingaax agaax̂t** 'quit (**-qada-**) doing that, little thing, go away!'; **hingama-nax̂chx̂i-ilkida-qada-ax̂-t !** (optat. 2.p.sg.) 'quit doing that, damn it!'. The enclitic subject pronouns thus are structurally suffixes.

3.1.1.5. Nominal subject with a demonstrative determiner

Demonstratives with number and relational case suffixes (2.1.7.3.) used as a determiner precede the subject noun, agreeing with it in number and case. In the anaphoric version the demonstrative comes at the end without any suffix (2.1.7.2.), stressing the predicate, e.g. A 1952 **ika-kus ayaga-s qasi-ku-s** 'the women over there are fishing', **qasi-ku-s ika** 'they are fishing over there (rather than doing something else)'. A numbered demonstrative may also be used as a subject noun, e.g. **hinga-n haqa-ku-x̂** 'the one there is coming; there somebody comes', **haqa-ku-x̂ hinga** 'he did come (right now)'.

Also a meteorological predicate, without a subject (3.1.1.3.), may have a final demonstrative, which thus serves to relate the expression to the actual situation, e.g. A 1952 **achuna-ku-x̂ uma** 'it's windy now (I feel it)' (**uma** near invisible).

3.1.1.6. Adjunct of nominal subject

A nominal subject, like other nominal terms, may have a nominal adjunct in the relative case and/or possessive suffixes (see 2.1.1.2-3.). The syntactical question discussed in this and the next following sections is the relation to the predicate. A more comprehensive treatment of noun phrases follows in 3.6.

3.1.1.6.1. Specified adjunct

A fully specified adjunct of the subject, that is, a nominal adjunct in the relative case as the referent of the anaphoric 3A suffix of the head (2.1.1.1.2.), or a possessive suffix for the 1., 2. or - in a non-final clause - a reflexive 3.p. (2.1.1.1.3.), does not affect the number agreement of the verb with the subject head noun, e.g. A **hla-s ada-a awa-ku-x̂** 'the boys' father is working', **ada-mas** (later **-ngin**) **awa-ku-x̂** 'our father is working', like **tayaĝu-x̂ awa-ku-x̂** 'the man is working'.

With a specified nominal adjunct the 3A suffixes generally indicate the number of the possessed, e.g. A **hla-m ada-a** 'the boy's father', **hla-s ada-a** 'the boys' father'; **tayaĝu-m hla-a** 'the man's son', **tayaĝu-m hla-ngis** 'the man's sons', **tayaĝu-s hla-ngis** 'the men's sons'; E 1870 **amgiĝna-n tuku-u** 'the chief of the custodians' (Acts 5.26); Ea 1910 **ama-kun tayaĝu-n ada-a** 'the father of those men' (J 29:31).

If, as in these cases, the possessor represents an individual, a definite person or thing, etc., it is marked for number (here sg. **-m**, pl. A **-s**, E **-n**). If it indicates a general kind or species, etc., only the possessed is marked for number, e.g. A pl. **tayaĝu-m ulu-ngis** 'bodies of men, corpses'; **isuĝ-im aniida-ngis** 'seal pups'; **uuquchiing-im tana-ngis** 'fox dens'; Ea 1910 **qa-m chma-ngin** 'fish tails' (J 23:4).. Also the possessed, however, could be a generic singular, e.g. A 1952 **alaĝu-m qa-a** 'ocean fish' (N.M. 1:52).

In Eastern, however, even a definite plural possessor can be used in the singular and its number marked in the possessed, e.g. Ea 1910 **ama-kux** (du.) **tayaĝu-m ula-a** 'the house of those two men' (J 15:11); Ea 1909 **ama-kun** (pl.) **ayaga-m** (sg.) **anaada-ngin** (pl.) **tunuku-x̂** (sg.) 'the little mother of those women said' (J 10:74). As seen also from the last example, the specified adjunct still does not affect the number agreement of the subject with the predicate.

3.1.1.6.2. Anaphoric adjunct

Without the possessor included in the relative case, the 3A suffixes include the number of the referent, e.g. A **ada-ngis** 'their father' with the same suffix as **hla-ngis** 'his sons' or 'their sons'.

In cases of partitive relations and ownership, as a general rule in all the dialects, the verb agrees in number with the anaphoric referent, that is, the outer subject of the sentence or clause, e.g. A 1971 **kita-ngis** (pl. for du. **kita-kix**) **hataĝna-x̂ ax̂tana-x̂** 'his feet apparently slipped'; E 1978 **igachi-ngin qitmigiku-x̂** 'his muscles (lit. sinews) are cramped'; E 1871 (Pinart) **ingaya imli-ngin qaxchikluku-x̂** 'his hair (pl.) is black, he has black hair'; En 1935 **da-kix txin umta-ku-m ...** 'his eyes were swollen' (**-ku-m** rel.sg. in agreement with the person, the outer subject), but with a 2.p. suffix Ekn 1982 **da-kin txidix umtaku-x** 'your eyes are swollen' (**txin** 3R sg., **txidix** 3R du. object, see 3.2.2.); E 1870 **kita-kix kayux chiidgiida-kix txin amnina-x̂** 'his feet and knees became strong' (Acts 3.7); Ea 1909 **asx̂alix qagna-ngin txin qumatiku-x̂ awa** 'it died and its bones turned white' (J 3:82); En 1909 **ama-kun ala-ngin inaagiim** (anterior 3R sg.) 'when those pieces of whale blubber of his were finished' (J 44:22); En 1910 **uliikix (uliig+kix) taangana-ĝ-ulux** 'his boots didn't leak (lit. drink)' (J 72:11); E 1870 **Hamaya chux̂taqa-ngin txin qumasix taanimaadana-x̂** 'His clothes became white and shiny' (Luke 9:29); Au 1909 **hingaax aqa-ku-m, sa-gan axta-ki iqina-x̂ uuyax̂taku-x̂**, E **ingaagan anqakum, sagan angtakix iqinax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'when he stood up from there, the end of his bird parka (dual) came off' (J 84:10). In A 1950 **hiiluĝ-in agiiti-ngis timas liidaku-x̂** '[by] some of his words he is like us, some of his words are like ours', the outer subject 'he' is said to be like 'us' (**timas**) in respect of the inner subject (**hiiluĝ-**).

In the older language the rule of number agreement applies also in cases where different persons are involved, as in A 1950 **ada-ngis wahligan agu-dix kum haguma-lakaĝ-is** 'if their father had been here they (his children) would not behave thus' (1959:79,12 (3)), where the predicate of the initial clause is in the conditional (**-gu-**) 3R pl., coreferential with the predicate of the final clause (pl. **-s**); A 1955 (approved 1971) **ada-ngis txidix waaĝasaĝ-in ax̂taku-s** 'their father has come back', where also the pronominal object is in the plural (3R pl. in reference to the pl. subject of the final verb, namely the referent of **adangis**); Ek 1978 **anaada-ngin aqaku-n** 'their mother is coming'; A 1980 **huyu-ngis mikaku-x̂** 'her brothers are playing' (vs. **Mariiya-m huyu-ngis mikaku-s** 'Mary's brothers are playing'); E 1870 **Hamaya agiituda-ngin waaĝa-ku-m ...** 'when His brethren came ...' (John 7:10; **-ku-m** sg.rel. coreferential with the subject of the final clause, namely Jesus).

In cases like these the later language (especially Eastern) tends to make the predicate agree with the inner subject, an innovation presumably due to the bilingual speakers' Russian and/or English, e.g. A 1971 **ada-ngis hiing aku-x̂** (1980 also **aku-s**) 'their father is there'; En 1982 **ada-ngin sunam kugan awaku-x̂** 'their father is working on a ship' (like **lakaayan adaa sunam kugan awakux̂** 'the boys' father is working on a ship').

3.1.1.6.3. Outer subject noun included in the sentence

The referent, the outer subject, is often specified, in the absolutive case, in a preceding clause of the sentence, e.g. A 1950 **Piitra-x̂ N. ayuxtal imyaĝ-na-a masina-ngis six̂s ... saĝana-x̂** 'yesterday, when Peter N. was out fishing, his motor (pl.) broke' (1959:78, 9 (1)). An outer subject in the absolutive case is also regularly the common subject of a complex predicate, e.g. A 1971 **Piitra-x̂ kita-kix hatax̂-s ayuku-x̂** 'Peter slipped (his feet slipped) and fell'; **kaaxadgi-x̂ hitxi-i qaxchikda-l utma-a chumnugi-l aĝiti-i chidĝi-l amas kay quhmaku-x̂** 'the harlequin duck has a black tail (lit. its tail being black), a brown middle, and the rest green and also white'; **adu-x̂ uyaĝi-ngis chuquda-ku-m nag-a angunana-x̂** 'the cave has a narrow opening but is wider inside (lit. its opening (pl.) is small but its interior is larger)'.

This construction is possible also with a simpler predicate, e.g. A 1952 **itx̂aygi-x̂ chnga-a usaku-x̂** 'the reindeer is shedding its hair (lit. its hair is falling off)'; A 1973 **kuchutu-x̂ sas ilagaan hiiyuka-a slagza-x̂** 'the greater scaup has a broader bill than other ducks (lit. from ducks its bill is broad)'; En 1934 **masina-m ula-gan satmali-i ukuuska-a six̂six** 'the door to the engine room lost its window (lit. its window broke)'; En 1978 **ayagaada-x̂ kamgi-i ingalan mataku-x̂** 'the girl has nits on her head (lit. her head has nits)'; En 1909 **Ataluung agacha sa-gan agaluuĝi-i ungax̂talix** (Au **ungax̂tal**) '(said that) it was A. who had the hind part of his parka torn' (J 58:6, 85:6); Ea 1910 **wan tayaĝu-x̂ kayu-ngin kinguunu-lakax̂** (**ukux̂talix**) '(seeing that) the man did not become weaker (lit. his strength did not diminish)' (J 17:88).

With a simple predicate, however, the outer subject may perhaps more naturally be included in the relative case, but the number agreement may still obtain, e.g.

A 1971 **kuchutu-m hiiyuka-kix slagiku-x̂** (sg.) 'the greater scaup has a broad bill (dual)', cf. **hiigi-x̂ qaxchikda-l hiiyuka-kix uluuda-x̂** 'the oystercatcher is black and has a red bill'; **sakucha-m igasi-ngis aduku-x̂** 'the little bird has long wings', but with a demonstrative determiner of the outer subject in the absolutive case **hinga-n sakucha-x̂ igasi-ngis aduku-x̂** 'that little bird has long wings'; A 1950 **Piitra-m masina-ngis maqaĝihlilakaĝ-im** (rel.sg.) **hamamana-x̂ ax̂tal ...** 'Peter's motor (pl.) had not suffered badly ...' (1959:78. 9 (12)); En 1978 **tayaĝu-m kayu-ngin angunaku-x̂** 'the man's muscles are big, the man has big muscles'; **ayaga-m adqugan qax̂alĝi-ngin aduku-x̂** 'the woman's fingernails are long, the woman has long finger nails'.

The number of the final predicate may thus make the difference between an outer subject and an ordinary adjunct in the relative case, e.g. A 1980 **sluka-m haka-ngis quhmaku-x̂** (sg.) 'the sea gull has white feathers' vs. **sluka-m haka-ngis quhmaku-s** (pl.) 'the sea gull's feathers are white'.

3.1.1.7. Semantic types of verbal predication (intransitive verbs)

Verbs without an object or a local complement (cf. 3.2-3.) may constitute predicates of many different semantic kinds, e.g. (mostly Atkan)

activity of living beings
  tayaĝux̂ awa-kux̂ 'the man is working'
  asxinus hila-kus 'the girls are reading'
  qawax̂ tunu-kux̂ 'the sea lion is roaring'
  sax̂ iga-kux̂ 'the duck took off (started flying)'
state of living beings or objects
  alix̂ saĝa-kux̂ 'the old man is asleep'
  qawax̂ sadag-ikux̂ 'the sea lion is fat'
  qawax̂ sadag-lakax̂ 'the sea lion is skinny (lit. not fat)'
  quganas husa-kus 'the rocks are rolling'
  kdax̂ hulma-kux̂ 'the ice is melting'
  ukinax̂ iĝduxta-kux̂ 'the knife is rusty'
age
  tayaĝux̂ aliĝ-ikux̂ 'the man is old'
  ulax̂ tagada-kux̂ 'the house is new'
  ulax̂ tagada-lakax̂ 'the house is old (lit. not new)'
quality
  asxinux̂ luna-kux̂ 'the girl is trustworthy'
  ayx̂aasix̂ iĝamana-kux̂ 'the boat is good'
color
  saahmlax̂ quhma-kux̂ 'the egg is white'
  qiigax̂ chidĝi-kux̂ 'the grass is green'
size
  qawax̂ anguna-kux̂ 'the sea lion is big'
  ix̂chix̂ anguna-lakax̂ (or **chuquda-kux̂**) 'the worm is small'

hyaagax̂ adu-kux̂ 'the log is long'

stuulux̂ slag-ikux̂ 'the table is wide'

kdax̂ sxiixtu-kux̂ 'the ice is thick' (flat object)

bumaagix̂ ichaaqida-kux̂ 'the paper is thin'

qidux̂ tumtatu-kux̂ 'the rope is thick' (round object)

ix̂chix̂ iĝiĝida-kux̂ 'the worm is thin'

quantity

slukas hasina-kus 'the seagulls are numerous, there are many seagulls'

tiĝlas hasina-lakaĝis 'the eagles are not numerous, there are few eagles'

time

Vaskrisiiniyax̂ angali-kux̂ 'Sunday is today, it is Sunday today'
(**angali-x̂** 'daylight, day')

As mentioned above (3.1.1.3., 3.1.1.5.), meteorological verbs have no subject, but the ambivalent stems **sla-** 'wind; to blow' and **ayangi-** 'fog; to be foggy' may be both a subject and a predicate: A 1952 **slax̂ slal** 'the wind is blowing' (N.M. 3:85); A 1950 **ayangix̂ alaĝum angan ayangil** 'the fog is along the sea'.

3.1.2. Nominal predicates

Nominal sentences of the Russian type, due to Russian, are found only in Eastern, while the western dialects use(d) a copula (A **a-**, Au **u-** 'be'), common also in Eastern. A predicate noun may indicate characterization or identification and like other nominal terms may have an adjunct.

3.1.2.1. Characterization

The nominal predicate may indicate the kind or class characteristic of the subject, possibly as a definition (as in a dictionary), e.g. E 1910 **Unanga-qing**, A **Unanga-x̂ a-q** (general), Au 1909 **Unanga-x̂ u-ting** (conjunctive) 'I am an Aleut' (Russian: *ya Aleut*); Eb 1984 **Niiĝuĝ-ul-ting** 'I am not an Atkan'; A 1860 **Iudeeya-x̂ ii a-q?**, E 1870 **alix ting Iudiiya-qing hi?** 'am I a Jew?' (John 18:35; Russian: *razve ya Iudey?*); E 1909 **taamanaan asx̂aada-x̂-txin** 'now, indeed, you are an outlaw' (J 46:21); E 1978 **Apriila-x̂ qanikingan tugidaa** (A + **a-x̂**) 'April is a month of spring', **Dikaabri-x̂ agaluuĝix̂ tugida-x̂ a-ku-x̂** (A **a-x̂**) 'December is the last month (of the year)'; E 1910 **sla-x̂ chiĝana-x̂ ulux, txin atxiiĝan saĝana-x̂** 'a wind is not a river; eventually it will stop' (proverb, Jochelson 1933:86); A 1971 **chux̂taqa-ngis kraaskihli-x̂ a-ku-x̂** 'his clothes are just paint, messed with paint' (singular predicate in reference to the outer subject).

In general, an indefinite nominal predicate is in the singular also with a plural subject, e.g. A 1952 **kamgada-x̂ ana-z-ulax ax̂taku-s mal** 'because they had not been Christian' (N.M. 3:104); **alga-x̂ al hagumalakaĝ-is** 'they were no sea animals' (N.M. 3:94); A 1984 **hingaan angaĝina-ngis angaĝinalĝuulkida-x̂ azana-s** 'the people there (on Semisopochnoi Island) were darned big people'. A more individual predicate is numbered, e.g. A 1952 **huzu-kix tayaĝu-m sugangi-kix aku-x** 'both of them are young men' (1959:81, 18 (1)); **alax tayaĝu-x asagaduda-x a-kix** 'two men who were cousins' (N.M. 3:73); A 1860 **aguuĝu-s a-x̂-txichi ?**, E 1870 **txichi aguuĝu-n aku-x̂-txichi ?** 'are you gods ?' (John 10.34).

3.1.2.2. Nominalizing copula.

The copula may serve to turn a verb into a predicate noun, e.g. A 1860 **taĝayu-x̂ iĝamana-x̂ a-x̂** 'salt is (a) good (thing)' (Mark 9.50); A 1971 **qichiti-x̂ iĝamana-x̂ a-x̂** 'money is something good', **qichiti-x̂ iĝamana-ĝ-ulax a-x̂** 'money is an evil', cf. **qichiti-x̂ iĝamana-ku-x̂** 'the money is good, valid', neg. 'invalid'; A 1979 **saĝa-x̂ agach kayutu-x̂ a-x̂ta-x̂ ...** 'sleep apparently is something stronger (than fear, so I fell asleep)'.

3.1.2.3. Identification

E.g. E 1909- **kiin txin ?**, A 1952 **kiin a-x̂-t** 'who are you ?', pl. A **kiin-kus a-x̂-txichix**; En 1910 **Alix, ama-n-ulux ting ii?** 'But am I not the one ?' (J 62:11); A 1971 **qana-n a-x̂-t** 'which one are you (as in a picture)', **ting a-x̂** 'that's me'; **Ivaan a-x̂ hinga** 'that one is John'; E 1978 **ting anaada-ng** 'she is my mother' (cf. 2.1.2.1.4.); A 1860 **Xristuusa-x̂ a-ĝ-ulax ii hinga ?**, E 1870 **Xristuusa-ĝ-ulux hinga hi?** 'isn't he Christ ?' (Luke 3.15).

3.1.2.4. Adjunct of predicate noun

According to the general rule, a predicate noun with a fully specified adjunct functions as a simple noun, as in examples above, while an anaphoric adjunct is the outer subject of the sentence, e.g. A 1952 **Tuku-ngis ana-s ax̂taku-s.** 'He was their chief.' (N.M. 3:26), cf. **tayaĝu-s tuku-u ana-x̂ ax̂taku-x̂** 'he was the men's chief'; A 1973 **wa-kus aniqdu-s uchiitila-a aku-q** 'I am the teacher of these children', **uchiitila-ngis aku-ning** (pl.1.sg.) 'I am their teacher'; A 1971 **Hux̂sunu-x̂ ami-ngis ana-s** 'Stink (nickname) was their maternal uncle', but A 1950 **ana-ngis Hux̂sunu-m uhngi-i aku-x̂** 'their mother is Stink's sister' (1959:79, 12 (2)); 1996 **ada-ngis Viiram huyu-u aku-x̂** 'their father is Vera's brother'.

These constructions contrast with constructions with the transitive suffix **-(x̂)ta-** 'to have - as/for' (2.2.4.1.), cf. above and **ting uchiitila-x̂ta-ku-s** 'they have me as a teacher, I (rather than another one) am their teacher'; **Muyisiiya-x̂ hla-s uchiitila-a aku-x̂** 'Moses is the boys' (rather than the girls') teacher', **Muyisiiya-x̂ uchiitila-x̂ta-ku-s** 'they have Moses (rather than another one) as their teacher'.

3.1.3. Deictic sentences

Two sets of demonstrative forms constitute nominal sentences and are used also in verbal sentences: stem forms without a suffix (2.7.2.), and forms with the deictic suffix **-y±a-**(2.7.6.).

3.1.3.1. Stem forms

The stem forms, mostly clause final, relate the outer subject deictically to the situation or to the context, constituting a nominal sentence or locating the referent of

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an anaphoric verbal sentence.

The deictic nominal sentences concern the identity of the subject, while corresponding sentences with a verbal copula concern the characteristics, e.g. A 1860-, E 1870- **kiin hinga** 'who's that?' - A 1971 **uchiitilax̂ hinga** 'that's the teacher'; A 1860- **alqux̂ hinga** 'what's that?' - A 1971 **quganax̂ hinga** 'that's a rock' (or **quganax̂ akux̂** 'it is a rock'), but **alqux̂ ax̂ hinga** 'what is he ?' (**Piitrax̂ alqux̂ ax̂** 'what is Peter?') - **uchiitilax̂ ax̂ hinga** 'he's a teacher'; A 1952 **qanan tanax̂ hinga** 'which island is that?'; A 1971 **kiin uĝii** (± **ax̂**) **wa** 'whose (whose property) is this?'; A 1950 **anaging hinga** 'that's my club'; A 1971 **haman hinga** 'that's the one (we had been talking about)'; Ea 1910 **"Ingan inga ?"** 'What's that (I see over there)?', **"Uman uma?"** 'What's that (I hear)?' (J 32: 7, 12); Ea 1910 **Huyung kayux txin amiin inga.** 'He's my brother and your uncle (maternal uncle).' (J 15:16); Eb 1984 **ungiik(a)-ĝ-ul(u)x inga** 'that's not a story (but true)'; A 1860 **Ioosifam hlaa-ulax ii hinga?**, E 1870 **hingaya** [cf. 3.1.3.3.] **Iuusifam hlaa-yulux hinga hi?** 'isn't he (that) the son of Joseph?'. Meteorological sentence: A 1952 **qanaax achunax̂ uma** 'from which direction comes the wind (that I feel now)?'. Exclamation with lengthening of the final vowel: Eu 1910 **"Tayaĝunux̂ umaa!"** 'Smell of man in here!' (J 35:30).

In the following biblical translations the referent of the contextual demonstrative is named in addition: A 1860 **kiin hama anang ...**, E 1870 **kiin hama Ting anang ...** 'who is my mother ? (who is she, my mother you are talking about ?)' (Mark 3.33).

A deictic nominal clause may also be the initial part of a complex sentence, e.g. Ea 1910 **Aman asagaam iqaa uda utmakiigiim sixsax̂talix udamtax̂takux̂ ...** '(seeing that) it [the thing floating] out there was his cousin's baidarka lying broken in the middle ...' (J 28:17; other examples are J 10:72, 83; 28:18; 34:46).

Final stem forms in reference to the subject of verbal sentences were mentioned in 3.1.1.5. Other examples are A 1971 **kiin akux̂ haqal uma** 'who is the one we hear coming? (lit. which is who is coming here (heard)?)'; A 1950 **furaaskiin chux̂takux̂ hinga** 'he (you see there) has his cap on', **furaaskidix chux̂takus hawa** 'they have their caps on'; A 1952 **txin ii? kixs hama** 'did it (the dog over there) bite you?'. Deictic reference to anaphoric objects will be mentioned in 3.2.4.

3.1.3.2. Demonstratives with the deictic suffix **-y**

The simple suffix **-y** appears to call attention to the situation or happening, possibly the temporal aspect of it, e.g. A **way hitikux̂** '(look) he went out right now'; A 1971 **umay qangukux̂** 'now (we hear) he is coming in'; **way haqakuq** 'I just came'; A 1978 **Sintaabrax̂ way malgakux̂** 'it is now September'; Eb 1984 **ingaan aslaan ingay - chngatusniikan aguqaa iiltaqax̂, Belkoofski(m) chiirkaa** 'at that time then - the sea otter hunters built it, it was said, Belkofski church'; Eu 1909 **Mal(i)x away qagaanuq(a)linax̂** 'So then he went eastwards' (J 34:162); Ea 1909 **chaay(u)x̂ away suĝaliikaq(a)x̂ ax̂tanax̂** 'tea could apparently be used then (on the wound)' (J 5:12). In Eastern an **away** or **ingay** is frequently inserted in a story or report, apparently to stress the continuation ('then').

A simple form in **-y** may also introduce an interrogative nominal sentence, perhaps with regard to the fact rather than to the object, e.g. A 1950 **hingay anagiin ii?** 'is that your (rather than another one's) club', cf. the longer form (3.1.3.3.) in **hingayaa anaging** (± **akux̂**) 'that one is my club'; A 1952 **way aalax hiisix̂ isuĝiin ii?** 'is this your second seal ?'

3.1.3.3. Demonstratives with -y-a- and the interrogative **qaata-**

These forms serve to point out, resp. ask about, the location (in space or thought) of one or more typically definite persons or objects. The suffixed **-a-** possibly is **a-** 'be' (although Attuan too has **-a-** rather than **-u-**) and has anaphoric 3A suffixes: sg. **-yaa**, du. **-yakix**, pl. A **-yangis**, E **-yangin**. In Eastern, later Atkan, and Attuan, the singular is mostly shortened to **-ya**, and is used also without number distinction. The interrogative **qaata-** has the same suffixes: sg. **qaataa** (A also **qataa**), pl. A **qaatangis**, E **qaatangin**.

These forms may be used alone, with an anaphoric referent, e.g. A 1950 **ikuyangis** '(look) over there they are'; with specification of the location: **hikayangis qixyam kugan** 'they are up there, on the shelf'; with negation A 1971 **hingayaĝulaa** (for ***hingayaa-ulax**, cf. 2.1.9.3.), **hingay agach** 'it's not that one, it's that (other one)'.

A specified referent may be like a subject, e.g. A 1971 **qaataa hlang** 'where is my son?' - **akayaa qasikux̂** 'he's out there, fishing'; **wayaa haman** 'here it is (the thing we were talking about)', cf. **haman hinga** 'that's the one'; **ikuya laavkix̂** 'the store is over there', cf. **laavkix̂ ax̂ hinga** 'that's a store'; En 1909 **Qaatangin amakun asx̂aadan** 'Where are those outlaws?' (J 46:3). Note E 1909 **qaata-a tayaĝu-ngin** 'where are his men?', with a singular outer subject, and **qaata-ngin tayaĝu-ngin** 'where are their men', with a plural outer subject.

Or the specified referent may be more like the nominal predicate of a sentence of identification (cf. 3.1.2.3.), e.g. A 1950 **waya hlang** 'this is my son', du. **waya(kix) hlak**; **wayangis aniqduning** 'these are my children'; **ukaya inaqamas ulamas** 'this (in here, where we are) is our own house'; En 1910 **Aliĝyaagim lakix waya** 'here are (= we are) Aliĝyaax's two sons' (J 67:26); Ea 1910 **Waya alqutaadaan?** 'What is the little thing you have here?', lit. 'this one here (that I hold in my hand, namely the boy's penis), what little part of you (is it)?' (J 13:7).

A deictic form may have both a subject (an initial noun or, in Eastern, a final pronoun) and a nominal predicate, e.g. A 1971 **Saĝuugax̂ hamayaa qawa(m) tanaa** 'S. (a peninsula), that's a sea lion rookery'; **kukutux̂, hingayaa kasamim chiidaa** 'k., that's the young of an eider duck'; En 1910 **"Aman Kangax̂simaax̂ amaya uging, kayux adaan. Waya anaan ting."** 'That K., that's my husband and your father. I here am your mother.' (J 74:35-36); Eu 1910 **A, ingaya aman umniidang txin hi?** 'Ah, you there are my dear nephew, eh?' (J 35:62). In the biblical translations a personal pronoun was used alone with a deictic form, e.g. A 1860 **Ting wayaa**, E 1870 **waya Ting** 'it is I' (John 6.20, Russian: *eto Ya).* On Atka in 1971 this usage (a calque from Russian) was declared ungrammatical, presumably because the 1.p. pronoun by itself identifies the person pronouncing it, or otherwise it would need a copula, cf. **ting ax̂** 'that's me (in the picture)' in 3.1.2.3.

A deictic form may also be followed by a verbal predicate, pointing to its subject, e.g. A 1950 **waya wang akux̂** '(look) it is right here'; **hawaya hawan agikux̂** 'she just passed by there'; A 1971 **hingaya(a) haqakux̂** 'that's the one [who] is coming'; Ea 1909 **Udaya aman Tumitang iiltadax̂takux̂** (**ukux̂taqalikuu awa.**) '(He saw that) the one there was that so-called Farter' (J 7:5); Eu 1910 **"Agaya waan aslaan saagamagim madangin malix agamakux̂ aga hi?"** 'The one up there, does it at this time do up there what an eagle usually does ?' (J 35:58). The following is a deictic existential sentence: Ea 1910 **Uknungn** [< **uknangun**] **uknaya ulax̂ akux̂**. 'Down there, you see, there is a house.' (J 15:54).

Such sentences may also have an initial subject, e.g. En 1910 **"Aman akaya akaaĝaqadaaĝutakux̂"** 'He (that one) has now come up there again' (J 52:14); En 1909 **laan kayux umnilin kamayakix asx̂asxakux** 'your son and nephew (sister's son), they are gone, were both killed' (J 46:21); Ea 1909 **niĝimin sitxaan aaykaaĝum chiidaadaa awaya txin aygaxsix** 'a little fox pup was seen going away from under your baidar' (J 10:50); Au 1909 **"Am hyaagaa tagayaa, qugax̂ itanungimasukux̂"** 'That's a log from the south, perhaps the darned thing contains a demon' (J 81:7); Ea 1910 **"Ingan asanaqax̂ ingaya aaykaaĝum angadaĝikix liidax angadax̂tax̂talix ..."** 'The sister-in-law right there has eyeteeth like the eyeteeth of a fox ...' (J 10:41). See further 3.2.2.3.

3.2. Object

A fully specified object does not affect the form of the following verb, while an anaphoric object entails a suffixal reference in the following verb, e.g. Atkan

hla-x̂	**asxinu-x̂**	**kidu-ku-x̂**	
boy-sg.abs.	girl-sg.abs.	help-pres.sg.	'the boy is helping the girl'
hla-m	**kidu-ku-u** (< **-a**)		
boy-sg.rel.	help-pres.-sg.3A	'the boy is helping her'	

Under conditions to be specified below (3.2.2.3.), the referent of the anaphoric construction may be included in the sentence as an outer subject.

3.2.1. Specified object

3.2.1.1. Specified nominal object

A specified nominal object is in the absolutive case, like a nominal subject. The basic order of nominal terms is SOV, e.g. A **hla-x̂ asxinu-x̂ kidu-ku-x̂** 'the boy is helping the girl', **asxinu-x̂ hla-x̂ kidu-ku-x̂** 'the girl is helping the boy'; E 1978 **lakaaya-x̂ ayagaada-x̂ sismi-ku-x̂, ayagaada-x̂ lakaaya-x̂ sismi-ku-x̂**. As in the case of an intransitive verb, the subject may be anaphoric, e.g. A **asxinux̂ kidukux̂**, E **ayagaadax̂ sismikux̂** 'he is helping the girl'. Especially in Eastern a definite subject (mentioned before) may also come last, more or less as an afterthought, see 3.1.1.1.

A 1., 2. or 3R subject marker, being an enclitic pronoun or a suffix, comes of course last, e.g. A **asxinux̂ kiduku-q**, E **ayagaadax̂ sismiku-qing** 'I am helping the girl' (cf. 3.1.1.2.).

3.2.1.2. Pronominal object

The personal pronouns (2.1.2.1.1.), being fully specified, are used as an object without affecting the form of the verb, e.g. A **Viira-x̂ ting achixa-ku-x̂** 'Vera is teaching me', **ting achixa-ku-x̂-t** 'you are teaching me', **txin achixa-ku-q** 'I am teaching you', etc.

A verb with the same person as object and subject is reflexive, e.g. **ting achixa-ku-q** 'I am teaching me = I am learning'; **inaqamis txin achixa-ku-x̂-t** 'you are teaching yourself' (lit. 'you yourself are teaching you', see 2.1.3.1.).With a 3.p. subject the object pronoun is of course reflexive, e.g. **txin achixa-ku-x̂** 'he/she is teaching himself/herself, he/she is learning'; **inaqaam txin asx̂at-na-x̂** 'he killed himself, committed suicide'(lit. 'he himself killed him[self]').

Some verbs are only or mostly reflexive, e.g. **txin aygaxt-ikux̂** 'he started walking, walked off (right now)'; A, E **txin quyu-kux̂** 'goes (or just went) to bed' (E also vi.); Eb 1984 **txin ini-da** 'go to bed' (also vi.), Au 1909 **tin nini-ix̂** '(he) to go to bed' (J 82:28).

In the dual and plural the reflexive construction may have a reciprocal meaning, e.g. **suna-x txidix hnu-ku-x** 'the two ships reach each other (= meet)'; **txidix yaxta-ku-s** 'they love each other'; **inaqamax txidix asx̂adgu-na-s** 'they killed themselves' or 'they killed each other' (lit. 'they themselves killed them[selves]').

In the reflexive construction the number of the object may differ from that of the subject, e.g. A 1952 **txidix hi-ku-ĝ-aan** 'when (see 3.11.1.1.) he called his people (lit. themselves)' (N.M. 3:91).

3.2.2. Anaphoric object

An anaphoric object is expressed by a suffixal reference in the following verb, which thus may have a double personal reference, viz. to the object as an outer subject and to the inner subject. The latter may be specified by a noun in the relative case or by a 1., 2. or 3R suffix, or else it is anaphoric, e.g. A **hla-m kidu-ku-u (-ku-a)** 'the boy is helping her', **kidu-ku-ng** 'I am helping her', **kidu-ku-u** 'he is helping her' (or 'she is helping him', etc.). In Eastern, the subject noun may also come last, e.g. Ea 1910 **... taxsadaqali-ku-u ama-an ayaga-m** 'she would each time put it away, that woman' (J 30:4).

The suffixal marking is different in different moods.

3.2.2.1. Reference marked by possessive suffixes

In those moods and tenses where the subject of an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with a fully specified object (or other complement) is marked by a simple number suffix (3.1.1.1.) or an enclitic subject pronoun (3.1.1.2.), the anaphoric object with its subject is marked by the possessive suffixes listed in 2.1.9.1.1., e.g. A

hla-m kiduku-u 'the boy is helping her/him', **hla-s kiduku-u** 'the boys are helping her/him', E **lakaaya-m sismiku-u**, **lakaaya-n sismiku-u**, cf. A **hla-m ada-a** 'the boy's father', **hla-s ada-a** 'the boys' father', E **lakaaya-m ada-a**, **lakaaya-n ada-a.** The remote tense, which in the one-place forms has the suffix **-na-**, before the possessive suffixes has the suffix -(ĝ)**ka-** (2.1.9.3.3.), e.g. A **hla-x̂ asxinu-x̂ kidu-na-x̂** 'the boy helped the girl', but **hla-m kidu-qa-a** 'the boy helped her'. The -(ĝ)**ka-** is used also as an additional suffix in the optative (2.1.9.4.1.1.), e.g. **su-uqa-an** 'take it', **su-uqa-a** 'let him take it', cf. **ukinax̂ su-ux̂-t(xin)** 'take the knife', **ukinax̂ su-ux̂-t(ax̂)** 'let him take the knife'.

With a specified subject noun in the relative case, the 3A suffixes of the verb regularly mark the number of the object, e.g. A **tayaĝu-m kiduqa-a** 'the man helped him', **tayaĝu-s kiduqa-a** 'the men helped him', **tayaĝu-m kiduqa-ngis** 'the man helped them', **tayaĝu-s kiduqa-ngis** 'the men helped them', cf. **tayaĝu-m ada-a** 'the man's father', **tayaĝu-s ada-a** 'the men's father', **tayaĝu-m hla-ngis** 'the man's sons', **tayaĝu-s hla-ngis** 'the men's sons'; E 1978 **lakaaya-n suku-u** 'the boys took it (right now)', **lakaaya-m suku-ngin** 'the boy took them', **lakaaya-n suku-ngin** 'the boys took them'; En 1910 **ama-kun asx̂aada-n suqa-a ax̂takux̂** 'those outlaws seized him' (J 70:12; **ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'he apparently, according to the story' in the singular, in agreement with the outer subject, see 3.8.1.4.1.2.); En 1983 **kadaang-in qaĝax̂tadqa-a-yulux ax̂tada-ku-x̂** 'the ancestors didn't like it (the oystercatcher)'; Eu 1910 ... **amaagan uumlikaadam txidin agux̂tagalina-ngin aqatalagaaqa-a** (**quliin**) '(in order that) any epidemic that might occur may not affect (lit. know) him' (J 36:29).

In Eastern, however, the verb may also agree in number with the specified subject, e.g. Eu 1984 **lakaaya-n ilaaĝ(u)qa-a** 'the boys helped him' and also **lakaaya-n ilaaĝ(u)qa-ngin** with the pl. suffix **-ngin** in agreement with the pl. subject; likewise Eu 1909 **wayaam imgaĝna-n tanax̂taku-ngin** 'nowadays fishermen stay there (lit. use it - a bay - as their place)' (J 40:12); Eu 1910 **ama-kux la-gan suqadaamdix idusaqa-kix** 'those two sons of hers took them and went out with them (pl.)' (J 67:14; **lagan** rel. 3A sg. for du., see 2.1.1.1.2.); Ep 1941 **taĝa wa-kun Unangam** [rel.sg. for pl.] **imchi angix̂taqa-ngin-ulux** 'but these Aleuts did not bother about it'; cf. Ea 1909 **ama-kun ayaga-m anaada-ngin** 'the little mother of those women' (3.6.1.1.). The agreement in number with the specified subject is found also in the biblical translations and could be due to Russian influence, e.g. 1870 **alitxuĝi-n hamaya hamayax̂taqa-ngin** 'the soldiers asked him', but also **hamaya angaĝi-n hamayax̂taqa-a** 'the people asked him' (Luke 3.14 and 3.10).

With an anaphoric subject the verb suffix includes its number, e.g. A **kiduku-ngis** 'they are helping him (or them)' or 'he is helping them', E 1978 **suku-ngin** 'they took it (or them)' or 'he took them', cf. **ada-ngis** 'their father (or fathers)' (3.1.1.6.2.). In Eastern this syncretism may have conditioned the just-mentioned innovating number agreement with a specified subject noun which, as mentioned above, may come last, more or less as an afterthought.

With a 1. or 2. p. subject suffix the number of the object is marked only when the subject is singular (2.1.1.1.3.), e.g. A **kiduqa-ng** 'I helped him/her', **kiduqa-ning** 'I helped them', cf. **hla-ng** 'my son', **hla-ning** 'my sons'. With a 1. or 2.p. du. or pl. subject suffix the number of the object is not marked, e.g. A **suku-mas (suku-ngin)** 'we took it/them (just now)', **suqa-chix** 'you (pl.) took it/them (in the past)', cf. **ada-mas (ada-ngin)** 'our father/fathers', **ada-chix** 'your (pl.) father/fathers'.

3.2.2.2. Reference marked by separate suffixes.

In the conjunctive, which has no number suffixes, an anaphoric object (or other complement) is marked by the suffixes sg. **-ka**, Eastern and late Atkan also **-kan**, du. **-kix**, pl. A **-kis**, E **-kin** (see 2.1.9.2.), e.g. A 1950 **su-l-kix ii?** 'did he take them (two)?' (answer: **su-ku-kix hinga** 'he did take them'); E 1978 **Piitram su-kan ii?** 'did Peter take it?'; A 1950 **qanang ax̂-s-xa-t**, E 1978 **qanangun ax̂-s-xa-txin** 'where did you put it ?'; A **idax̂ta-lakan-ka-t ?** 'do you know it?'; **uyux̂ta-l-ki-t?** 'do you like them?'; **su-l-ki-dix** 'do you (du.) take it?'; 1952 **su-l-ki-chix ii?** 'do you (pl.) take them?'; E 1870 **alix kayux txichi tachim taĝali-laka-ki-chi hi?** 'but do you not yet understand (it)?' (Matthew 15.16, 1838 **hax̂saasali-laka-ki-txichi**).

In old Atkan these anaphoric 3.p. suffixes were used also in the intentional, see 2.1.9.4.2.1. In Eastern they appear as infixes in the intentional, in old anterior forms, and in old imperative forms with a plural 2.p. subject, see 2.1.9.4.2., 2.1.9.6., 2.1.9.8. The imperative 2.p.sg. has no anaphoric forms, e.g. A **su-da** 'take it/them' like **ukinax̂ / ukinas su-da** 'take the knife/knives'.

3.2.2.3. Outer subject noun included

The referent of a two-place verb may be included as the outer subject of the sentence (or final clause) only if it is separated from the verb by a specified inner subject. While the outer subject has the character of a topic (theme), the inner subject, which may be (1) animate (human) or (2) inanimate, is part of the comment (theme), the predicate of the whole construction. Semantically the construction thus recalls English passive constructions and may be translated as such but formally it is active, different from Aleut passive constructions (3.4.3.).

3.2.2.3.1. Animate inner subject

Constructions with an animate inner subject contrast with the more common SOV constructions with a one-place verb and bring the inner subject into focus or introduce it as new information. The outer subject (in SOV the O) is definite, often marked by a demonstrative determiner, e.g. En 1983 **aman (A haman) sistrang Paavila-m itaangisix ayagax̂ta-qa-a** 'that sister of mine, Paul first married her; that sister of mine was first married to Paul (and later to another man)', cf. (A) **Paavila-x̂ haman sistrang itaangis(ix) ayagax̂ta-na-x̂** 'Paul married first that sister of mine (and later another woman)'; A 1984 **hamay udakus uuquchiingis udang anangis, huzungis Kasaka-s udaaĝaasa-qa-ngis hiilax̂takus** 'now the foxes that are here (on these islands), all of them were brought here by the Russians, it is said';

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En 1910 **malix ama-n aniqdu-x̂ Kangax̂simaaĝim anĝaĝinax̂ tahlax̂tana-gan aniqdux̂ta-kan agitxali-qa-a** 'so that child was brought up as her child by K.'s slave woman (lit. the woman that K. had as slave)' (J 74:21); En 1910 **aman asxinuum chimignu-u aniqdu-m ix̂ta-ku-u (tutalix)** '(hearing that) a child asked for his daughter's big toe' (J 60:17); Ea 1909 **anaĝiidax̂ nung aĝnaa, awa-n chngatu-m iĝax̂taadali-qa-a-yulux** 'the little thing she gave me, of that the sea otter (generic) was not at all afraid' (J 4:19); A 1860 **hama-n ayaga-x̂ agiitaqa-gan su-qa-a** 'that woman was taken (for wife) by another one' (Luke 20:30); E 1870 **hamaan aslitaqaĝiisi-i unuqu-m su-uqa-a** 'let another take his position (dignity)' (Acts 1.20).

Some other examples: En 1910 **asxinu-un iladin qax̂ta-n qa-akigin su-kin, ayugasa-ku-ngin** 'cannibals (lit. who eat their own people) have carried your daughter off to eat' (J 60:7; **qa-akigin** intentional sg-pl. 3A pl.); En 1910 **kaasxix̂, kixchx̂ix̂, igax̂ kiin imin agu-qa-ngin** 'the sewing stand, the squeezer of the stand, the ulu [that I see you have there], who made them for you ?' (J 53:9; **kiin** 'who' rel. = abs.); En 1936 **nuhmadan Simon asix kavkaanan ax̂tananing iliin aalax kavkaana-x asx̂aada-m ngiin manaax̂sax̂taaqalta-ku-kix** 'of the traps that I had on the south side together with Simon, two traps were disarrayed for us by an outside man'; En 1949 **Atugan anĝaĝi-ngin itaangisix Qax̂u-n alitxux̂ta-kin inatxa-ngin** 'the people of Attu were first killed off in war by the Rat Islanders'; E 1870 **Iirusaliima-x̂ agnamixta-n tadamuduuka-ku-u** 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the heathen' (Luke 21.24, Russian: *Ierusalim budet popirayem yazychnikami*), but A 1860 SOV: **umsumixta-s Ierusaliimax̂ maaligax̂taasaduukalakaĝ-is**.

The following sentence elicited on Atka 1971 was later considered artificial by the consultants: **hinga-n ayx̂aasi-x̂ Piitra-m agu-qa-a** translated from 'that's the boat Peter built'. The low acceptability appears to be due to the fact that the outer rather than the inner subject was put in focus. For this purpose a deictic form of the demonstrative should probably be used, in addition to or instead of the demonstrative determiner: A 1987 **hingaya-a Piitra-m ayx̂aasix̂ agu-qa-a** 'that's a boat made by Peter' (participial clause, see 3.14.2.3.1.2.), cf. Ea 1910 **Inga-n ludaaĝix̂ ayaga-x̂ ingaya nung taĝax̂taasaangan aĝ-iku-ng** 'That older woman there, that's the one I'll be trying (to get)' (J 17:143); En 1983 **Atuu ingaya agachiidaa nux̂ta-q(a)-ngulux** 'Attu (Island), that's the only one I did not get to'; A 1952 **uglagiin sam huzungis malgaqa-ngis hamaya-ngis agach hix̂taaka-lakaĝ-[n]ing** 'all the other birds there were I cannot tell' (1959:72, note 58). Note that in these instances the inner subject is just a suffix, rather than a noun separating the outer subject from the verb.

A focused 1. or 2. p. subject must be expressed by a free pronominal form (2.1.2.1.3.), e.g. A 1860 (and 1971) **wa-kus Ting imchi hix̂ta-ku-ning** 'these [things] I have spoken unto you' (John 15.11; E 1870 **waya-ngin imchi Ting hi-ku-ning**); **anĝaĝinas maliin Txin tagaqutana-ngis, Inaqamis ukux̂ta-ku-t** 'You yourself see how the people are crowding you' (Mark 5.31); A 1971 **hinga-n ayx̂aasi-x̂ inaqating** (or **inaqang**) **agu-qa-ng** 'that boat I made myself'. Cf. A 1971 **hingan hlax̂ huyung hagitii-amu-qa-a** 'that boy was raised by my (fem.) brother' vs. **hingan**

hlax̂ hagitii-amu-na-q 'that boy was raised by me, I raised that boy' with the simple enclitic subject pronoun.

3.2.2.3.2. Inanimate inner subject

Constructions with an inanimate inner subject may be equally or perhaps more natural than the corresponding SOV constructions and seem to be more neutral in respect of focus, e.g. A 1971 **ayx̂aasi-x̂ anu-m agat-iku-u** 'the boat was taken by the current', said to be more natural than **anu-x̂ ayx̂aasi-x̂ agat-iku-x̂** 'the current took away the boat' (but in 1987 the latter was said by the same consultant to be the better construction); A 1973 (**slaĝux̂ malgakux̂.**) **qiiga-s slaĝu-m katug-iku-ngis** '(there is a storm.) the grass (pl.) is shaken by the storm' (another speaker preferred **slaĝu-x̂ qiiga-s katug-iku-x̂** 'the storm is shaking the grass'); En 1934 **sunam angadaan anĝaĝi-x̂ alaĝu-m su-ku-u (tutanaqing)** '(I heard that) a person was taken by the sea from the ship's deck'; Ea 1981 **chiĝana-x̂ yaaga-m chutmi-ku-u** 'the river is blocked by (a) log' vs. **yaaga-n chiĝana-x̂ chutmi-ku-n** '(the) logs block the river'; E 1870 **Muyisiiyax̂ iĝataasaada-m sux̂ta-ku-u (malix)** '(because) Moses was stricken (lit. held) by great fear' (Acts 7.32); **qiqutam ulaa angali-m tani-qa-a** 'a light shined in the prison' (Acts 12.7).

3.2.3. Object with a movable derivational suffix

As in the case of a nominal subject (3.1.1.4.), certain derivational suffixes may move from the object noun to the verb in the anaphoric version, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ hla-kucha-x̂ kidukux̂** 'Peter is helping the little boy', **Piitram kidu-kucha-kuu** 'Peter is helping him, the little one'; **hlakuchax̂ kidukuq** 'I am helping the little boy', **kida-kucha-kung** 'I am helping him, the little one'. The last sentence, where the final suffix **-ng** 'him-I' represents both the object and the subject, could possibly mean also 'I, the little one, am helping him'.

3.2.4. Object with a demonstrative determiner

An object noun as well as a nominal subject may frequently have a demonstrative determiner, see for example 3.2.2.3. In the anaphoric version the demonstrative comes last in the stem form, e.g. A 1971 **Piitra-m asx̂ati-qa-a hinga** 'Peter killed it (that one)'. As an afterthought the object could be added to the anaphoric sentence: **Piitram asx̂atiqaa, hingan qawax̂** translated from 'Peter killed it, that sea lion'; Ea 1909 **... agumaas(a)qang maasak(an) qaĝaasaq(a)ng haw(an) laavkii.** 'I was grateful for having it there, that store of his.' (J 5:17).

As in the case of the subject (3.1.1.5.), a pronominal demonstrative may function as an object noun, while in the anaphoric version the demonstrative comes last as a stem form, with a shifted emphasis, e.g. **Piitra-x̂ hinga-n su-ku-x̂** 'Peter took that one (rather than this one)', **Piitra-m su-ku-u hinga** 'Peter took it (rather than left it, or Peter rather than another one)'; **hinga-n su-laga-da** 'don't take that one (but the other one)', **sulagada hinga** 'don't take it!'.

The final demonstrative thus points to the outer subject and is common in any kind of anaphoric sentences, e.g. A 1950 **taya-ku-ng wa** 'I bought it (rather than found it or the like, the thing I show you)'; A 1952 **Fillip kay qaĝax̂taaĝutamalakaĝ-a hama** 'Philip, too, in turn disliked it' (1959:81, 19 (5)); **hingamaasalagaaqa-an hinga** 'you must not do that' (optative neg.). In Jochelson's texts the final **awa** or **nawa** is very frequent and may refer to an anaphoric subject as well as to the anaphoric object, e.g. En 1909 ... **saĝanichx̂i-ku-u nawa** 'she let him fall asleep' (J 49:4).

Salamatov's occasional use of a final pronominal form instead of the stem form after an imperative was probably due to the Russian original, e.g. **isida haman** 'cut it (that one) off' (Mark 9.43, Russian: *otseki yeyo*, E 1870 **hamaya isida**).

3.2.5. Adjunct of object and subject.

3.2.5.1. Adjunct of the object only

As in the case of a subject (3.1.1.6.), the adjunct of the object can be (a) fully specified, viz. a noun in the relative case or a possessive suffix, (b) anaphoric, a 3A suffix, or (c) anaphoric with the referent preceding it in the absolutive case.

3.2.5.1.1. Specified adjunct of object

According to the general rule, a fully specified adjunct of the object does not affect the form of the verb, e.g. A 1973 **Piitra-x̂ hla-s ada-a kidu-ku-x̂** 'Peter is helping the boys' father'. An object with a reflexive suffix in reference to the 3.p. subject of the verb is fully specified in the syntactical sense: **Piitrax̂ ada-an kidukux̂** 'Peter is helping his (own) father', **adaan kidukux̂** 'he is helping his (own) father'. Also a demonstrative pronoun (nominal demonstrative) may have a possessive suffix, e.g. A 1979 **tax̂ hingaku-t agiitakux̂** 'but he was together with those of his (his people)'; En 1983 **wan-ing taĝad(a)ĝulux adanaqing** 'I had never tried this one of mine (my penis)'.

3.2.5.1.2. Anaphoric adjunct of object

An anaphoric adjunct (a 3A suffix) of the object entails a suffixal reference in the verb to its referent, the outer subject of the sentence : A **Piitra-m ada-ngis kiduku-ngis hama** 'Peter is helping their father', with the plural suffixes **-ngis** in reference to the outer subject (the boys, cf. **hlas adaa** above and 3.1.1.6.2.). Likewise **tayaĝu-s hla-s ada-a kidu-ku-s** 'the men are helping the boys' father' - **tayaĝu-s ada-ngis kidu-ku-ngis** 'the men are helping their father'. With the inverse number relation: **uchiitila-x̂ tayaĝu-m asxinu-ngis achixa-ku-x̂** 'the teacher is teaching the man's daughters' - **uchiitila-m asxinu-ngis achixa-ku-u hama** 'the teacher is teaching his daughters'; **asx̂udgi-s ayaga-m aniqdu-ngis kidu-ku-s** 'the girls are helping the woman's children' - **asx̂udgi-s aniqdu-ngis kidu-ku-u hama** 'the girls are helping her children', cf. **uchiitila-s anĝaĝina-s aniqdu-ngis achixa-ku-s** 'the teachers are teaching the people's children' - **uchiitila-s aniqdu-ngis achixa-ku-ngis hawa** 'the teachers are teaching their children'.

Some other examples: A 1971 **hama-an tayaĝu-m asa-a haqata-lakaq** 'I don't know the name of that man' - 1952 **asa-a haqata-lakaĝ-ing hama** 'I don't know his name'; 1952 **hawa-an ayx̂aasi-m husi-i igula-ax̂-txichix** (optative 2.p.pl.) 'take out the load of that boat' - **husi-i igula-aqa-chix** 'unload it'; Ea 1909 **Kita-kix iqiti-ku-u awa. Aqadaagiim sanĝu-u chaxt-iku-u awa. Iliiĝi-ngin igu-ku-u awa.** 'He cut off his feet. Then he cut his stomach open. He took out his entrails.' (J 7:22-24); A 1860 **iĝatu-m ku-u a**(g)**-ka-a** 'fear past over him' (Luke 1.12; **kuu** 'his surface', positional noun).

An inanimate inner subject comes between the object with its anaphoric suffix and the verb in Ea 1910 (**aman ayagax̂ sitxamadaa ukux̂takum**) **ingla-ngin sitxamadaan sla-m qutaxta-ku-u** '(when that woman looked down) her forelocks were blown up by the wind from below' (J 30:9); En 1909 (**Ingamataliiĝlikum**) **simsi-ngin taanga-m nuqaliigiim** (anterior 3R sg.) '(She remained that way, viz. standing on a reef at rising tide, until) the water began to reach her chest, (whereupon ...)' (J 49:31). cf. 3.2.2.3.2. Note that the final verb of the last clause (the anterior 3R sg.) and the verbs of the preceding clauses (**-kum** rel.sg.) are coreferential with the outer subject (the woman).

The inanimate inner subject is in the absolutive case in A 1952 ...**isi-gan nag-a alaĝu-x̂ ikaaĝaxtaasa-ku-u** ...'sea water goes across the interior of its chasm (lit. cut, of the point)', part of a long sentence but according to the speaker's daughter (1971) a possible sentence by itself (1959:63 (208), final verb corrected 1971). The subject apparently is indefinite (some sea water, not the whole ocean) and recalls the absolutive term of anaphoric existential clauses (see 3.3.2.2.). Other speakers found it strange and would change it into the rel. **alaĝu-m** (1977; N.M. 3:57), cf. A 1980 **alaĝu-x̂ yaaĝim isigan nag-a ikaaĝax̂taasa-ku-x̂** 'the ocean goes across the interior of the point's cut (chasm)'.

3.2.5.1.3. Referent of an anaphoric adjunct included

As in the case of a subject (3.1.1.6.3.), the referent of the anaphoric adjunct of an object in partitive relation to it may be included in the absolutive case, as an "outer" object of the verb, which naturally has no suffixal reference to it, e.g. Au 1909 ... **ayaga-an kayu kav-a iqis, ...**, E **ayagaan kayux kamga iqisix** 'cut off his wife's head too, beheaded his wife too' (J 84:6); En 1949 **amaagan anĝaĝi-x̂ sagiquuda-a ukux̂talix ngaan tunux̂talaga-aqing** 'I should never talk to (**ngaan**) any person looking at his face'. The partitive term may also be a positional noun (cf. 3.3.), e.g. En 1910 **aman aygaĝasi-x̂ nag-a ilgakum**, Au **tama ukuutax̂ naga ilgakum** 'she looked inside that basket' (J 64:20, 87:20); A 1952 **alax uĝalu-x utmi-kix sixsizaqadaamax** 'they broke two spears in the middle (and then ...)' (N.M. 3:73).

3.2.5.2. Adjunct of subject coreferential with the object

It follows from the general Aleut rule of reference that an object coreferential with the adjunct of the subject must be anaphoric, e.g. A 1952 **ana-gan sihmii-ax̂taku-u** 'his mother spanked him (a while ago)', **ana-ngin sihmii-ax̂taku-ngis** 'their mother spanked them'; En 1910 **amakun ami-gan** [3A sg. for pl.] **qaĝax̂taqa-a-yulux ax̂takux̂** 'those maternal uncles of his did not like him', **ami-ngin qaĝax̂talakaĝ-a (maalalix)** '(because) his maternal uncles disliked him' (J 66:2, 9); En 1910 **amakux anax̂tana-gan** [3A sg. for du.] **ugiĝiix̂tax̂ ix̂tadagaliku-u (ugiĝiituqalinaĝulux)** 'those foster-parents of hers kept on telling her to marry but (she did not want to marry)' (J 69:7). As usual, apart from the noted use in Eastern of the rel. 3A sg. for the du. and pl. (2.1.1.1.2.), the number of the anaphoric suffixes is that of the referent, the outer subject. But in Eastern the number of the inner subject may also be marked in the verb, e.g. En 1910 **ami-gan ludaaĝi-gan** [rel. 3A sg. for du.] **itxidaqa-kix** [3A du.] 'his two older uncles would throw him out' (J 66:10).

As is also usual, the outer subject may be included as an initial term, e.g. A 1971 **hinga-n hla-x̂ ami-gan hagitiqa-a** 'that boy, his maternal uncle raised him; that boy was raised by his maternal uncle'; Eu 1910 **lam txin agunaa ada-gan ama ana-gan asalĝida-a-yulux** 'when a boy is born (lit. a boy being born) he is not named by his father or his mother (but by his maternal uncle)' (J 36:31); E 1870 **atxax̂taqaĝinam lunaayulux aĝnaka-gan hiyuqa-a** 'the unjust steward, his lord praised him; the unjust steward was praised by his lord' (Luke 16.8).

It is possible to say **Piitram ana-gan sihmii-ax̂taku-u** 'Peter's mother spanked him', but here the referent of the anaphoric object (him) is a person different from Peter. To make the person the same as Peter one could translate the sentence as **Piitram ana-a hla-an sihmii-ax̂taku-x̂** 'Peter's mother spanked her son', in Aleut an apparently artificial way of expressing the relation (cf. 3.3.2.3.1.). Here the reflexive suffix of the object refers to the inner (and only) subject, while the relation of the object to the specified adjunct **Piitram**, in the relative case, is basically lexical (mother - son), cf. **Piitram anaa huyuun kidukux̂** 'Peter's mother is helping her brother'. In the Aleut constructions, on the contrary, the coreference is given by the non-reflexive suffixes (3A) which refer to the outer subject, possibly a term in the absolutive case. The Aleut constructions may sometimes be translated aptly by English passive constructions but the Aleut predicate clauses are active, with an inner subject rather than a demoted oblique term.

3.2.5.3. Adjunct of subject coreferential with adjunct of object

The constructions are of the same type as those discussed in 3.2.5.2., e.g. A 1971 **(tayaĝux̂ asx̂aaĝikum) hla-gan ayx̂aasi-i atxax̂tiqa-a** '(the man was sick but) his son fixed his boat (for him)'; **braata-gan masina-ngis atxax̂tiqa-a** 'his brother fixed his motor (pl.) (for him)'; **(hlakuchax̂ ulaan hnukux̂) ana-gan saĝimaĝi-i chamĝuqa-a** '(when the little boy came home, lit. reached his house) his mother washed his face'; E 1909 with the secondary number marking: **amakun asanaqa-ngin kanga-a aĝiyaaĝaliku-ngin awa** 'those sisters-in-law of hers tried in vain to lift her head' (J 10:43).

3.2.6. Types of subject-object relations

The majority of Aleut verbs (verbs with a simple stem or with some derivational suffix(es)) appear to be either intransitive or transitive but some may be both, e.g. **qa-** 'to eat' (also 'meal' and 'fish'). As indicated in 3.2.1.2., many transitive verbs are also reflexive, admitting a pronominal object coreferential with the subject, while other verbs are only reflexive.

3.2.6.1. Affected object

The subject of a transitive verb most frequently represents an animate being (human or animal) and the object an animate being, a thing or a phenomenon affected by the "activity" expressed by the verb or perceived or felt by the subject person (human or animal), e.g. A **kuusxi-x̂ kriisa-x̂ asx̂at-na-x̂** 'the cat killed a/the rat'; **asxinu-x̂ hla-x̂ kidu-ku-x̂** 'the girl is helping the boy'; **ukux̂ta-lakaĝ-ing amilg-a tutaangan ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'I did not see him but heard his voice'; **aniqdu-dix yaxta-ku-s** 'they love their children', etc. The subject, however, may also be inanimate, e.g. A 1952 **qugana-x̂ stikla-x̂ qadgi-ku-x̂** 'the rock (thrown by the boy) went through the glass (window)'; cf. 3.2.2.3.2.

3.2.6.2. Result of activity

The object of verbs such as **agu-** 'to make, build, etc.' may indicate the result of the activity, e.g. **iqya-x̂ agu-na-x̂** 'he built a baidarka'. An alternative to this verb is the suffix **-x̂si-** (2.2.4.4.), intransitive or transitive, e.g. **iqya-x̂si-na-x̂** 'he built a baidarka (or baidarkas)'; Ea 1910 **iqamchi linangin imchi ulasu-x̂si-lix** 'made a hut of their baidarka mats' (J 29:12).

3.2.6.3. Local object

The object of some verbs, including otherwise intransitive ones, indicate the place of the activity, e.g. A **tayaĝu-x̂ qaya-x̂ hanga-ku-x̂** 'the man is ascending the hill', **tayaĝu-m hanga-ku-u** 'the man is ascending it', cf. **tayaĝux̂ hangakux̂** 'the man is ascending'; **itx̂aygi-x̂ uchixs hani-x̂ aga-aĝa-l qayax̂ hangakux̂** 'the reindeer swam across the lake and ascended the hill', lit. 'swimming got across the lake and ...'; **asxinu-x̂ chiĝana-x̂ chali-ku-x̂** 'the girl is fishing in the creek', **asxinu-m chali-ku-u** 'the girl is fishing in it', cf. **asxinux̂ chalikux̂** 'the girl is fishing (with a line from land)'; A 1950 **qana-n niivudi-t** 'where did you seine?', lit. 'which one did you seine'; **qana-n ag-ilmis** 'which way are you going ?', lit. 'which one are you passing'. The object is commonly a phrase with a positional noun (cf. 2.1.6.), with the verb **ag-** 'to pass' and other verbs, e.g. **kuusxix̂ kita-ng ku-u agikux̂** 'the cat is passing over (lit. the surface of) my foot'; **agal-ing agikux̂** 'he is passing behind me (lit. my backside)'; **chiĝana-m hangad-a higis** 'jumping over (lit. the upper side, the space above) the creek', cf. **higitikux̂** 'he jumped, made a jump'.

3.2.6.4. Meteorological expressions

As mentioned in 3.1.1.3., meteorological expressions appear to have no subject, e.g. **chix̂takux̂** 'it is raining'. While derivatives with the suffix **-t-** are generally transitive or reflexive (e.g. **slax-t-** 'make wider', **txin quhma-t-ikux̂** 'is becoming white'), the meteorological ones, having no subject, have no reflexive object (which would refer to a subject): **chix̂ta-t-ikux̂** 'it has started to rain'; **ayangi-t-ikux̂** 'fog came in' (**ayangikux̂** 'it is foggy', **ayangix̂** 'fog'). In the phrase **slax̂ slal** 'the wind is blowing (a storm is coming up)' (N.M. 3:85) the predicate is doubled by an apparent subject but the derivative has no reflexive object: **sla-x̂ sla-t-iku-x̂** 'the weather turned into a storm, a storm came up'.

Also in a meteorological expression, however, a transitive verb may have an object, e.g. A **ayangi-x̂ waaĝa-t-na-x̂** 'the fog came in here', lit. 'it brought in here fog'; **amgim ilan uĝlaangi-l tana-x̂ chiĝni-x̂ta-da-x̂** '(after a bright day) dew falls in the night and make the ground wet', lit. 'in the night [it] being dew(y) makes the ground wet'; **achunanaax̂ta-gu-un hilmakucha-s agu-x̂ta-za-x̂** 'when it blows a little more it makes small waves (whitecaps)'. In the following old people's saying the 3R suffix of the object seems to imply some active subject: A 1973 **qiga-an ayuya-l umamaku-x̂** 'now it is blowing so that the grass comes low', lit. 'now it is trying to turn over its grass', cf. **achuna-x̂ qaniiga-x̂ agati-l** 'the wind is blowing the snow away'.

3.2.7. Object with nominal predicate

Like the subject of **a-** 'to be' (3.1.2.), the object of **hit-** 'to make, turn into' and **hiya-** 'to try to make' has a nominal predicate, an ordinary noun or an indefinite verbal noun (without number agreement with the object), e.g. A **Piitra-x̂ saraaya-x̂ spaalna-x̂ hit-na-x̂** 'Peter turned the shed into a bedrom', **Piitra-m spaalna-x̂ hit-xa-a** 'Peter turned it into a bedroom'; **anĝaĝina-s Piitra-x̂ tuku-x̂ hit-iku-s** 'the people made Peter a leader', **anĝaĝina-s tuku-x̂ hit-iku-u** 'the people made him a leader'; A 1860 **taĝa txichix tayaĝunaaĝis aduu hitxachix ax̂takux̂**, E 1870 **taĝa txichinganaan tayaĝunaaĝin aduu hitikuchi hinga** 'but you have made it a cave (den) of brigands' (Mark 11.17); A 1950 **laavkim imdaa tayahligudix tukuĝulax hitzakus** 'they buy the supply of the store until they make it (the store) poor (without supply)' (1959:78, 1 (33) with erroneous translation); E 1978 **saasqaayun udan ix̂amnaĝulux itikun** 'the larvae spoiled (lit. made no-good) the dried fish'; En 1910 **tugamixta-kan anaĝix̂ ukux̂ta-ĝ-ulux itxadaagiim (igniqaa)** 'having beaten him so that he could not see anything (he let him go)' (J 54:10); E 1909 **iqax̂ iĝamanax̂ iyakuqing** 'I am trying to make (the) baidarka good, a good baidarka'; A **itx̂aygix̂ tanadgusix̂ amaatxaĝulax hitil (kalulgaa-ax̂takux̂)** 'we got the reindeer close to the village (and shot it)'.

With a reflexive pronoun as the object the verb means 'to become', e.g. A 1950 **hlam angunaa txin his** 'he is becoming a big boy'; A 1952 **anĝaĝinam kamgadax̂ aqangizulax ... kamgadax̂ txidix hidgul ...** 'the people who had not been Christian became Christian' (N.M. 1:6); **kamgadax̂ txin hiyakux̂** 'he is trying to become a Christian'; **chix̂tal aguun chiĝanas taangatux̂ txidix hitzas** 'when it is raining the creeks become full of water'; **anaĝis manax̂ txin hitanax̂** (**hit-(x̂)ta**) 'he pretended to be doing something'.

hiisax̂ta- 'to say about, to call', **anuxtaasa-** 'to think about', and some other verbs admit the same construction, e.g. A **alqux̂ hiisax̂taa** 'what does he call it?'; A 1973 **aangsus lanat aangsus hiisax̂tazaĝulaq** 'the berries your are picking I don't call berries'; A 1937 **qichitis ukux̂taqalikumas angunax̂ anuxtaasaqalinas** 'the money we began to get (for the pelts) we thought great'; A 1971 **anĝaĝinas alqux̂ ting anuxtaasas** 'what do the people think I am ?'; A 1860 **anĝaĝinas kiin Ting ataasas** 'who do the people think I am?' (Mark 8.27); **ugix̂ ama ayagax̂ Aguuĝum aĝatxakix** 'husband and wife God created them', E 1870 **Aguuĝux̂ ugii kayux ayagaa aĝa[h]nax̂** 'God created [them] (her) husband and (his) wife' (Mark 10.6).

3.3. Oblique terms

Oblique terms, including local complements, have an adverbial case, locative or ablative. Such terms are positional nouns (2.6.) and demonstrative and interrogative adverbs (2.7-8.), used with intransitive verbs (3.3.2.), reflexive verbs (3.3.3.), transitive verbs (3.3.4.), and a predicate noun (3.3.5.), with various meanings (3.3.6.). The transitive postposition **asix** 'with' has a similar function (3.3.7.).

3.3.1. Adjuncts of positional nouns

Positional nouns have possessive suffixes but no inherent number. Most of them have both adverbial cases, many of them also absolutive and relative forms; for morphological details see 2.1.6.

The specified referent (adjunct) of the 3A suffixes is as usual in the relative case. In close-knit phrases the rel.sg. **-m** is frequently deleted before a consonant, e.g. A 1780- **tana-kugan** (**tana-m ku-ga-n**) 'on the ground'. Before the enclitic **-aan**, **-iin**, the final **-s** in Atkan is voiced, e.g. **tayaĝuziin** 'to the men'; 1839 **timazaan**, 1860, 1952 **timaziin** 'for us', 1860 **adamaziin** 'to our fathers' (Luke 1.55).

In general, a simple nominal adjunct agrees in number with the 3A suffix of the head, e.g. dual Ea 1909 **aalax ulux̂ta-x qudgi-ki-n** 'on top of the two baidarkas' (J 4:24); En 1950 **ama-kux kiiĝuusi-x quchxi-ki-n** 'between those two mountains'; plural E 1831-1870 **ini-n ku-ngi-n**, A 1860 **kuyuuda-s ku-ngi-n** 'in heaven, lit. on the skies' (John 3.13); A 1860 **qaya-z-iin**, E 1870 **qaya-n-iin** 'to the mountains' (Luke 23.30); A 1909 **ayx̂aasi-s ila-ngi-in** 'from (ahead of) the (other) boats' (J 79:321); En 1910 **nuĝ-in ili-ngi-in** 'along rocks' (J 59:21); Au 1909 **chiiya-n alixti-ng**, E **chiida-n utmi-ngi-n** 'among the young ones' (J 81:18); En 1949 **igana-n chuqa-ngi-n** 'to the foot of the cliffs'; A 1952 **Niiĝuĝ-is ili-ngi-in** 'from among the Atkans' (N.M. 3:2). In Eastern, however, as noted already by Veniaminov (1846:8), the singular could be used also for the dual and the plural: **tayaĝu-m il-ki-in** 'from the two men', **tayaĝu-m il-i-in** 'from the people'; so also En 1910 **ama-kux sakita-m ada-ki-n** 'to those two murres' (J 69:51). Marsh (1956:138) suggested that the singular could be collective, but the texts give no evidence of such distinctions.

In older Atkan also an adjunct with a nominal adjunct and/or a possessive suffix agreed in number with the 3A suffix of the head, e.g. 1860 **tutusi-ki-n da(ĝ)-qi-in** 'on his ears' (Mark 14.65); **pitu(u)x̂as tunu-ngi-n asli-ngi-in** 'at the cockcrowing' (Mark 13.35); **cha-ki-mis il-ki-n** 'into thy hands' (Luke 23.46); **agitaada-txin quli-ngi-in** 'for his (own) friends' (John 15.13); 1909 **ami-ki-im hada-ki-n** 'to his (own) two maternal uncles' (J 79:23); 1950 **alux̂-t daĝ-i-n** 'in your book (Aleut pl.)', **hla-t hada-ngi-n** 'to your sons', **aniqdu-t hada-ngi-n** 'to her (own) children'; 1952 **hachi-k ku-ki-n** 'on my back', **hachi-ki-im ku-ki-n** 'on his (own) back (Aleut du.)'; **tana-t hada-ngin** 'to his islands' (N.M. 3:28). The occasional use of the singular for the dual or plural of the adjunct perhaps was due to influence from Eastern (see below) : 1860 **kita-ga-n chida(ĝ)-qi-n** 'at his feet' (Luke 7.38) beside **Iisuusa-m kita-ki-n ili-ki-n** 'at Jesus' feet' (Luke 10.39); 1952 **itx̂a-ga-n anga-ngi-in** beside **ixchxi-ngi-n anga-ngi-in** 'along his neck (Aleut pl.)' (N.M. 3:75). In later Atkan the 3A singular of the head is used also in reference to a dual or plural adjunct, attested since 1909 with the 3R du.-pl. possessor suffix (no number distinction for the possessed, see 2.1.1.3.), e.g. **tana-max slu-ga-an** 'at their places' (J 76:336)', **ula-max nag-a-n** 'in their houses' (ibid. 154) and 'into their house' (J 79:43); likewise 1950 **aluĝ-imchix daĝ-a-n** 'in your (pl.) book', but also **qisi-ki-mis nag-a-n** 'in the palms of your hands', **cha-ki-im kad-a-n** 'in his hands', **hla-ning il-a-an** 'from my sons', beside the older constructions mentioned above.

The agreement is attested in Eastern as well, e.g. 1838-1870 **hachigaqa-ngi-n-iin** 'to his disciples' (Matthew 9.11); 1870 **isxax̂si-ngi-n ku-ngi-n** 'on their beds' (Mark 6.55); 1904 **kita-ki-ng i-ki-n** 'unto my.feet'; Ea 1909 **chaam qixkin ilikin** 'in the crook of his arm[s]' (J 9:9); En 1910 **ama-kux la-ki-n ada-ki-n** 'toward those two sons of his' (J 51:21 cylinder text, confirmed at Nikolski 1982 and 1987); Eu 1909 **ilaasa-txin hada-ngi-n** 'to his (own) relatives' (J 34:86); En 1934 **cha-ki-ng chiidgiida-ki-ng ku-ki-n** 'on my hands and knees'. More frequently, however, the singular of the adjunct is used for the dual or plural, attested since 1829: **sakiig-a-n il-i-n** 'in his ribs'; 1831 **[h]achigaqa-ga-n-iin** 'to his disciples' (Matthew 9.11, 1838 **hachigaqa-ngi-n-iin**); 1870 **Iisuusa-m kita-ga-n chidax̂-ki-n** 'at Jesus' feet' (Luke 8.35, 10.39, cf. A 1860 above); 1861 **da-min kada-ki-n** 'before your eyes'; 1870 **cha-min il-ki-n** into thy hands' (Luke 23.46, cf. A 1860 above), **agitaada-am qula-ngi-in** 'for his friends' (John 15.13. cf. A 1860 above); Ea 1909 **da-am il-kiin** 'from his eyes'; Eu 1909 **uliig-iim ili-ki-n** 'into his boots' (J 34:50); En 1910 **tayaĝu-um-iin** 'for his men' (J 69:59); En 1949 **Uyu-m tayaĝu-gan ngiin** 'for the men of Uyux̂', **cha-am chiidgiida-am ku-ki-in** 'on his hands and knees'; En 1975 **ilgu-um-iin** 'to her grandchildren'; Ea 1982 **saamla-am ku-ngi-n** '(sitting) on her eggs'. In modern Eastern the 3A sg. of the head is used also in reference to a plural, e.g. Eu 1984 **adan** 'to him' and 'to them' (example in 3.3.2.1.2.).

The few Attuan 1909 examples go with Eastern, e.g. **cha-ga-n ku-ki-i** 'by his hands' (J 81:25); **Saaya-m iĝila-ga-n chavli-ga-n ku-ngi** 'on Saayax̂'s baidar stand (Aleut pl.)' (J 84:6); **ana-am hlu-ki** 'to his parents' (J 82:7, E **anaam ilikin**); **chiiya-am ku-ngi-n** 'over her young ones' (J 81:22).

3.3.2. Constructions with intransitive verbs

Like a specified object, a specified oblique term may precede the predicate verb immediately, following a possible nominal subject, e.g. A 1971 **qalgada-x̂ stuuluĝ-im ku-ga-n a-ku-x̂** 'the food is on the table'. Like an object with an anaphoric adjunct, an anaphoric oblique term (a positional noun with an anaphoric adjunct) entails a suffixal reference in the verb and the relative case of a possible nominal subject: **qalgada-m ku-ga-n a-ku-u** (< **-a**) 'the food is on it'.

But unlike an object, a specified oblique term may precede the apparent subject (the nominal term in the absolutive case), which in the anaphoric version remains in the absolutive case: **stuuluĝ-im ku-ga-n qalgada-x̂ a-ku-x̂** 'there is food on the table'; **qalgada-x̂ ku-ga-n a-ku-u** 'there is food on it'. This construction has the semantic character of an existential sentence and the subjecthood of the term in the absolutive case is as problematic as that of the corresponding term in the English translation.

Like other nominal terms, the subject or noun in the absolutive case may have an adjunct, specified or anaphoric.

3.3.2.1. Oblique term preceding the verb immediately

3.3.2.1.1. Specified oblique term

According to the general rule, a specified oblique term does not affect the form of the verb, e.g. A 1950 **hlak huzukix tana-max had-a-n huya-ku-x** 'both of my sons just went out to their places'; **Atx̂a(m) kugaan angix̂ta-q** 'I am (originate) from Atka'; 1952 **hada-mis haqa-aq ii?** 'shall I (do you want me to) come to you?'; **ila-ngi-in amaanu-ku-x̂** 'it is going away from us' (but **ila-ngi-in amaanu-ku-ngis** 'it is going away from them'); 1971 **Piitra-x̂ nag-miim hit-iku-x̂** 'Peter went out from his place (house)'; **suna-s hada-max huya-ku-s** 'the ships are moving toward each other'. In this sense the adverbial demonstrative and interrogative forms are specified oblique terms, e.g. Ea 1910 **aang, wa-ngun a-ku-x** 'yes, they (the two guests) are here' (J 17:126); A, Au **qana-ax haqa-t** 'where do you come from?'.

A clause may include more than one oblique term, e.g. A 1973 **hamaax** *San Francisco* **ilagaan** *train***iĝil** *Seattle* **hadan huyanas** 'then we went by train from San Francisco to Seattle'; En 1910 ... **ixtam uginĝaan** (**uginĝan ilaan**) **adan uyalix ...** 'getting to him from (the shadow cast by) the lamp' (J 54:25).

The adjunct of the positional noun may be amplified, as an afterthought, by a final term in the absolutive case: Eu 1909 ... **tanadgusi-im had-a-an away liqalin(a)x̂ awa, tana-an Uxchalu-x̂.** '(until) he came into sight of his own village, his own island Ogchul.' (J 34:126 f.).

An initial subject is mostly definite but may also be indefinite (new information), e.g. A 1971 (**uuquchiingi(m) tanaa hnukuqaang**) **uuquchiingikucha-x̂ huna-am ila-ga-an iga-na-x̂** '(when I reached the fox dens) a little fox ran out of its hole'; En 1978 **stuuluĝim kamuudĝi-i ula-ng ilan akux̂** 'there is a table with a drawer in my house' (only modern examples).

3.3.2.1.2. Anaphoric oblique term

According to the general rule, the number of an anaphoric referent of the 3A suffix of an oblique term is marked in the verb, e.g. A 1952 **had-a-n huya-ku-ng** 'I approached it', **hada-ngi-n huya-ku-ning** 'I am going to them' (cf. **hada-ming huya-ku-s** 'they are coming to me'); **agala-gaan xaadagnaaĝnaaĝima-aqa-an** 'try (you too) to run after it'.

A nominal subject in the relative case, preceding the anaphoric oblique term, is mostly definite, cf. A 1971 **Piitra-x̂ tayaĝu-m hadan huya-ku-x̂** 'Peter is going toward the man' and **Piitra-m hadan huya-ku-u** 'Peter is going toward him'; **Piitra-x̂ ula-m ila-ga-an hit-iku-x̂** 'Peter is going out of the house' and **Piitra-m ila-ga-an hit-iku-u** 'Peter is going out of it'; **aniqdu-x̂ stuuluĝ-im sitx-a-n unguchi-ku-x̂** 'the child is sitting under the table' and **aniqdu-m sitx-a-n unguchi-ku-u** 'the child is sitting under it'.

The referential number of the verb is the same as that of the oblique term, e.g. A 1860 **Iisuusam i-ki-n tunux̂taqa-kix,** E 1870 **Iisuusam ngi-ki-n hiisaqa-kix** 'Jesus talked/said to them (two)' (Mark 1.17); E 1860-1870 **anĝaĝin chidaĝ-an unguchiqa-a** 'the people sat beside him' (Mark 3.32). In modern Eastern the oblique term may have the singular form also for the plural, e.g. Eu 1984 **lakaayan adan uyakuu** 'the boys just went to him', **lakaayan adan uyakungin** 'the boys went to them'. In biblical Eastern the verb may include the number of the subject, e.g. 1838 **ini-n Ngaan aĝaqa-ngin**, but 1870 **inin Ngaan aĝaqa-a** 'the heavens opened unto Him' (Matthew 3.16); 1860-1870 **Aan'gilan Ngaan awaqa-ngin**, but A 1860 **Aan'gilas Ngaan awaqa-a** 'the angels served Him' (Mark 1.13).

The subject is indefinite in A 1971 **chalakus tayaĝu-m hadan** [for **hadangin**] **huya-ku-ngis** 'when they landed a man came toward them'; **Piitrax̂ ayx̂aasiin sakaaĝatikuu, qugana-m ilan aĝa-qa-a** 'when Peter pushed out his boat, a rock got into it (it ran into a rock)'.

Example of anaphoric subject: En 1910 ... **ili-kiin ayugda-qa-kix** 'he would go out (in his boat) away from them (two)' (J 74:25).

The referent is included as an outer subject (with the verb in number agreement with the inner subject as in Eastern) in A 1980 **haman achixaaluĝim ulagan tagadaĝula-a Atx̂am ngaan awana-ngin wayaam ilan agacha aza-ku-ngis** 'the old school house, those working for Atka Village are now staying in it (is now used by the Village corporation, etc.)'. The referent is in the preceding clause and the oblique term comes before the subject (and the verb has the number of the inner subject) in Ea 1910 **"Ayagax̂ wa, ukuĝaa amgix̂sikux̂ maalalix, ilan tayaĝu-n asx̂ala-qa-ngin ax̂takun"** 'What a beautiful woman! (lit. the woman here, looks beautiful), that's why men have been dying because of her' (J 30:3); En 1910 **aman tayaĝux̂ isix tadalgadakum, ukulgalakan il-a-an ama-kun quga-n ulam ilan qangu-qa-ngin** 'the man was almost stepped on, but without him being seen those demons went into the house away from him (who was outside)' (J 52:12). The referent is connected by a deictic term in En 1983 **Chuginadax, ingaya Unangam ilan amnax̂(u)qaa** (**iistakuu**) 'Chuginadak Island, there (she said that) there were many

Aleuts (lit. the Aleut[s] were numerous)'.

Examples of anaphoric adjunct of the adjunct of the oblique term: A 1973 **tayaĝu-m ula-ga-n nag-a-an hit-iku-u** 'the man went out of his (Peter's) house'; En 1983 **usuuxsa-ngin ilan aaykaaĝnaax̂-qa-ning** 'on all of them (islands) I trapped foxes'; Eu 1984 **ula-ga-n ilan agi-qa-ng** 'I grew up in his house'; E 1870 **ayx̂aasi-ngin nag-i-n hanga-qa-ngin** 'He went up into their ship' (Mark 6.51); **cha-ga-n ku-ki-in amniyaasi-n it-xa-a** 'the chains fell off from his hands' (Acts 12.7).

3.3.2.2. Oblique term preceding the absolutive term

3.3.2.2.1. Specified oblique term

Following the oblique term, the absolutive term (the "subject") is regularly indefinite, the clause being more or less clearly existential, e.g. En 1910 **ula-am iquĝ-a-n il-a-an aanghliqiita-x̂ usa-ku-x̂ (ukux̂taqalinax̂)** '(he saw) a sea cucumber rolling out of the corner of his house' (J 52:5); A **Saĝuugamagim kugan anĝaĝim anĝaĝii alakax̂** 'on Seguam nobody lives (lit. there is not a living)'; **chang ilan hyaagax̂ aĝakux̂** 'a piece of wood got into my hand'; **tanam hangadan kdax̂ kdaĝikux̂** 'there is ice on the ground'; Ea 1983 **sinikiiming qingan(a)x̂ itakux̂** 'cold is going through my body (lit. is falling inside along me)'.

3.3.2.2.2. Anaphoric oblique term

In the anaphoric version the term in the absolutive case is regularly indefinite but mostly precedes the oblique term, e.g. A 1950- **tugiida-x̂ daĝ-a-n aku-u** 'there is a clothesline on it (the pole)'; 1971 (translations from English) **chalakus uuquchiingix̂ kadagaan hakangudaĝan higitiqangis** 'when they landed a fox jumped up in front of them'; **Igidgutum ilaa agikum taangax̂ kugan hyuqaa** 'when he passed by I. (a waterfall) water spilt on him'; **Piitrax̂ kiiĝuusix̂ hangakux̂ quganax̂ kugan itiqaa** 'when Peter was climbing the mountain a rock fell down upon him'; A 1860 (and 1971) **qalgadax̂ ngiin chugaduukalakaĝis** 'there will be insufficient food for them' (John 6.7, likewise E 1870); **slax̂ ngiin hasxaĝiqangis** 'the wind was contrary unto them, they had contrary wind' (Mark 6.48); Eu 1909 **yam angalii lax̂ ngaan kuuĝalaaĝanaa** 'yesterday a boy was born to him' (J 37:37); En 1975 **susum aamgix̂ angax̂t(aa) ilaan yuqaa** 'there ran out of it pus mixed with blood'; En 1983 **laavkax̂ ilan adaqaa** 'there used to be a store there (at that place)'. A more definite subject in the biblical A 1860 **Aguuĝum hazaangasingizulax kugan adakuu**, E 1870 **Aguuĝum amqii kugan aduukakuu** 'the wrath of God abideth on him'; E 1870 **Aguuĝum angalii ngiin akungin malix** 'for theirs (lit. for them) is the kingdom of heaven' (Matthew 5.3).

The referent is included in Ea 1981 **kudmachix̂, qam angunaa ilan aĝakuu** 'the net, a big fish got into it'; En 1983 **Qagaamilan agacha iiltadax̂, ingan ux̂saaĝun daĝan akuu** 'but the so-called Kagamil Island, that one has hot springs on it (lit. there are hot springs on it)'; A 1860 **Piitrax̂ ama asix anas saĝax̂ kungin akangis** 'Peter and those with him, sleep passed on them' (Luke 9:32; E 1870 **saĝam kungin chachix̂taqangin**).

An oblique term with an anaphoric adjunct of the adjunct perhaps most naturally precedes the absolutive term, e.g. A 1973 **tayaĝux̂ utikum ayx̂aasi-ga-n nag-a-an sluka-x̂ igaa-ax̂ta-ku-u** 'when the man went down (to the beach) a sea gull flew out of his boat'; 1971 **ayukum karmaana-ga-n naga-ga-an** (or **ilagaan**) **qichiti-x̂ iti-qa-a** 'when he fell over money dropped out of his pocket'; En 1909 **imgaĝ-a-n angtan sanx̂um umaĝi-i a-ku-u** 'at the end of its line there is an inflated bladder' (J 56:16); En 1983 **igasi-ga-n kugan quhmakucha-x̂ a-ku-ngin**, (**kaminuuskan iistadqangin**) 'on their wings there is a little white (they called them harlequin ducks)'; En 1910 **chigda-ga-n alu-ga-n ili-ngi-in taanga-x̂ iluuĝa-qa-a-yulux** 'no water came in through the seams of his gut parka' (J 72:14); Ea 1909 **anĝida-ga-n il-ki-in uĝuuchxi-x̂ yu-qa-kix** 'froth was coming out of their (two) noses and mouths (lit. place where they breathed)' (J 4:25).

The order is the opposite in A 1971 (translations) **qawa-x̂ ayx̂aasi-ga-n kada-ga-an kuuĝa-qa-a** 'a sea lion came up in front of his boat'; **kiiĝuusix̂ hangakum qugana-x̂ hla-ga-n ku-ga-n husa-qa-a** 'when he climbed the mountain a rock fell on his son'; **anĝaĝinaadahli-s ula-gan nag-a-n aqaĝula-a** (= **aqaayulax**) 'there weren't anybody in his house'; E 1870 **Hamaya hadguusi-x̂ cha-ga-n il-a-n a-ku-u** 'there is a shovel in his hand, he has a shovel in his hand' (Matthew 3.12; 1838 without **Hamaya**); En 1978 **plaastira-x̂ adqu-ga-n daĝ-a-n chita-ku-u** 'there is a plaster on his finger, his finger has a plaster on it'.

The subjecthood of the absolutive term is problematic. In the following sentence it comes between the oblique term and its referent but the verb has no reference to it: A 1952 ... **tataam Amlax anĝaĝinaĝiiĝutal, hamakus matalgaaguzanas liidas matakux̂, kamgam ulalĝu-u agach il-a-n maaza-na-ĝ-ulax.** 'Amlia having in turn people on it, had the same conditions, only there was no church there.' (N.M. 1:29), cf. the simple anaphoric clause A 1971 (translated) **ulax̂ ilan maazaqaĝulaa** (= **maazaqaayulax**) 'there was no house there' (same as **ulax̂ hamang maazanaĝulax**). As it seems, the absolutive term is an integrated part of the predicate; cf. 3.3.3.2.

3.3.2.3. Adjunct of subject coreferential with oblique term

Three types of 3.p. constructions have been recorded, two of them with a two-place reference in the verb, with (a) the subject in the relative case, (b) the "subject " in the absolutive case, the third (c) with a one-place verb. Constructions with a 1. or 2.p. oblique term raise no problem, e.g. **hla-ng hada-ming huya-ku-x̂** 'my son is coming toward me'.

3.3.2.3.1. Two-place verb, subject in the relative case

The two-place verb regularly agrees in number with the common anaphoric referent of the subject (relative case) and the oblique term, e.g. A 1971 (**tayaĝux̂ ayx̂aasiin sayukum**) **ayaga-ga-n had-a-n huya-qa-a** '(when the man had pulled up his boat) his wife went to him' (the outer subject is **tayaĝux̂** as shown by **-kum**); A 1840 ... **ugi-ga-n angad-a-n aalu-l-ka ...** 'her husband smiled to her ...' (V B 3:9);

Ep 1941 **ama-kux ayaga-ga-n ngaan tunu-qa-a** 'those two wives of his talked to him'; Ea 1909 **ana-ga-n** [3A rel. sg. for du.] **ngaan tunu-lakaĝ-a awa** 'his parents did not say anything to him' (J 3:2); En 1910 **ama-an ana-ga-n i-ki-n tunu-qa-kix** 'their mother (lit. that mother of theirs, sg. for du.) said to them' (J 67:11). In Eastern, however, the verb may also agree with the inner subject: 1870 **Hamaya hachigaqa-ngin Ngaan angdax̂sx̂i-qa-ngin** 'His disciples answered Him' (Mark 8.4; A 1860 **achixaqa-ngin Ngaan achuuĝix̂ta-qa-a**); En 1910 ... **agitaasa-ngin il-a-an it-iku-ngin ...** 'his companions went out without (lit. from) him' (J 55:12).

In biblical Eastern the same construction occurs with **Hama-an** 'His' (lit. that one's) as the adjunct of the subject, e.g. 1870 **Hama-an ana-ga-n Ngaan hiisa-qa-a** 'His mother said to Him' (Luke 2.48; A 1860 without **Hamaan**); **Hama-an hachigaqa-ngin Il-a-an aĝa-qa-a** 'His disciples came to him' (Matthew 5.1), 1838 with the secondary agreement ... **aĝaqa-ngin**; likewise 1870 **Hama-an agiituda-ngin Ngaan hiisa-qa-ngin** 'His brothers said to Him' (John 7.3). Here Atkan 1860 had a one-place verb, the referent of **Ngaan** being the specified **Hamaan**: **Hama-an agiituda-ngis Ngaan tunu-na-s**; likewise **Hama-an achixaqa-ngis Ngaan achuuĝix̂ta-na-s** 'His disciples answered Him' (Mark 5.31). With the specified name, however, Atkan 1860 had the Eastern type, while Eastern 1870 had the referent in the absolutive case, as an outer subject: A **Iisuusa-m ana-ga-n Ngaan tunu-qa-a**, E **Iisuusa-x̂ ana-ga-n ngaan tunux̂ta-qa-a** 'Jesus' mother said to Him' (John 2.3). The latter construction represents perhaps a genuine Aleut pattern. In modern Atkan (1971), however, a sentence like 'Peter's wife came to him' would have to be translated as **Piitra-m ayaga-a ugi-im hadan huyakux̂** 'Peter's wife came to her husband' or **Piitram ayagaa Piitra-m hadan huyakux̂** 'Peter's wife came to Peter (possibly a different Peter)', both rather artificial according to the consultants. In a natural context one would say simply **ayaga-ga-n had-a-n huya-ku-u** 'his wife came to him' or **ugi-im had-a-n huya-ku-x̂** 'she went to her husband'.

3.3.2.3.2. Two-place verb, "subject" in the absolutive case

For the anaphoric "subject" in the absolutive case, Atkan speakers in 1971 had different preferences in cases like the following: **hama-n ayaga-x̂ aslixta-ku-ng** [cf. 3.11.2.5.3.] **asxinu-u** (other speaker rel. **asxinu-ga-n**) **il-a-n a-qa-a** 'when I met that woman her daughter was with her (had her daughter with her)' vs. **hama-n ayaga-x̂ asx̂aaĝi-ku-x̂ asxinu-ga-n** (other speaker abs. **asxinu-u**) **ilan aqaa** 'when that woman was sick her daughter was with her'; **iga-ku-m ayx̂aasi-i ila-ga-an aga-qa-a** 'when he went out (of his boat) his boat slid away from him'; A 1974 **hingaan aslaan hla-a ilan a-qa-a** 'at that time his son was with him'.

A partitive relation of the subject and its adjunct apparently entails the absolutive case: A 1860 **qachx̂ilugasana-ngis ku-ga-an aga-qa-a**, E 1870 **qadu-ngin** [no case distinction] **kugaan agaqaa** 'his leprosy left him' (Luke 5.13); Eu 1910 ... **quga-a ilan aĝa-kan ...** 'his spirit getting into him' (J 85:54); Eb 1984 **saqa-a ingay kada-ngi-n a-qa-a** 'the(ir) bone point was at the end of them, they (the fish spears) had the bone point at the end'.

3.3.2.3.3. One-place verb

The partitive relation goes also with a one-place verb, in reference to the outer subject, e.g. A 1952 **buchuunukam taangax̂ itaa, chaasxit angax̂taa, chaasxingis qigdaĝi-l daĝ-a-n chidgiza-na-x̂ hiilax̂tadax̂** 'the barrel containing liquor, with its cups, had the cups hanging hooked onto it, it is said (lit. its cups being hooked up "was" hanging on it)' (N.M. 2:15); A 1860 (and 1973) **inaaĝuliiti-i ngaan waaĝa-na-x̂** 'its end came to it, it came to an end' (Mark 3.26); E 1870 **amaagan hilina-ngin ngaan aduuka-ku-x̂** 'whatever he says shall be for him, he shall have whatsoever he says' (Mark 11.23); En 1935 **S. usugaan txin quyuuĝan maayuguum tugaadiiluĝi-i ku-ga-an litxadaagiim** [anterior 3R sg.] ... 'always when S. is about to go to bed, when his penis has stuck out from him, ...'; Au 1952 **Chuning iqiyuu tin angunati-lakaĝ-im, ana-a ila-ga-a ax̂sa-ku-x̂** 'before Chuning's child became big, his mother died away from him' (1959:126, 33 (56-57)). In the last two examples the oblique term does not make much difference from constructions of the simpler type (A) **ana-a asx̂a-ku-x̂** 'his mother died', also with the referent of the adjunct of the subject as an outer subject (see 3.1.1.6.2.).

In 1971, an Atkan speaker acquainted with Attuan would prefer **asx̂a-qa-a** in the last example, cf. 3.3.2.3.2. above. With an anaphoric referent of the oblique term, however, the older construction apparently is acceptable also in later Atkan, e.g. 1971 **tayaĝux̂ aguĝnas sunaaĝ-iku-m karmaana-ga-n naga-ga-an** (or **ilagaan**) **truvka-a it-na-x̂** 'as the man picked sea eggs, his pipe dropped out of his pocket'; **cha-ga-n ila-ga-an saygi-i it-iku-x̂** 'his gun dropped out of his hand', cf. the abovementioned type **ayukum karmaanagan nagagaan qichiti-x̂ iti-qa-a** 'when he fell over money dropped out of his pocket' (3.3.2.2.2.). With the suffixal reference to the outer subject in all the terms, the inner subject is left unmarked in the verb.

3.3.3. Constructions with reflexive verbs

A reflexive verb behaves much like an intransitive one but in the anaphoric version the number of the reflexive pronoun may agree either with the inner or with the outer subject, possibly differing from the number of the referential verbal suffix.

3.3.3.1. Oblique term preceding the reflexive pronoun immediately

With a specified oblique term a reflexive verb is treated like an intransitive one, e.g. A 1971 **hlax̂ adu(m) nagan txin aĝutikux̂** 'the boy hid in the cave'; En 1910 **ingaagan tataam Iidan adan txin aygaxnax̂** 'next she walked toward Iidan Village' (J 69:19).

As in the case of an intransitive verb, the number of an anaphoric oblique term is marked in the verb, e.g. A 1971 **had-a-n ting aygaxtii-ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'I walked off toward him', **hada-(ngi)-n ting aygaxtii-ax̂ta-ku-ning** 'I walked off toward them'. A definite nominal subject is in the relative case, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n txin unguti-qa-a** 'the man sat down upon it'. Anaphoric subject: A 1838 **tunu-ngin il-i-in txin hatangni-qa-a** 'she was startled by his words' (Luke 1.29).

In this construction the reflexive pronoun appears to agree in number with the inner subject, while the verb agrees in number with the outer subject. E.g. inner singular and outer dual or plural A 1860 **hada-ngi-n txin axt-xa-ngis** 'He came toward them' (Mark 6.48); **ku-ngi-in Adang txin sahnganasaĝan aqa-ngis** 'in (lit. on) them My Father will be glorified' (John 15.8), Ep 1941 **adan** [for **adakin**] **tataam txin ayĝatxakix** 'he started toward them (two) again'.

Inner plural and outer singular A 1860 **hama-kus Ngaan txidix qinitadaku-u** 'they (lit. those) are obedient to Him' (Mark 1.27); **asx̂aaĝix̂tanadix asx̂aaĝiisa-s Ngaan txidig amnigasada-qa-a** 'those suffering from their illnesses threw themselves upon Him' (Mark 3.10); En 1909 ...**il-a-an txichi iqyaĝit-iku-u** 'they paddled away from him' (J 45:11).

In biblical translations the verb sometimes agrees with the inner subject: E 1838-1870 **hamakux ... Agalaan txidix aygaxtxakix** 'those two followed Him' (Matthew 4.20); E 1870 **Hadagaanaan** [enclitic **aan**] **txidin ungataqangin** 'they were offended in Him' (Matthew 13.57).

3.3.3.2. Oblique term preceding the absolutive term

Following the oblique term, the absolutive term (the "subject") is indefinite, e.g. A 1952 ... **Saĝuugax̂ tanadgusilgal akuĝaan, ...kugan adax̂ hawaan huzugaan txin aqalinax̂ hiilax̂tazadax̂** 'when S. (Old Harbor) was made a village, ... a priest began to stay in it all the time, it is said' (N.M. 3:109).

In the anaphoric version, the "subject" remains in the absolutive case, being more or less indefinite or inactive, e.g. A 1860 **kimla-ga-n il aniqdu-x̂ txin mikaniqa-a**, E 1870 **kilmagan nagan aniqdux̂ txin mikaniqaa** 'the baby moved in her womb' (Luke 1.41); A 1860 ... **qahlati-x̂ il txin hisaĝan aqa-a** 'a well will spring out in him' (John 4.14); E 1870 **ataqali-x̂ il-i-in txin aamali-qa-ngin-ulux** 'not one of them was cleansed' (Luke 4.27).

The reflexive pronoun in such cases appears to agree with the outer subject, although not quite regularly, and in the plural the case may be indeterminate, e.g. A 1860 **hitxulim qalaĝi-ngis** [abs.] **il txin agula-aqa-a** 'that many seeds may grow in it' (John 15.2); E 1860/1870 **anĝaĝikidaagaasaada-n Ilan / Hadan txin taxsa-qa-a** 'very many peopled gathered unto him' (Mark 5.21; but A 1860 **anĝaĝinas qalaĝingis Hadan txidix taxtxaa** like 3.3.3.1.; likewise Luke 5.15); **tayaĝum amnaĝuusaadangin Hadan txin taxt-xa-a** 'very many people gathered unto him' (Mark 4.1, changed from 1860 **txidin taxsaqaa**; A 1860 **anĝaĝinas qalaĝiichxuzangis Hadan txidix taxtxangis**); E 1860 **il-a-an kum-malgaduuka-n-ulux txin agux̂tada-ku-u** 'miracles will come forth in him' (Mark 6.14, 1870 changed to **txidin agux̂tadakuu**); En 1949 ... **txin aygaxtikum, aalax tayaĝu-x ngaan kuuĝa-kan ngaan txin aygaxtxa-a** 'when he walked off ..., two men appeared and walked against him'.

This sort of agreement means that the inner "subject" is integrated in the predicate.

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3.3.3.3. Adjunct of subject

The anaphoric adjunct of the subject is coreferential with that of the oblique term in Eu 1910 (**baabkagan chaĝidadaa,**) **aman aniqduu ilan txin angunalagaaqaa** (**quliin**) '(the midwife massages her, in order that) the baby may not become too large inside her' (J 36:4); A 1971 **hlaa ilagaan txin chxaqaa** 'her boy sneaked away from her'. Cf. 3.3.2.3.2.

3.3.4. Constructions with transitive verbs

3.3.4.1. Order of terms

The order of the object and the oblique term seems to depend upon the context or situation. Preceding the oblique term, the object is perhaps definite, while following it it may be indefinite, e.g. A 1971 **qas Piitram ngaan** (or **Piitramaan**) **aĝnaq** 'I gave the fish to Peter' vs. (more natural) **Piitramaan qas aĝnaq** 'I gave Peter fish'; **Piitrax̂ kanfiixtas yaasikam nagan aĝikux̂** 'Peter put the candies in a box' vs. **Piitrax̂ yaasikam nagan kanfiixtas aĝikux̂** 'Peter put candies in the box'; 1950 **chakin taangam qinganagan ilaan chamĝut ?** 'do you wash your hands in cold water ?'; 1860 **wan maqulix̂ Adang hadagaan ilgutnaq** 'this commandment I have received of my Father' (John 10.18); 1950 **chaanikam nagan taangax̂ hyutikuq** 'I am pouring water in the kettle'; **adang ilagaan alux̂ ukunaq** 'I got a letter from my father', but also **anaĝix̂ hlaning ilaan ukunaq** 'I got something from my sons' (the order perhaps due to English). A definite oblique term may also precede the subject and the object: A 1973 **hingaan ulasum nagan Piitrax̂ ayx̂aasiin agunax̂** 'in that shed Peter built his boat'.

A personal pronoun or a 1., 2. or 3R oblique term comes after the other term, e.g. A 1952 ... **chunukaam hadagaan txin maqax̂taaĝdagalikux̂ ...** '(he (a) said that) he (b) attacked him (a) from the back of his (a's) neck' (N.M. 3:76); 1971 **tayaĝux̂ Piitrax̂ igiim asax̂tanax̂** 'the man called himself Peter, lit. had Peter as name for himself'.

The definite referent of a 3A oblique term may come first in the absolutive case, the oblique term following the object, e.g. A 1971 **haman ayagax̂ qas ngaan aĝnaq** 'that woman I gave fish to'; 1860 **Daviidax̂ inaqaam Haman Goospodax̂ ngaan asax̂takux̂** 'David himself called Him Lord' (Mark 12.37; E 1870 anaphoric **Daviidam Guuspudax̂ Ngaan asax̂takuu**, cf. 3.3.4.3.); En 1910 **"ludang ayagax̂taaĝa ngaan ukukuqing"** 'I have found a wife (lit. one for him to have as wife) for my older brother' (J 55:6); **aman ayagaan ama lakin anaĝilix̂ ngiin aĝiisalakan** 'leaving his own wife and his two sons without anything' (J 67:7); E 1978 **pismax̂ aluĝnaan staampax̂ daĝan aĝada** 'put a stamp on the letter you wrote'.

3.3.4.2. Anaphoric object with specified oblique term

As usual, an anaphoric object is marked in the verb, the specified oblique term making no difference, e.g. A 1971 **Piitram yaasikam nagan aĝikungis** 'Peter put them in a (or the) box'; 1952 **qanahligan ax̂sxat hama** 'where did you put it ?';

1950 **ilamiing imis aĝikuning** 'I gave them from me to you'; 1952 **angunanaa ngus aĝikuu** 'he gave me the larger part of it', **chuqudanaa ilm sukuu** he took the smaller part of it for himself'. Note the reflexive **ilm** (= **igiim**, older **igim**) 'for himself', in reference to the (anaphoric) inner subject, which shows that the construction is active (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

An anaphoric adjunct of the subject may be coreferential with that of the object (cf. 3.2.4.3.): A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ utikum hlaa** (or **hlagan**) **ayx̂aasim ilan saygingis aĝiqaa** 'when the man came down (to the beach) his son put his (the father's) gun into the boat'.

3.3.4.3. Anaphoric oblique term with specified object

As usual, an anaphoric oblique term is marked in the verb, e.g. A 1971 **aliĝix̂ chalatxaĝikum hlas chagix̂ ngaan achxux̂taqaa** 'when the old man came down (to the beach) to meet, the boys gave him a piece of halibut'; 1950 **aluĝis ilaan ukukung** 'I got a letter (pl.) from him'; 1952 **aluĝis ilangiin ukuu-ax̂takuning** 'I got letters from them'; 1860 **angadangin liidatiin isxanax̂taqangis** 'He changed his appearance before them' (Mark 9.2); **ilingiin hatim alax signax̂taa iimitxangis** 'He chose twelve of them' (Luke 6.13); Ea 1910 **ugumin, amayangin iliin ataqan kalukax̂ yuumin aqatxin** 'when you reach [them], you will empty one of the bowls, lit. one bowl from among them' (J 15:25).

The oblique term has an anaphoric referent in En 1909 **sanx̂ugan nagaan qiigan kayux imlin iguqaa amaan ilgaaĝum** 'out from his stomach it drew grass and hair, that octopus' (J 47:6). The object may be the referent of the oblique term, in a partitive relation, e.g. A 1971 **hlax̂ hachigan kugaan tuganax̂** 'he slapped the boy on his back'; **qax̂ alixchigaan chaxtikux̂** 'he cut the fish in the middle'.

As in the simpler constructions 3.3.2.3., the anaphoric adjunct of the subject may be coreferential with that of the oblique term, e.g. A 1950 **anagan xliibam ilaa ngaan aĝikuu** 'his mother gave him a piece of bread'; 1971 **hingan furaaskix̂ adagan ngaan aĝiqaa** 'that cap, his father gave him; that's the cap that was given him by his father'.

With a specified adjunct of the subject the same dilemma arises as in 3.2.4.2. and 3.3.2.3.1.: A 1971 **Piitram ayagaa ugiim ngaan qas hagyayakux̂** 'Peter's wife cleaned the fish for her husband', cf. **ayagagan qas ngaan hagyayakuu** 'his wife cleaned the fish for him'.

3.3.4.4. Both terms anaphoric

(a) The verb includes reference to both anaphoric terms, e.g. A 1971 **Piitram nagan ax̂tux̂saa-ax̂takungis** 'Peter put them into it'; also anaphoric subject in Ea 1910 **tayaĝugan-aan aĝikukix awa** 'they (two) gave it back to the (lit. its) man' (J 17:54).

(b) The anaphoric terms may have the same referent, e.g. A 1971 **chalakum tayaĝum ayx̂aasii ngaan sayuqaa** 'when he landed a/the man pulled up his boat for him'; 1952 **dakiin agasaĝanakin** 'don't take them apart (from each other)';

1971 **isxagan ilagaan kitagan kugaan sayukan iguqaa** 'she dragged him out of his bed by his foot'; Eu 1909 **qachx̂an angadan hisxan** 'stripping him naked' (J 34:190; lit. "making him on top of his skin", cf. **qachx̂iim hangadan alix** 'being naked', "on top of his (3R)skin"); with initial referent En 1910 **aman asxinuu Aglagan tukugan ayagax̂taakagan adagan ilaan ayadachx̂iqaliqaa** 'that daughter of his, the chief of Aglagax̂, in order to marry her, had suitors sent to her father (lit. began to have her wooed from her father)' (J 72:2).

(c) The subject may have an anaphoric adjunct coreferential with the adjuncts of the object and the oblique term: A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ igakum braatagan saygingis ngaan chiyaqaa** 'when the man jumped ashore, his brother reached him his gun'.

3.3.5. Oblique term with predicate noun

E.g. A 1971 **Piitrax̂ anĝaĝinaziin unanax̂ anax̂** 'Peter was a cook for the people', **Piitram unanax̂ ngiin aqangis** 'Peter was a cook for them'; 1979 **unanax̂ kay ngiin aalkidaaĝutazaqaning** 'then in turn I was - I'll be darned - a cook for them too'.

3.3.6. Semantic types of oblique terms

There are 46 positional nouns, listed in *Aleut Dictionary*, Appendix 3 (p. 569). Like the adverbial cases of demonstratives and the interrogative **qana-**, the great majority of them indicate local relations, relations to the environment and to objects as well as relations to persons.

i- 'to, at, for -' (1.6.1.3.) with its irregular forms and enclitic 3A variants mostly has the meaning of a dative (as in Latin) but is used also in a more clearly local sense, examples above and E **nung** / A **ngus aĝada** 'give it to me'; A 1952 **ngiin kims** 'coming down upon them' (N.M. 3:23.). As a dative it is involved also in the change of verbal valency, see 3.4.1-2.

Other notable relations indicated by positional nouns are (mostly Atkan)

means, instrument, agent

damax ilan ukux̂taqangis 'they saw it with their own eye[s]'
chaan ukinam ilagaan isikux̂ 'he cut his hand with the knife'
Ioannam ilagaan Iordaanam il txin kamgadatnax̂ '(Jesus) was baptized (lit. let himself be baptized) by John in the Jordan' (Mark 1.9)

value

uuquchiingim isxanan qichitim ilaa atxazanax̂ 'for the fox he got some money'

reason

haagam ilagaan kayuĝiqadanaq 'I got weak from hunger'
aniqduning qulagaan awazaq 'I work for the sake of my children'

subject matter

hlam hadagaan tunux̂tanax̂ 'she talked about the boy'
qulagaan ahmayaax̂takung 'I asked about him'

comparison

chavichax̂ haanum ilagaan angunazax̂ 'a king salmon is bigger than a red salmon'

qas udang malganangin ilagaan angunazax̂ 'it is the biggest of the fish found here'

Several of the positional nouns indicate temporal relations but these go with the verbal tenses, as temporal adverbials (3.7.), and do not affect the person relations like the oblique terms.

3.3.7. **asix**. A, Au **as** 'with, together with'

This petrified conjunctive of a stem **at-** is transitive and functions like an oblique term but remains invariable, without marking of an anaphoric object, e.g. A 1979 **Mariiyax̂ as mikakux̂** 'she is playing with Mary', **Viiram as mikakuu** 'Vera is playing with her'; 1860 **hitnisaĝiiluĝim il Asix txin ii? ukux̂taqangulax** 'didn't I see you together with Him in the garden ?' (John 18.26); **Iisuusam asix txin aygaxtxangis** 'Jesus went with them' (Luke 7.6; likewise E 1870). Otherwise it is comparable with the conjunctives **agiita-lix** 'being together with', **sux̂ta-lix** 'holding; using', see 3.9.3.3.

3.4. Addition and removal of terms (arguments)

This section is concerned with the effect on the sentence structure of the principal derivational suffixes listed in 2.2.5.

3.4.1. Addition of an object by the suffix **-usa-**, **-asa-**

3.4.1.1. Underlying intransitive verb

The suffix adds an object position, a specified term in the absolutive case or an anaphoric referent, having contextual meanings translatable by English prepositions such as with (with respect to, together with, by means of), of (because of), for, toward, along, at, by (see *Aleut Dictionary* pp. 488 f.), e.g. **tunux̂ta-** 'to speak': A **tunungin tunux̂ta-asa-aka-za-ĝ-ulax** 'he cannot (lit. is never able to) speak our language'; **hawaanu-** 'to go there': A 1952 **hawaanuusazaningulax hawa** 'I never take them there'; **iqyaĝi-** 'to paddle in a baidarka': A 1909 **huzuunulax iqyaĝiisal** 'paddling slowly (lit. with not all of herself)' (J 78:100); **uluuda-** 'to be red': A 1952 **alaĝuu aamgix̂ uluudaasal hingamatal** 'the sea there was red with blood' (N.M. 3:68); **qida-**, Au **qiya-** 'to weep': Au 1909 **ayang qiyaasakuq** 'I mourn over my father'; A **chuga-** 'to be sufficient': **ataqan chugaasalakax̂** 'one is missing' (lit. 'is insufficient by one'); **aqi-** 'to flee': **tanax̂ aqiisanax̂** 'fled towards the shore'; **ayx̂a-** 'to go by sea': A 1937 **amgix̂ ayx̂aasal** 'sailing by night (under the cover of night)'.

The additional object may be a reflexive pronoun, e.g. **kuuĝa-** 'to come forth': **inaqaam txin kuuĝaasanax̂** 'he came forth by himself'.

There may also be an oblique term, e.g. A **hingan xliibax̂ ngus haqaasada** 'bring me (lit. come to me with) that loaf of bread'; **sunax̂ tanadgusim hadan**

ataqakus haqaasakux̂ 'the ship comes straight (lit. with one) to the village'; **wan hyaagax̂ ataqan sigax̂ agitaadaam ilagaan aduusakux̂** 'this log is one fathom (lit. by one fathom) longer than the other one'; likewise Eu 1909 **Kanaagutum nix̂alaan asix ayugasakan ...** 'Kanaagutux̂ went out with him in his baidar and ...' (J 43:20).

3.4.1.2. Underlying transitive (including reflexive) verb

The additional object is in the absolutive case if specified, or else is anaphoric, while the object of the underlying verb is turned into an oblique term (dative), e.g. A 1950 **hiikux sabaakax anamixtada** 'hit those two dogs': **ayax̂uun hiikux sabaakax ikin anamixtaasada** 'hit those two dogs with your stick'; **txin achixakuq** 'I am teaching you': **Atx̂a(m) tunuu imis achixaasakuq** 'I am teaching you Atka language'; **txin aygaxtikux̂** 'he walked off': **iglim aygaxtusakuu** 'he walked off with it'; **ting natikuq** 'I got hurt': **kitang ngus nadusakuq** 'I got hurt in my foot'; A 1860 **kiin ngus txin hadaĝasalix** 'who touched me ?', lit. 'who touched me (**ngus** dative) with himself' (Mark 5.31); En 1909 **nix̂alagan sitxaan alan iqyamchi-ngiin usiisaqangin** 'they loaded (**[h]usi-**) their baidarkas with the pieces of whale blubber from under his baidar' (J 44:20; verbal anaphoric reference **-ngin** to the referent of **nix̂ala-ga-n** 'his baidar').

Especially in Eastern a definite adjunct of the oblique term is frequently fronted in the absolutive case while the anaphoric dative follows the additional object, e.g. En 1910 **... Qatxaykusam tayaĝungin wax̂ ngiin asx̂ayaasaaĝin maayunan** '(the envious men) prepared to try to kill Qatx̂aykusax̂'s men with smoke' (J 73:17); fronted adjunct of the adjunct of the oblique term in En 1909 **aman isux̂ igaan achuuĝigan ngaan tatxiisalix** 'slitting that seal open in the bottom end (**achuuĝi-**) with his ulu' (J 43:23); A 1973 (probably influenced by Eastern) **chiĝanam ilagaan chaanikaan taangam hagyaa ngaan imdaasal ixchiisal** 'filled her kettle with clean water in the creek and went home', A 1980 also **chaanikaamaan taangam hagyaa imdaasal**; A 1860 **chahmas taangax̂ ngiin chx̂adusaax̂txichix** 'fill the pots with water' (John 2.7, E 1870 likewise); Atkan 1980 **chahmamaan ulux̂ chx̂adusakuq** (or **ulux̂ chahmamaan chx̂adusakuq**) said to be better than **chahmax̂ ulux̂ ngaan chx̂adusakuq** 'I filled the dish with meat'.

3.4.1.3. Underlying verb with local object

A verb such as **hanga-** 'ascend' or **ag-** 'pass' keeps its local object (3.2.5.3.) while the additional term is another specified object in the absolutive case or an anaphoric dative, e.g. A **tayaĝux̂ aniqdux̂ qayax̂ hangaasakux̂** 'the man is ascending the hill with the child', **tayaĝum qayax̂ ngaan hangaasaqaa** 'the man ascended the hill with it'; **qayax̂ ngaan kimusaaqaan** 'take it down the hill' (lit. 'go down the hill with it'); **Piitrax̂ hawan agikux̂** 'Peter is passing by there (lit. that one)': **Piitrax̂ misuukax̂ hawan agusakux̂** 'Peter is passing by there with a sack', **Piitram hawan agusaqaa** 'Peter passed by there with it' (without the dative). In the following case the anaphoric dative is turned into a reflexive in reference to the subject of the following superordinate verb: En 1910 **iklam iklalgaakangin ilangin igiim axtaasakux̂**

ukux̂taqalikuu 'he (a) saw that he (b) was taking him (a) past the firewood that could be gathered' (J 35:15).

hnu- 'to reach' may have the same kind of constructions, e.g. A 1973 **uyaaĝuqaan ulaan hnuusal aasazakux̂** 'takes home his share (lit. reaches his house with what he has got as a share)', **ulaan ngaan hnuusaqaa** 'he took it home', but also **ulaam ngaan hnuusaqaa** like 3.4.1.2.; with fronted referent of the anaphoric dative E 1870 **tunux̂ amgim utma ngaan nuusanax̂** '(Paul) continued the speech until midnight (lit. reached midnight with the speech)' (Acts 20.7). **hnu-x̂ta-** 'to visit (reach temporarily)' is treated like an ordinary transitive verb in A 1909 **wan hlaan adaganaan hnux̂taasaaĝ(an) ayuxs** 'set out with his [foster-] son to visit his (the boy's) father' (J 76:137).

ma- 'to do' may likewise get an additional object, e.g. A **adax̂ Piitrax̂ anaĝis maasaakanaĝulax** 'the priest could do nothing to [help] Peter', **adam anaĝis maasaakaqaayulax** 'the priest could do nothing to it/him'; A 1860 **txichi inaayux̂tanas iĝamanas maasadaax̂txichi** 'do good to them which hate you' (Luke 6:27; E 1870 without **-usa-**, like the Russian original, **txichi kaadaxtaniin iĝamanan madaachi**).

3.4.1.4. Underlying copula with predicate noun

The additional object is a term of measure, e.g. A 1952 **sistraa siching guudas braataam kingii aasakux̂** 'his sister is four years younger than her brother', lit. 'is her brother's younger [sibling] by four years'.

3.4.2. Addition of a subject by the suffix -(i)chx̂i-

Meaning 'to have, make (cause), or to let (allow, not prevent), or to think - to V', the suffix adds an inner subject and so entails important changes in the anaphoric or reflexive references of the underlying verb.

3.4.2.1. Underlying intransitive verb

The subject of the underlying verb becomes the object of the derivative, e.g. **hlax̂ hitikux̂** 'the boy went out': **hlax̂ hitichx̂ikuq(ing)** 'I let the boy go out'; A 1950 **anangin ... qaatuchx̂ikungis** 'their mother let them go hungry' (1959:79, 12 (5)).

An anaphoric adjunct of the underlying subject becomes a reflexive adjunct of the object: **hlaa hitikux̂** 'his son went out' (**-a** outer subject, see 3.1.1.6.2.) - **hlaan hitichx̂ikux̂** 'he let his son go out'.

Doubled with **-naaĝ-** 'try' (2.2.6.6.) in A 1909 **ikungudax̂-chx̂i-naax̂-chx̂i-qali-na-dix hix̂tal** 'said that they tried to stop him (lit. started trying to make him go aside)' (J 76:269).

The clause may include an oblique term, e.g. Au 1949 **anĝaĝinan ulagan** [3A] **hayangin uyax̂chil** '(the soldiers) having the people go to their houses' (1959:126, 34 (13); the underlying construction is probably **anĝaĝinan ulamang** [3R] **hayangin uyal** 'the people going to their houses'); Ea 1909 **ayagaan** [3R]... **chixtigan** [3A] **ilan qanguchx̂ikux̂** 'he (had to) let his wife enter into her den' (J 10:55) - **ayagaa** [3A] **chixtiim** [3R] **ilan qangukux̂** 'his wife entered into her den'

The intransitive verb **taka-** 'to come off, get loose' seems to be treated like a reflexive verb (cf. 3.4.2.3.) in the following passage (a dramatic account of a shipwreck): En 1934 ... **ngaan takachx̂ikan iki[h]nax̂** 'having to let her go (over the rail) he lost her'. Without the dative **ngaan** 'her' the implication would perhaps be that he let her go willingly.

In the following meteorological expression the additional subject seems to be a zero: A 1952 **slaĝuqadal imyax̂chx̂iikax̂** (**anuxtaasakung umamakux̂ uma**) '(now I hope) it will stop blowing and become possible (lit. can allow one) to fish'.

3.4.2.2. Underlying transitive verb

The object of the underlying verb remains an object (specified or anaphoric), while its subject becomes a dative (in Eastern mostly with fronting of a nominal adjunct) or is left out, e.g. A **tayaĝux̂ Piitram ngaan sabaakaan asx̂atichx̂inax̂** 'the man had Peter kill his (the man's) dog' (**Piitram sabaakaa asx̂atiqaa** 'Peter killed his dog'); **Piitrax̂ hlam ngaan sistraa haĝuchx̂inax̂** 'Peter had the boy carry his (the boy's) sister' (**hlax̂ sistraan haĝunax̂** 'the boy carried his sister'); En 1909 **tayaĝutxin iqyangin ngiin atxax̂tachx̂ilix** 'having his men get their baidarkas ready' (J 44:8) (**tayaĝungin iqyadin atxax̂tanan** 'his men got their baidarkas ready'); Ea 1909 **tayaĝutxin imgaĝingin ngiin suchx̂iqadaagiim** 'having had his men take their fishlines' (J 31:10) (**tayaĝungin imgaĝdin sunan** 'his men took their fishlines').; Ea 1982 **ingan satmalix̂ nung sayu-chx̂i-naaĝi-da** 'let me try to pull the door' (note the order of the suffixes). Exceptionally, the underlying object (the adjunct of the object) has a 3R suffix in reference to the dative in Eu 1910 **amaagan kuum nax̂taqaĝlinax̂ nax̂tana-am asla ngaan usmichx̂idaa ax̂takux̂** 'if she (a woman with child or her first menses) has a pain somewhere one lets her blow on the (lit. her) painful spot' (J 39:14). In the following sentence the underlying subject has become an adjunct of the object: A 1909 **waan tanadgusiim matangizulax ngaan matachx̂iiĝan amunaan hix̂tal** 'said that he found (thought) that his village was not as it used to be' (J 76:141) (**tanadgucha matadatulax matanax̂** 'his village was (lit. had) as it didn't use to be').

The underlying verb may also have a pronominal dative (but not easily a nominal one), e.g. A 1980 **uchiitilax̂ uchinikas ngaan** [for **ngiin**] **aluĝis ngus ax̂chx̂inax̂** 'the teacher had me give the students the papers' (forced with a second nominal dative like **Piitramaan** '(had) Peter' instead of **ngus** '(had) me'); En 1984 **umlixtanangin ngaan nung ix̂tachx̂ikan** 'having her telling me what was wrong with them'.

The outer subject of an anaphoric sentence like A 1971 **braatagan saygingis ngaan chiyaqaa** 'his brother handed him his (the other brother's) gun' (3.3.4.4. c) is turned by the suffix **-chx̂i-** into an inner subject, the referent of reflexive suffixes: **braataamaan saygit** [or **braataan saygit ngaan**] **igiim chiyachx̂inax̂** (or **ax̂chx̂inax̂**) 'he had his brother hand (give) him his gun'.

An object coreferential with the additional subject is of course reflexive, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ qawam ngaan txin** [3R sg.] **asx̂atichx̂inaĝulax** 'Peter did not let the sea lion kill him' (**qawax̂ Piitrax̂ asx̂atnaĝulax** 'the sea lion did not kill Peter'); **alix̂ hlaam ngaan txin kiduchx̂inax̂** 'the old man had his son help him' (**hlax̂ adaam aliĝa kidunax̂** 'the boy helped his old father', **hlagan kiduqaa** 'his son helped him'); En 1950 **ayagan-iin txin** [2. sg.] **ungatachx̂ilagaax̂txin** 'don't let the women tempt you, don't let yourself be tempted by the women' (J 50:4). The absolutive case of the underlying subject in the following complex sentence seems to be a case of fronting (note the **ngaan** in the second clause): En 1910 **aman Kanaaĝim tukuu aman unanaan txin qachx̂iqadaguun, iqyaan ngaan ax̂satachx̂ilix, sax, angux̂, igdaakax̂ ax̂chx̂iqadaguum, ayugdanax̂** 'that Konyag chief used to go out after having had that cook of his feed him and having had him make his baidarka ready and put in it a parka, a stone lamp and a fire drill' (J 72:23).

In the following complex sentence the reflexive object pronoun **txin** refers to the subject of the final superordinate verb: En 1910 **aman chikiidaan agacha txin asx̂ayachx̂ix̂takux̂ aqataqalinax̂** 'he began to understand that [it was] that brother-in-law of his himself [who] tried to have him killed' (J 70:34) (the suffix of **asx̂a-ya-** 'to try to kill', like that of **asx̂a-t-** 'to kill', "make die", can not be separated from the base by another suffix). The simple independent sentence would be anaphoric: **amaan chikiidagan agachan asx̂ayachx̂ix̂takuu** 'his brother-in-law himself apparently tried to have him killed' (cf. 3.2.4.2.); in direct speech: **inaqamin ting asx̂ayachx̂ix̂takux̂txin** 'you yourself are apparently trying to have me killed' (ibid. 36).

3.4.2.3. Underlying reflexive verb

The reflexive object pronoun of the underlying verb could remain reflexive only if it refers also to the additional subject, as in En 1909 **txin masunix̂tachx̂ilakan ax̂tagalikum** 'although he thought that it would be difficult for him' (J 46:7), from underlying **txin masu-ni-(x̂ta)-lakan** 'to get into difficulty'.

In the case of different subjects a specified subject of the underlying verb becomes the object of the derivative verb, which represents also the reflexive object of the underlying verb, e.g. Ea 1909 **wan ayagaan ... aygaxtachx̂ikux̂** 'he let his wife go ahead' (J 10:109) (**ayagaa txin aygaxtakux̂** 'his wife went ahead'); Eu 1909 **alitxuun ayugnichx̂inax̂** 'he had his war party set to work' (J 34:171) (**alitxuu txin ayugninax̂** 'his war party started, set to work'); A 1973 **uchiitilax̂ aniqdus quyuchx̂ii-ax̂takux̂** 'the teacher let the children go to bed' (**aniqdus txidix quyuu-ax̂takus** 'the children went to bed'); **tayaĝux̂ adu(m) nagan ting aĝutichx̂ii-ax̂takux̂** 'the man let me hide in the cave' (**adu(m) nagan ting aĝutii-ax̂takuq** 'I hid in the cave').

In Eastern, an anaphoric subject of the underlying verb is treated in the same way, that is, is left out with anaphoric reference in the verb, e.g. En 1909 **saĝanichx̂ikuu** 'she let him fall asleep' (J 49:4) (**txin saĝanikux̂** 'he fell asleep'); En 1910 **iqyaĝitachx̂iqangin** 'he ordered them to start paddling' (J 73:11) (**txidin iqyaĝitanan** 'they started paddling').

In Atkan, the anaphoric subject is expressed by an anaphoric dative, e.g. 1952 **asagaan hamang iquĝim ilan ax̂s ngaan aĝutichx̂iqadaam** 'placing his cousin there in the corner [of the cave] he let him hide [there]' (N.M. 3:74) (**asagaa txin aĝutnax̂** 'his cousin hid (himself)'); 1971 **tayaĝum adu(m) nagan ngiin aĝutichx̂ikungis** 'the man let them hide in the cave'; but 1973 **uchiitilam quyuchx̂ii-ax̂takungis** 'the teacher let them go to bed' (**txidix quyuu-ax̂takus** 'they went to bed').

In 1971 one Atkan consultant could accept the proposed sentences **asagaan ngaan aĝutichx̂inax̂** 'he let his cousin hide' and **anaa asxinuun ngaan chulachx̂ikux̂** 'the (lit. her) mother let her daughter dress herself (the daughter)' vs. **asxinux̂ anaam ngaan txin chulachx̂ilakax̂** 'the girl did not let her mother dress her' (quoted in *Aleut Dictionary* p. 496). Other Atkan consultants did not accept them, possibly as contaminated (by this writer). The real choice might be between the type **anaa asxinuun chulachx̂ikux̂** 'the mother let her daughter dress herself', with the specified object **asxinuun** representing both the subject and the reflexive object of the underlying verb (**asxinuu txin chulakux̂** 'her daughter dressed herself'), and **anagan ngaan chulachx̂ikuu** 'her mother let her dress herself', with the anaphoric **ngaan** 'by her' representing the anaphoric subject of the underlying verb (**txin chulakux̂** 'she dressed herself'). Without **ngaan** the subject of the underlying verb could possibly be another person: 'her mother had her dressed (by some person)'.

The crucial point is the fact that Aleut has no non-reflexive 3.p. pronouns, only anaphoric suffixes.

3.4.2.4. Underlying verb with local object

The local object remains and an underlying nominal subject becomes another object in the absolutive case, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ aniqdux̂ qayax̂ hangachx̂ikux̂** 'the man lets the child ascend the hill' (**aniqdux̂ qayax̂ hangakux̂** 'the child is ascending the hill'); **hingan hlang hingaan ayx̂aasi(m) nagan Amlagim akayuu axchx̂izuukaĝulaq** (translated from:) 'I would not let my son go through Amlia Pass in that boat'.

An underlying pronominal subject, that is, an enclitic subject pronoun, becomes a dative (as in the case of transitive verbs, 3.4.2.2.), e.g. A 1952 **agax̂tal hingan ngus axchx̂ida** 'move away for a while and let me pass there (lit. that one)'.

3.4.2.5. Underlying verb with suffix **-usa-**, **-asa-**

Derivatives of intransitive verbs are treated like other transitive verbs, e.g. A 1952 **taangax̂ ngaan mikaasachx̂ilagada** 'don't let him play with the water'; Ea 1910 **ngaan txin angaasachx̂iqalikuu** 'he let it pull (lit. ascend with) him up' (J 15:42); En 1909 **aman aĝnakachi amaan tayaĝum kayutugan achigan kugan alix, ngaan txin aygagasachx̂ix̂takux̂ ukuumang** 'when they saw that chief of theirs on the back of that strong man, letting himself be carried (lit. walked with) by him' (J 57:16). **maasa-** 'to do to' admits two objects, e.g. Ep 1941 **wakun txin maasachx̂inax̂** 'he had this done to him'; A 1840 **anaĝis maasalakanka** 'not doing anything to him' (V B 1:4).

A derivative of a transitive verb, which would have the subject of the underlying intransitive verb in the dative, does not seem to admit its subject to be demoted to another dative by the new subject of a derivative in **-chx̂i-**. Thus one can say (Atka 1971-77) **hlax̂ kriisax̂ asx̂atikux̂** 'the boy killed the rat' and **hlax̂ quganax̂ kriisam ngaan asx̂adusakux̂** 'the boy killed the rat with a stone', but not * **Piitrax̂ hlam ngaan quganax̂ kriisam ngaan asx̂adusachx̂ikux̂** 'Peter let the boy kill the rat with a stone'. One would have to say **Piitrax̂ hlam ngaan quganax̂ sux̂tachx̂il kriisax̂ asx̂atichx̂ikux̂** 'Peter let the boy use a stone and (let him) kill the rat'. A verb may have more than one oblique term on the same level (3.3.2.1.1.) but does not seem to admit more than three levels of arguments, including the subject. But with the verbal conjunctive any number of arguments can be included in a sentence (see 3.9.).

3.4.3. Removal of subject

A subject may be removed by the use of the suffixes listed in 2.2.5.3., notably **-lga-** | **-sxa-**, a general passive suffix; -(**ĝ**)**a-**, the passive of -(**x̂**)**ta-**, derived from nouns (2.2.4.1.) and from verbs (2.2.6.1.); and **-ula-**, **-ala-**, the passive of **-usa-**, **-asa-** (3.4.1.). The remote -(ĝ)**ka-** may have the subject removed also without a preceding passive suffix (2.1.9.3.3.). The zero subject may have the character of a general 'one' but quite frequently, especially in Eastern, it implies a reference to the speaker and one or more companions ('we'). In complex sentences the removal of a subject term (argument) by the switch to a passive apparently serves to simplify the person relations. The expression of the underlying subject by E **ilaan**, A **hadagaan** 'from' in the biblical translations probably was a calque from Russian *ot,* e.g. E 1870 **Amaligan Amaya sichidim hatix̂ angalin qugam ilaan ungayalgaqax̂**, A 1860 **Hamangus sichidim hatix̂ angalix̂ chugdukaayam hadagaan Haman suglayaqax̂** 'There He was tempted by the devil for forty days' (Luke 4.2, Russian *Tam sorok dney byl On iskushayem ot diavola*). But it is found also in modern Atkan (see 3.4.3.6.2.; 3.14.2.3.3.3.).

3.4.3.1. Underlying intransitive verb

The zero subject may be general, e.g. A **iĝilaĝilgaqadaqax̂** 'one (the people) quit going in baidar'; A 1950 **kamgalgalakan qilax̂six̂** 'there was no service (in the church) this morning' (1959:79, 11 (17)); 1952 **anĝaĝilgaqaliqax̂** 'one began to live [normally]' (N.M. 3:101).

Or a reference to the speaker and his companion(s) is implied, regularly in the optative, e.g. A **ayuxtalgaax̂tax̂**, Au **ayuxtaluut** 'let us go out (in the boat)'; A **taangasxaax̂tax̂** 'let us get water'. Other examples: Au 1952 **mang unguchilukux̂** 'we are sitting here'; **amang ayukalak maaĝaluuĝ-ux̂s** 'we will be back soon (lit. not being there for a long time)'; A 1973 **hitnaaĝikus** [= 3.p.pl.] **sunam hangadaa taangaĝil hitalgaadahliikalakax̂** 'we tried to go out but the deck of the ship being full of water we could not even go out'.

In the latter sense a copula in the passive may have a plural predicate noun: A 1973 **Amilaayas algax̂** 'we are Americans'.

3.4.3.2. Underlying intransitive verb with oblique term

A nominal adjunct of the underlying oblique term becomes the outer grammatical subject, specified in the absolutive case or anaphoric, also if a reference to the speaker's group is implied, e.g. A 1952 **qikun sisxix̂,** (**ilan anaĝis haĝulgal,**) **huzugaan ilan anĝaĝilgaqax̂** (**hiilax̂tadax̂**) 'the pass (portage) in here, (where the goods were carried across), was always lived at (people lived at it) (it is said)' (N.M.1:33); A 1862 **aguuĝuĝiĝulax malgaa, ilagaan aqiĝaaĝan ingaaĝix̂** 'atheism must be avoided (lit. there being having no god must be gotten away from)'; Ea 1909 **ikuya ilan aĝalgaakaqaĝulux** 'over there one could not get' (J 9:49); **aman agumiklux̂ ngaan tunulgaax̂tukux̂ awa** 'the big worker was spoken to again' (J 10:96); Ep 1941 **adan aĝa-ĝa-atukum qunĝuĝalix adan aĝa-ĝa-daqaĝulux** 'one (people) wanted to go on his side but fearing him (lit. he being feared) never went to his side' (**-kum** marks the coreference of the outer subjects); Eu 1909 (transposed from Attuan) **ilaan Atum adan uyalgakum** 'when one (they) went away from him towards Attu' (J 85:21); Au 1909 **il yax-su-lakax̂** 'it was not entered into' (J 81:32); Eu 1909 **aman tanam ukuĝanaa adaasan aĝalgakum, sixsxalix ...** 'when we got closer to the land we saw, we recognized that it...' (J 40:39). Likewise with **asix** (3.3.7.) En 1983 **ayagaadan, asix mikalgad(a)nulux** 'girls are not played (sexually) with'.

In old Atkan and in Attuan the remote was used without a passive suffix where Eastern and later Atkan would have it, e.g. A 1860 **Hadan hingaaĝaqax̂**, E 1870 **Hadan waaĝalgaqax̂** 'they came unto Him (lit. He was come to)' (Mark 2.3); Au 1952 **ilagaa agaqax̂** '(when) one (they) had gone away from her' (1959:125, 33 (14)), A 1971 only **ilagaan agalgaqax̂.** In such cases the inner subject is simply left out, cf. **hadan hingaaĝaqangis** 'they came to him', **anĝaĝinas hadan hingaaĝaqaa** 'the people came to him' (see 3.3.2.1.2.). An active verb without an inner subject is found also in E 1870: **wakun hadangiin Ngaan hiisaqax̂** 'about this one (they) said to Him' (Luke 17.37; the passive of **hiisa-** is **hiila-**), A 1860 **wakus kungiin Ngaan tunuqax̂**; cf. E 1870 **angdax̂sx̂ikin ngaan hiisaqangin** 'answering him they said to him', A 1860 **Ngaan achuuĝi-ĝa-lix tunuqax̂** lit. 'being answered, to Him one talked' (John 9:34).

The outer anaphoric subject may become reflexive in reference to the subject of a following superordinate verb, e.g. Ep 1941 (and En 1982) **adaam uyalgakux̂t[x]in ukux̂tanax̂** 'he saw somebody coming towards him (lit. he saw himself being come to)'; Ea 1910 **ilaam sakaaĝadalgaqadaagiim** (anterior 3R sg.) 'when nobody came out on the floor to him anymore (he went back)' (J 17:119); A 1909 **alquhlimaan igim iqyax̂silgaqax̂ akux̂-t-aan** '(he wondered) why a baidarka had been built for him ...' (J 79:26).

In Eastern this construction is used also for the 1.p., e.g. Ea 1909 **nung iqax̂silgaqaqing** 'I had a baidarka made for me' (J 8:14); Ea 1984 **nung iqax̂silgakuqing** 'a baidarka is made for me', cf. **nung iqax̂sikux̂** 'he made (or is making) a baidarka for me'; but A 1980 **ngus iqyax̂silgakux̂** with no formal subject. In Eastern the construction may possibly have been generalized through the reflexive version of the 3A type **ngaan iq(y)ax̂silgakux̂** 'a baidarka is built for him' with an outer subject (the referent of **ngaan**) in all the dialects.

3.4.3.3. Underlying transitive verb

In addition to (1) passive of ordinary transitive verbs there are three special cases: (2) passive of verbs with a local object, (3) subject turned into the base of the passive verb, and (4) **ma-lga-**.

3.4.3.3.1. Passive of ordinary transitive verbs

An underlying nominal object may be the subject of the passive, specified or anaphoric, e.g. A 1952 **ukan ulax̂ hamahliim agulgaqax̂** 'this house (in which we are sitting) was built a long time ago'; **awaĝal hamang anĝaĝiilaqas** lit. 'being had as workers they were lived with there' (N.M. 3:78); Eu 1910 **iikuulalix ingamatalgalix agisxaqaa agacha ayaga-ĝa-naax̂-sxa-daqax̂** (double passive) 'only brought up in this way she would be sought as a wife' (J 11:9); Ep 1984 **waaĝ(a)gu(u)ng qalgaduukakux̂** 'when I come back we'll eat it'. With a passive in the sense of 'we', a specified object may remain an object, e.g. A **hlas kidulgaqax̂** 'we helped the boys' vs. **hlas kidulgaqas** 'the boys were helped'.

The nominal adjunct of an underlying object may likewise be the subject of the passive, e.g. En 1909 **yaalusa-x̂ umx̂i-i tagulgaqadaguun, yaxuta-a alaĝum ilan anuuladax̂** 'the halibut skate (hook), when the bait has been tied onto it, its float is thrown into the sea' (J 56:18); A 1973 **ataqan ayaga-x̂ kita-a kalulgaqax̂** 'one woman was shot [in] her foot'; A 1952 **husii igulgaax̂tax̂** 'let us take out its load, let us unload it (boat)'; **aĝitii tumsa-ĝa-naax̂-sxa-kum** [double passive] **iĝamanaqadanax̂** 'we tried to put away the rest of it but it was spoiled'. The anaphoric 3A suffix is left out in Ea 1909 **waan qignam qusan chax aĝ-a-lix uĝnasxaqadaagiim** 'when hands (dual) were put over this fire and warmed' (J 4:31).

The remote is used also without a passive suffix, e.g. A 1860 **hingamasix taxsa-qa-s** 'therefore they were gathered' (John 6.13); A 1952 **uluu taxsazaqax̂ ax̂tanax̂** 'the meat of it was put away' (N.M. 1:42); **ayx̂aasingis ... hamaax suqas** 'their boats were taken from there' (N.M. 3:69). In Eastern, this usage is found with the verb **(h)u-** (A **hnu**) 'to reach': Eu 1909 **qamdax̂ uqax̂** 'a deep place was reached (by the plumb)', **Ikalĝan ... uqax̂** 'we reached Chernofski' (J 37:6-7). Several other verbs are used in this way in personal names from 1791-1792, e.g. Atka **Sayuqax̂** 'Was Pulled' (Census 14.1.27), Avatanak **Qichx̂a Suqax̂** 'His Knife Was Taken' (Census 6.1.24).

In Eastern and Attuan also a 1. or 2.p. pronominal object may become the subject of the passive, e.g. E 1909 **waaĝasxakuqing**, Au **maaĝasukuq** 'I am brought here'; Ea 1910 **asx̂asxaamin aqax̂txin** 'you will be killed' (J 16:3); **usuun six̂ilgaqadagumin qignam ilan ixsxaduukakux̂txin** 'you will be completely (lit. all of you) smashed up and then burnt in the fire' (ibid. 16); Eu 1984 **waligan agisxaqaqing** 'I was brought up here'.

In modern Atkan one can say **wahligan ting hagisxaqaq** but preferably

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wahligan ting hagisxaqax̂ 'one brought me up here' without a subject; likewise **ting kidulgaqax̂** 'one helped me' rather than **kidulgaqaq**, and **txin kidulgaaĝan aqax̂** 'one will help you' rather than **kidulgaamis aĝnax̂t**, the latter presumably Eastern. Atkan 1909 had **txin asx̂asxaamis ii?** 'are you going to be killed ?' (J 76:282; 324 without **txin**), but A 1860 **txichi ilgusxasxuuyulax** 'if one does not receive you' vs. E **txichi sulgagumchinulux** 'if you are not received' (Luke 10:10). As in the case of oblique terms (3.4.3.2.), the personal passive seems to have developed in Eastern from the impersonal use by analogy of the anaphoric type and have spread from there to later Atkan.

Passive with a predicate noun (cf. 3.2.7.): A 1971 **prizidiintax̂ sakaaĝasxakux̂** 'he was elected president'.

3.4.3.3.2. Passive of verb with local object

The treatment of a local object does not seem to differ from that of an ordinary object, e.g. A **kuu axsxaakalakax̂** 'one can not pass over it'; **qayax̂ kimsxaax̂tax̂** 'let us go down the hill'; Eu 1909 **uglagaan aaliisix̂ malganaa ilaa axsxalix, adan asxilgaaĝlikum, nulgaduukalakan,** 'besides it there was a harbor we passed by, which we headed upwind toward but could not reach (lit. a harbor there being besides it being passed by, was headed upwind toward but being not to be reached)' (J 40:40).

3.4.3.3.3. Subject turned into base of passive

In the passive, the verbs **su-** 'to take' and A **atxaza-** 'to catch, get hold of' may be replaced by a nominal subject, the object becoming the subject, e.g. En 1910 **tanadgusim Iilngan asax̂taa tanadgusiĝaliiĝlikux̂, quga-lga-lix, tanaĝaqadaqax̂** 'the village called Ii. was inhabited (lit. had as a village) until it was taken by demons (**quga-n**) and was abandoned (lit. stopped being had as a settlement)' (J 52:1); A 1977 **qax̂ kuusxi-lga-l amaxs ax̂takux̂** 'the fish was apparently stolen by a cat ("catted") last night'; A 1980 **ukinax̂ Piitralgaqax̂** 'the knife was taken by Peter'; En 1982 **kutmi-lga-lix** 'to be eaten by sand fleas (of drowned person)'.

3.4.3.3.4. **ma-lga-**

The passive of **ma-** 'to do' indicates existence, e.g. **tayaĝux̂ malgaqax̂** 'there was a man'; Eu 1910 **Usilax̂ awa malgaqaliqax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'there was that [man called] U.' (J 35:1); Eu 1909 **chngatunaaĝnam usuu sichidim atix̂ signaĝii aakax̂ ulux̂tax̂ malgaqax̂** 'all the sea otter hunters made over forty baidarkas (lit. there were [in] all sea otter hunter[s] over forty baidarkas)' (J 40:19); En 1910 **qaankun amingin malgaqan** 'he had three maternal uncles (lit. there were three his maternal uncles)' (J 66:1). Without the passive suffix A 1860 **hamaaga anĝaĝinam alaqaĝiiulax maqax̂** 'there was a rich person' (Luke 16.1; E 1870 **amaagan tayaĝum tukuu malgaqax̂**).

mata- 'to be such as; to have' may be used likewise, e.g. A 1952 **wakus matalganas liidas mataqazulax** 'it was not like we have it now (lit. like these being had there were not had)' (N.M. 1:39)

3.4.3.4. Underlying transitive verb with oblique term

The terms may be (1) both nominal, (2) underlying nominal object with pronominal oblique, (3) underlying pronominal object; in addition (4) constructions with **ma—**.

3.4.3.4.1. Underlying nominal object with nominal (3A) oblique

With the adjunct of the positional noun in the relative case the construction is like the passive of a simple transitive verb, e.g. A 1952 **kamgam ulagan nagan tataam chixisxaqax̂** 'he was married again in the church' (1959:81, 16 (12)); A 1860 **subbootax̂ anĝaĝinam qulagaan aguqax̂** 'the Sabbath was made for man' (Mark 2.27).

The adjunct, however, frequently becomes the outer subject of the clause, fronted in the absolutive case or anaphoric, the passive verb agreeing with it in number, e.g. En 1909 **aaykaaĝux̂ klisax̂ ngaan aguĝadax̂** 'for the fox one makes a trap (lit. the fox is made a trap for)' (J 56:23); **idgitxax̂ ngaan kaanquliĝadax̂** 'a thread is used as a trip string for it' (ibid. 26); **akaluĝan ilan klisax̂ ngaan slalĝisxadax̂** 'the trap is set for it in its path downwind' (ibid. 27); En 1983 **Adaax iiltanax̂, ingaya aaykaaĝum uluudangin daĝaan lalgaqax̂** 'the so-called Adak (Island), that's where (lit. from it) red foxes were caught'; A 1980 **aangsus tulkusix̂ ilagaan** [for **ilangiin**] **agulgaaĝutazas** 'berries [are what] fish salad in turn is made with (lit. from)', **ulum suupaa ilax̂taa pitruuskis ngaan angaĝazax̂** 'also meat soup wild parsley is added to, wild parsley is added to meat soup, too'; A 1952 **anĝaĝiisim hasinaa ilingiin hikisxaqas ax̂tazakus** 'much of the subsistence was apparently lost to (lit. from) them' (N.M. 2:43); **qalgadax̂ ngiin ax̂sxagudix** 'when they were given food' (ibid. 29; note 3R pl. **-dix** in reference to the outer subject); A 1984 **ilan ax̂sxahliqaĝulax** 'he was not yet put into it (the coffin)'; En 1983 **tataam ilan aĝusxakux̂** 'it is hidden in it again'; Ea 1910 **agalan ax̂sxaqadaguun** 'when she [the midwife] has been placed behind her [the pregnant woman]' (J 12:7); **agalaan ingulgaagiim** (anterior 3R sg.) 'when he was pushed from behind him' (J 43:16). Examples of the remote in **-(ĝ)ka-** without a passive suffix: Ea 1909 **x̂aayax̂ ikin aniqax** 'a steam bath was lit for them' (J 4:35); A 1952 **hamamatalgal nagan qan'gimaan qaqax̂ taxsazaqax̂ hiilax̂tadax̂** 'so (lit. being done to so) food was stored in it for the winter, it is said' (N.M. 1:15); A 1860 **Iisuusax̂ Ngaan asaasaqax̂** 'He was called Jesus (lit. one gave Him for name Jesus)' (Luke 2.21).

The oblique term may also have an adjunct with a 3A suffix coreferential with the subject (the underlying object), e.g. A 1860 **hyaagam tamadaga qalaangusigan hadagaan haqasxadaĝaan malix** 'for every tree is known by its fruit' (Luke 6.44); **wan anĝaĝix̂ malĝaĝigan iliiguzan suqax̂** 'this woman was taken right in her adultery' (John 8.4).

Also the subject (the underlying object) may have a 3A suffix coreferential with the oblique term, e.g. A 1862 **tunux̂taaĝungis ngaan ignisxadax̂** 'his sins are forgiven him'; A 1971 (**ayx̂aasiim ilagaan haĝuun igukum**) **ayx̂aasii ilagaan agasxaqax̂** '(when he took his pack out of his boat) his boat was taken away (by a wave) from him'.

The use of the 3A suffixes rather than 3R suffixes in these cases goes with the fact that the referent is an outer subject rather than an inner one, and with the use in the corresponding active sentences, e.g. **sunam tayaĝungin qalgadax̂ ngiin aqangis** 'the men on the ship gave them food'; **wan angaĝix̂ malĝaĝigan iliiguzan sunas** 'they took this woman right in her adultery'; **ayx̂aasii ilagaan agatxang** 'I took his boat away from him'. In a complex sentence, however, there may be a 3R suffix in reference to the subject of a following superordinate verb, e.g. with the verb in the anterior: En 1909 **aman lax̂ ilakiigiim iĝulgaagiim, ... amaagan igakux̂** 'that boy, when he (the other one) left him (lit. when he was gone away from) ... escaped from there' (J 43:11); participial constructions: A 1952 **kumax malgaaguzanas makus** 'they did the same as was done to them' (N.M. 3:35); Au 1909 **saagayusim iim ux̂taluqaa naa saagayusaka** 'making her drowsy with the sleep charm that had been given him' (J 81:10).

3.4.3.4.2. Underlying nominal object with pronominal oblique

An oblique term with reference to the speaker or the addressee, being fully specified in the relevant syntactical sense, is not expected to influence the passive construction, e.g. E 1870 **tunux̂taaĝutxin imin ignilgakun** 'your sins are forgiven you' (Mark 2.5, 9); A 1860 **hawakus huzungis imchi aĝaaĝin aqas** 'all those will be given you' (Luke 12.31, E similarly).

Salamatov 1860, however, had both **tunux̂taaĝutxin imis igniĝakux̂t** 'you are forgiven your sins' and **tunux̂taaĝutxin imis igniĝakus** (Mark 2.5 and 9), but only the latter was accepted on Atka 1971. Salamatov also wrote **Aguuĝum angaligan aĝachiĝaĝingizulax haqataax̂txichi imchi ax̂sxaqax̂txichi** 'you are given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God' (Mark 4.11, Luke 8.10), but Eastern Shayashnikov had the normal **Aguuĝum angaligan lunaasingin haqataax̂txichi imchi ax̂sxaqan** (ibid.). As shown by his regular cases, Salamatov's aberrant constructions were probably ungrammatical, presumably induced by the 3A constructions (see above) and influenced by Russian, where all the grammatical persons are treated alike.

3.4.3.4.3. Underlying pronominal object

In his manuscript grammatical sketch Jochelson listed the following pair of sentences (probably elicited from his Unalaskan consultant Sivtsov): **ulam ilan sulgakuqing** 'I am taken into the house', **ilan sulgakung** 'I am taken into it' with anaphoric reference in the passive verb (**-ng** 'it I'). The pair was accepted by modern speakers of both Eastern and Atkan and confirmed by Ek 1982 **ilaan itachx̂isxaqang** (A 1982 **nagaan h-**) 'I was sent out of it'; A 1987 **ulam ilan sulgalakaq** 'I was not taken into the house', **ilan sulgalakaĝing** 'I was not taken into it'.

The anaphoric reference depends upon the personal type of passive constructions which appears to be an Eastern Aleut innovation (see 3.4.3.3.1.). In old Atkan the pair would presumably have been **ulam ilan ting sulgakux̂** 'one took me into the house', **ilan ting sulgakux̂** 'one took me into it' with the referent of **ilan** 'into it' as the outer subject of the sentence, just as in sentences with a specified nominal object.

The extension of this construction to the 3. person, that is, the treatment of the passive as an intransitive verb (cf. 3.3.2.2.), as in **aniqdux̂ ulam ilan sulgakux̂** 'the child was taken into the house', **aniqdum ilan sulgakuu** 'the child was taken into it', was not accepted by older speakers on Atka in the 1980's, who would say A 1987 **aniqdux̂ ilan sulgakux̂**, Eu 1984 **saaglax̂ ilaan itxisxakux̂** 'the dog was chased out of it (the house)', see 3.4.3.4.1. above.

3.4.3.4.4. Constructions with **ma—**

In Atkan, the passive of **ma-** and **ma-ĝi-** 'to have' appears to be treated like that of other transitive verbs, e.g. 1952 **wakus matalganas liidas ilan, chux̂taqam alanaayulax ilan maqaĝulax ax̂tanax̂** 'like what we have now, lots of clothes, there were apparently not in it (the old village)' (N.M. 1:11); 1860 **aniqdux̂ ilikin maĝilgaqagulax** 'they (two) had no child' (Luke 1.7). Here the verb agrees in number with the anaphoric oblique term, resp. sg. **il-a-n** and du. **ili-ki-n**.

In Eastern such expressions of existence seem to be treated (or have been treated) like the intransitive **a-** 'to be' with a preceding oblique term (3.3.2.2.), e.g. 1870 **kayux qusan alux̂ malgaqa-a** 'and there was an inscription above him' (Luke 23.38; A 1860 **Hamaan qusan kayix alux̂ aguĝinax̂** 'above Him (lit. that one) also an inscription had been made'); **ilkin aniqdun maasaqa-kig-ulux** 'they had no children', translated from Russian *u nikh ne byl detey* (Luke 1.7; E **maasa-**, A **maaza-** neg. 'to be empty; to not be'), with a 3A suffix in the verb, resp. sg. **-a** and du. **-kig-** (final **-kix**). Also Salamatov used this kind of construction: **... anaĝix̂ ilingiin maĝaqadalagaaqangis** 'in order that nothing be lost (lit. that anything may not stop being used of/from them)' (John 6.12), with 3A pl. **-ngis** in reference to **ili-ngi-in**.

3.4.3.5. Underlying reflexive verb

The removal of the subject naturally entails removal also of the coreferential object pronoun, e.g. A 1909 **il(an) chugilgalakan haaĝanilgakux̂** 'when they were (lit. one was) silent in there and stopped' (J 77:192), active: **txidix haaĝanikus** 'they stopped'. Likewise with an underlying reflexive-transitive verb, e.g. En 1909 **ingaagan sulgalix aygaxtusaqax̂** 'being taken from there, he was led away' (J 46:8), active: **ingaagan sukan imdin** (or **imchin**) **aygaxtusaqangin** 'taking him from there they walked off with him'.

In Eastern a passive with the sense of 'we' has the object pronoun **tuman** 'us': Ea 1910 **ngaan tuman iqaĝisxalix ... ilaan tuman ukudigasxadax̂** 'we paddle to it and ... get safely away from it' (J 22:2); active 3.p.sg. **ngaan txin iq(y)aĝitikuu** 'he paddles to it', **ilaan txin ukudigatikuu** 'he gets safe(ly away) from it'.

3.4.3.6. **-ula-**, **-ala-**, passive of **-usa-**, **-asa-** (3.4.1.)

These passive constructions follow closely the active ones, having (1) an underlying intransitive verb, possibly with an additional oblique term, (2) an underlying transitive verb, (3) an underlying reflexive verb, or (4) an underlying verb with a local object.

3.4.3.6.1. Underlying intransitive verb

A nominal object of the active derivative becomes a subject of the passive, e.g. A 1952 **uuquchiingis uhlingis anĝaĝiilal** 'one lived on foxes only' (N.M. 2:52); E 1909 (**ulaan nuguun**) **aaluulalix** '(when he got back to his house) he was laughed at' (J 41:4); A **akiiĝalal hamahlix̂taalaqax̂** 'it was brought along'.

In reference to the subject of a following superordinate verb the underlying object is marked by a reflexive pronoun, e.g. A 1952 **hamaax txidix sulgal txidix hidulaqadaangan ... hiisax̂tanas** 'they said that when one had taken them from there and brought them out (lit. gone out with them) ...' (N.M. 3:77)

With a 1.p. pronominal object one would say in modern Atkan **tingin sulgal tingin hidulakax̂** 'one took us and brought us out'; **ting sulgal ting hidulaqax̂** 'one took me and brought me out' or **ting sulgal ting hidulaqaq** 'I was taken and brought out'. In 1980 the latter was said to be uncommon, but in 1952 the English sentence 'I was taken back here again' was translated as **wangudaĝan ting uqidulaaĝutaqaq**, accepted also by the oldest consultant. As in the case of other passive verbs (3.4.3.3.1.), the object pronoun **ting** 'me' remains in the passive, which so is basically impersonal.

There may be in addition an oblique term, specified or anaphoric, in the latter case with the usual number agreement of the verb with the referent of the anaphoric oblique, e.g. A 1950 **duuras alaĝum achidan hadan udulakus** 'the dories are taken down (lit. gone down with) to the beach; they take the dories down to the beach'; 1952 **Unangam ayx̂aasingis agach ilan ayx̂aalazaqax̂** 'one travelled just with Aleut boats there (lit. at it)' (N.M. 1:24); **ataqan tayaĝux̂ ilingiin aĝiilaqas** 'one of the men was left, lit. one man was left of them' (N.M. 3:26); **tanangin kugaan amaanudaalaqadaqas** 'they were not removed from their islands anymore' (N.M. 3:112). Fronted referent in En 1984 **aman duuxturax̂ ngaan anax̂ akiilaqaĝulux** 'the doctor was not paid anything'.

Note the shift of person relations in Ea 1909 **taangax̂ ngaan** (3A) **sakaaĝaalaagiim** (anterior 3R), **aman taangax̂ yuqadaagiim, tunukux̂ awa** 'when the water was brought down to him, he poured the water out and said' vs. **taangam anĝaĝii igiim** (3R) **uulaangan** (anterior 3A), **igiim ĝulaasaqalikux̂ awa** 'when the living water was brought to him, he began to wash himself with it' (J 9:67 and 69). In the former sentence the initial clause is linked formally to the following one only by the outer subject (the referent of **ngaan**), the following clause having its own specified object (marked by the demonstrative **aman** as actually identical with the initial term of the sentence). In the latter sentence the initial term (the underlying object) is by zero-anaphora also the object of the following verb, which entails the reflexive **igiim** rather than the anaphoric **ngaan**, and so also the 3A anterior **uulaangan** rather than a 3R anterior as in the former sentence (in reference to the outer subject).

3.4.3.6.2. Underlying transitive verb

As in the case of the active constructions, an underlying nominal object becomes an oblique term (dative), with a specified adjunct, mostly fronted, or an anaphoric one, e.g. A **qawam kimlangis hudas ngiin imda-ala-zaqas** 'sea lion stomachs were (usually) filled with dried fish', active: **qawam kimlangis hudas ngiin imda-asa-zanas** 'they filled sea lion stomachs with dried fish'; **isuĝis ayx̂aasim ngaan husiilaax̂tas** 'let us load the seals into the boat (lit. let us load the boat with the seals)'; Eu 1910 **chiidgiidax ixsigan ikin inguulalix, sanĝuu aalax adakiin chax ngaan suulalix aguum ...** 'one pushes her loins with both knees and holds her belly on both sides with the hands, and then (she has her delivery)' (J 36:7; note the dual **chiidgiidax** and **chax** without possessive suffixes, removed by the passive together with the underlying subject, the midwife); Ep 1941 **lumagan ilaan ayaaĝux̂ ngaan chunulaqax̂** 'he was poked in his side with a walking stick'; En 1910 **igiqax̂ igiim ingadulalix, ... nulix, igiim ingadusanam-aan uĝuluusadaqalinax̂** 'whenever a spear was thrown at him (lit. whenever he was thrown at with a spear), he reached it and hit with it the man who had thrown it at him' (J 68:17), with the 3R **igiim** entailed by the subject of the final clause.

In the following clause the underlying subject is included as an oblique term: A 1952 **Kasakam kampaanigan hadagaan qaqax̂, ilagan angunaayulax ngiin sismitaalal ax̂tagalikudix** (3R pl.) 'from (by) the Russian Company they were given for support food, some little bit, but ...' (N.M. 3:111); active: **Kasakam kampaanigan qaqax̂ ngiin sismitaasaqangis** 'the Russian Company gave them food for support'; with the underlying verb: **Kasakam kampaanigan sismitaqangis** 'the Russian Company helped them (with food or the like)'.

3.4.3.6.3. Underlying reflexive verb

While the active derivative is reflexive-transitive, with a reflexive dative, e.g. 3R sg. **igiim** (see 3.4.1.2.), the passive has a non-reflexive dative, the underlying subject being removed, e.g. Eu 1910 **unĝigan sitxikiin sulgalix, ngiin aqatmixtaalalix qayayalgadax̂** 'taking (holding) him under the armpits and stretching oneself with him, one tries to make him grow taller' (J 36:17), active: **igiim aqatmixtaasadaa** 'he stretches himself repeatedly with him'; A 1952 **Niiĝuĝis ilingiin, Qawalangim ayagaa ngiin ayagaalal,** 'one of the Atkans married an Eastern woman (lit. from among the Atkans, an Eastern woman was taken as wife by them)' (N.M. 3:3), active: **Qawalangim ayagaa igiim ayagaasanax̂** 'he took an Eastern woman as wife for himself'. Passive in the sense of 'we': A 1971 **haĝus ngiin aygaxtulaax̂tax̂** 'let us walk off with the packs'; **ngiin aygaxtulaax̂tax̂** 'let us walk off with it'.

3.4.3.6.4. Underlying verb with local object

As in the case of the active constructions (3.4.1.3.), the additional term is a specified term in the absolutive case or an anphoric dative, e.g. A **aniqdux̂ qayax̂ hangaalaqax̂** 'one (we) took the child up the hill'; A 1952 **sugasxal qayax̂ ngaan**

kim-ula-naax̂-sxa-ax̂tax̂ (double passive) 'let us try to chase it down the hill (lit. may it be chased and tried to be gone down the hill with)'; Ea 1910 **amamatalgal ayĝaalaadakum, tanax̂ ngaan akuuĝaalaagiim ...** 'in that way she was carried slowly along, but when she had been brought ashore to an island, she ...' (J 27:2).

Examples with A **hnu-**, E **(n)u-** reach': A **Atum anĝaĝinangis Yapuunim tanaa hnuulaqas** 'the people of Attu were taken to Japan'; A 1973 **Yapuunim tanaa tingin hnuulaqax̂** 'we were taken to Japan (lit. Japan was reached with us)'; A 1952 **Amlagim tanadgusii ngiin hnuulazaqas** 'they were brought to Amlia village' (N.M. 2:4); **Amuux̂tax̂ ngiin hnuulaqadaamax** (anterior 3R pl. in reference to the referent of **ngiin**) 'when they were brought to Amukta' (N.M. 3:78); En 1910 **tanaanuulalix, tanaa ngaan nuulaqax̂** 'he was brought back to his village (lit. being taken towards (his) village, his village was reached with him) ' (J 59:14). Without the dative En 1910 **sulgalix amaan asx̂aadam tanadgusii nuulaqax̂** '(when) he had been taken to that outlaw's village' (J 70:13).

Likewise with **ma-** 'to do' En 1934 **wan slax̂ anaĝin maalaakalakan** 'against this wind we could do nothing (lit. one could not do anything with this wind)'; A 1977 **anaĝis maalaakaqaĝulax** 'nothing could be done to it', without the dative but a verb in the singular in reference to its referent.

3.4.3.7. -(**i**)**chx̂isxa-**, passive of -(**i**)**chx̂i-** (3.4.2.)
3.4.3.7.1. Underlying intransitive verb

These derivatives are treated like the passive of other transitive verbs, e.g. A 1952 **kyaĝal hamaaĝachx̂isxaqazulax** 'they had not been forced to come there (lit. being forced they had not been made to come there)' (N.M. 3:42); A 1937 **iĝamanachx̂isxaachxuzaĝaqas** (second passive **-ĝa-**) 'they (guns brought by the Americans) were thought to be very good'. The underlying pronominal object is an enclitic subject in E 1870 **txin asix tunux̂taaqing ... haqachx̂isxakuqing** 'I am sent to talk with you' (Luke 1.19; A 1860 **haqachx̂iqaq** without the passive suffix). So also A 1952 **awaaq hamaanuchx̂isxaqaq** 'I was sent there to work', but also with a pronominal object **ting hamaanuchx̂isxaqaq**, cf. 3.4.3.3.1.

3.4.3.7.2. Underlying intransitive verb with oblique term

These constructions, too, go with the passive of other transitive verbs with an oblique term (3.4.3.4.): A 1909 **Iilam kugan ax-chx̂i-naax̂-sxa-zigata-qadaam** 'after one had for a long time tried to make him pass to Iilax̂' (J 76:327); En 1983 **anim adan qangin aĝalachx̂isxalix** 'the fish there (in the trap) being let into the lake'; En 1909 **adan ayagaadax̂ uyachx̂isxaqax̂** 'a girl was sent over to him' (J 58:10); Au 1909 **il yaxchisulakax̂** 'it was not allowed to be entered into' (J 81:33).

With an underlying pronominal object, however, two types of constructions with an anaphoric oblique term were given: (a) Ek 1982 **ilaan itachx̂isxaqang**, A (younger speaker) **nagaan hitachx̂isxaqang** 'I was sent out of it (one had me go out of it)', see 3.4.3.4.3.; (b) A 1987 (older speaker) **hadan ting huyachx̂isxaqax̂** 'one sent me to him, I was sent to him', with the pronominal object retained and a simple agreement of the verb with the referent of the anaphoric oblique term (**had-a-n** sg.). The second type appears to represent the older Atkan construction, see 3.4.3.3.1.

3.4.3.7.3. Underlying transitive verb

As in the case of other transitive verbs (3.4.3.3.1.), the underlying subject is a dative oblique term, e.g. Ea 1909 **amakux unax aqadguusix̂ ikin suchx̂isxalix** 'the two capsized ones being had to hold on to the paddle' (J 4:24); A 1952 **tataam haman tiĝyux̂ hiilax̂tanax̂ ngiin lachx̂isxaaĝutazaqas ax̂tazakus** 'then again they were ordered to cut the so-called wild rye' (N.M. 3:6), active: **tiĝyux̂ ngiin lachx̂izaqangis** 'they ordered them to cut wild rye' (**tiĝyux̂ lazanas** 'they used to cut wild rye'); A 1952 **anaĝis [± ngiin] machx̂isxaqazulax** 'they were not let (permitted) to do (accomplish) anything' (N.M. 3:9); En 1983 **x̂aayax̂ nung unachx̂isxaqadaguun** 'when one had made me heat the steam bath'; Eu 1984 **ubiidax̂** (**± nung**, A **+ ngus**) **qachx̂isxakuqing** 'I am given (to eat) dinner'.

An underlying derivative with **-usa-** (cf. 3.4.1.1.) is treated likewise, e.g. A 1952 **praviizam ilagan angunaayulax ... anĝaĝinaziin anĝaĝi-isa-chx̂isxa-za-qax̂** 'some little groceries (in Aleut sg.) was given to the people to live on' (N.M. 1:22).

3.4.3.7.4. Underlying reflexive verb

A 3R object pronoun is left out, the subject being turned into an object (cf. 3.4.3.5.), while a 1. or 2.p. pronoun remains an object: Ea 1910 **uuĝdum kugan ungutachx̂isxalix** 'being made to sit down on moss' (J 12:7); A 1973 **ting ungutachx̂isxazuukaqaĝulax** 'one would not allow me to sit down'.

The dative 3R **igiim** of a reflexive-transitive construction is turned into the anaphoric **ngaan**: Eu 1910 **qalgadam-aan chaa ngaan ayugnichx̂isxadaĝulux** 'one does not let her touch (lit. move to) food with her hand' (J 36:22).

3.4.3.7.5. Underlying verb with a local object

The underlying subject is another object in the absolutive case or a pronominal dative: A 1952 **huzungis alaĝux̂ axchx̂isxahlikus ...** 'all of them were allowed to pass the sea (sound) until... '(N.M. 3:25); En 1983 *Adak* **iiltanax̂, ingaya kayux nung aaykaaĝunaax̂chx̂isxaqax̂** 'the so-called Adak, that too I was put (lit. one put me) to trap foxes on'.

3.4.4. Removal of object

A transitive verb is made intransitive by the suffix -(ĝ)**kaĝi-**, e.g. A 1860 **asx̂at-xaĝi-lagada** (neg. imperative), E 1870 **asx̂at-xaĝi-lagaax̂txin** (neg. optative) 'don't kill (anybody), do not commit murder', cf. **asx̂at-lagada** 'don't kill him/her/it/them'; A 1952 **tadutxaĝinazulax** 'they were unable to (lit. did not) make a surprise attack' (N.M. 3:10), cf. **Niiĝuĝis tadus hnul** 'coming upon the Atkans by surprise' (N.M. 3:73); A 1860 **malix kugan hitnisas ilgaaĝanka hingaaĝax̂taqaa, taĝa uku-qaĝi-naĝulax** 'and he went there to look for fruits on it, but did not find any' (Luke 13.6).

The underlying verb may retain other complements, possibly an anaphoric one entailing a suffixal reference, e.g. E 1870 **Hadan qanguchx̂i-qaĝi-qangin** 'they had somebody go in to Him' (Mark 3:31; A 1860 **-qaĝinas**, in 1971 corrected to **-qaĝiqangis**); A 1860 **ilamiis mangi-qaĝi-nam tamadaganaan aqaĝida**, E 1870 **ilkiiming hix̂ta-qaĝi-nam tamadagan ngaan a**(ĝ)**-qaĝi-dada** 'give to everyone who asks you (for something)' (Luke 6.30).

Like other intransitive verbs, these derivatives may have a term added or removed by the suffixes discussed above, e.g. subject removed in A 1860 **aqaĝidaatxichi, malix imchi aqaĝilgamaaĝan aqax̂** 'give, and you shall be given too' (Luke 6.38); E 1870 **hamaya nagan amaagan tachim ax̂taqaĝilgaqaĝulux** 'in it there had not yet been put anybody' (John 19:41); object added in A 1860 **inaqamax tutusidix tutaqaĝiisaduukakus, taĝa tutaqaĝiduukalakaĝis** 'they shall be hearing with their own ears, but not hear (anything)' (Mark 4.12; E 1870 likewise); subject added and object again removed in A 1860 **amulinalix tutaqaĝichx̂iqaĝinax̂** lit. 'he loudly let everybody hear everything' (Mark 1.45).

3.5. Constructions of indefiniteness

Constructions of indefiniteness, which reduce an argument (the subject or a complement) to an indefinite or unspecified referent, are constituted by the verb **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be': (1) positive constructions with the agentive participle **-na-**, meaning 'somebody, some'; (2) negative constructions with the present **-ku-**, meaning 'nobody, none'; and, less common, (3) counterfactual constructions with the general (no suffix).The usual opposition of specified vs. anaphoric applies to the arguments left.

The indefiniteness may be left open or it may be generalized by the indefinite demonstrative form E **[h]amaagan**, A **hamaaga**, **hamaax** 'from there (invisible), from somewhere', or the possible set may be indicated by an oblique phrase in the ablative, possibly anaphoric. As in the case of a passive (3.4.3.), the indefiniteness may imply reference to the speaker and one or more companions (cf. 3.1.1.2.).

3.5.1. **-na- a-** 'somebody, some'

By this construction a subject is made unspecified, the subject of an ordinary clause being replaced by the participle and the predicate verb by the copula, cf. **Piitra-x̂ qangu-ku-x̂** 'Peter comes in' and **qangu-na-x̂ a-ku-x̂** 'somebody comes in'.

The participle thus has the function of a subject while the copula has the function of the verb it replaces, as seen most clearly in the case of a verb with anaphoric reference to a complement (3.5.1.3-4.). In the case of verbs with an obligatory negation the negation preferably passes to the copula (examples in 3.5.1.2-3.). Likewise suffixes indicating clausal frequency (2.2.6.5. **-da-**, **-za-**) or phases of completion (2.2.6.6. **-aatu-**, **-**(ĝ)**kali-**).

The construction is used in the singular, dual and plural. In the plural it may have in fact the same referent as a term of a preceding sentence but in an unspecified way, to be rendered in English by '(the) people' or sometimes by 'they'. This is a contextual relation, different from the syntactical anaphoric reference opposed to the specification of a term (3.1.1.1., etc.).

An unspecified object is expressed by the participle **a-na-** 'being; something, anything, somebody, anybody' or the derivative **ana-ĝi-** 'something, anything', or else by the suffix **-(ĝ)kaĝi-** (see 3.4.4.).

3.5.1.1. Constructions with intransitive verbs

Examples of simple indefiniteness: En 1909 **qidanax̂ akux̂ tutalix**, Au **qiyanax̂ uku tutal** 'hearing somebody crying' (J 58:10, 86:10); **qanan akun-iin** 'when the people were eating' (J 50:35); A 1909 **iqyaĝinas al akayum ilan txidix iqyaĝis azaa-amunas** 'while [the other] paddlers were paddling into the strait' (J 79:53). Note the participial construction Ea 1910 **anqax̂tanam anangin** (**tanaaĝadachx̂ilakan**) '(not letting) people who went out (get back again)' (J 13:3), where the participle in the relative case is like a noun representing the subject of an ordinary clause (see 3.14.2.1.3.).

Contextual anaphora: En 1909 **Kanuyĝaax̂tux̂ ... tayaĝutxin asix chngatunaaĝdanax̂. Chngatunaaĝ-na-n a-gungin, ...** 'K. used to hunt sea otter with his men ... Whenever they went sea otter hunting, ... ' (J 47:1-2.); Ea 1909 **Malix aalux̂ta-na-n a-qaliingin** 'And when they began to laugh' (J 10:40, question of a number of sisters); A 1860 **Malix qanas anas,** 'And they ate' (Luke 9.17, the people mentioned in the preceding verse).

Generalized indefiniteness: A 1860 **hamaax qangunax̂ aax̂ta maquliisanaĝulax** 'forbade (lit. did not order) anybody to go in' (Luke 8.51); **Hamaan awaagim aslagaan, hamaaga waaĝanas anas,** 'At that time some came' (Luke 13.1; E 1870 likewise). Specified set: A 1860 **Hiingus aluĝis haqatas iliin unguchinas anas** 'There some of the scribes were sitting' (Mark 2.6; E 1870 likewise).

Reference to 1.p.: A 1952 **amax̂unax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us go racing!'; Eu 1909 **ayugnan aaĝin maayuqalinan** 'we began to prepare to set out to sea' (J 40:24).

3.5.1.2. Constructions with reflexive verbs

The reflexive object pronoun being syntactically specified, these verbs behave much like intransitive verbs, e.g. En 1909 **txichi iĝatanan akun tutalix** 'hearing that people were afraid' (J 47:13); En 1910 **txidin saĝaninan alix anuxtaagiim** 'when he thought that they (the people in general) had fallen asleep" (J 51:21); A 1952 **hakaax Hadĝiilum kugaan txidix sunas al ngiin kims** 'gathering they (unspecified men) come down upon them from up there on Hadĝiilux̂' (N.M. 3:25); A 1979 **txidix quyulanas aa-aqangis** '(at the time) everybody would go to bed'.

Reflexive verb with an obligatory negation **hazaangni-lakan** 'to be angry, indignant': A 1860 **hamaax txidix hazaangninas anazulax** 'some were (became) indignant' (Mark 14.4), but also **hamaaga txin hazaangninaĝulax anax̂ aguu, ngaan**

igniqaĝida 'if somebody is angry, forgive him' (Short instructions for a happy life).

The reference to the speaker is made explicit by the 1.p.pl. pronoun: A 1971 **tingin aygaxtnax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us walk off'; **tingin aĝutnax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us hide'. Then the clause may also be negated: **tingin aĝutnax̂ alagaax̂tax̂** 'let us not hide'. Cf. 3.5.2.

3.5.1.3. Constructions with transitive verbs

With a specified object a transitive verb behaves, as usual, like an intransitive one, while an anaphoric object is marked in the copula with the participle in the relative case as a formal inner subject: A **Piitrax̂ kidu-na-x̂ a-na-x̂** 'somebody helped Peter', **kidu-na-m a-qa-a** 'somebody helped him'.

Some other examples: En 1982 **ting ilaaĝunax̂ anax̂** 'somebody helped me'; En 1983 **oh oh iistan(a)x̂ akux̂ tutaqalnaqing** 'I heard somebody saying (moaning) "oh oh"'; A 1952 **taxsaĝinas qanas al, tagadax̂ taxsazanas hilax̂tazas** 'they (the people) ate the stored ones and replenished the supplies, it is said' (N.M. 1:20). Note the combination with the passive (**igu-lga-l**) in A 1973 **agalagaan kidunas akan chagix̂ ayx̂aasigan ilagaan igulgal angalix̂** 'afterwards people helped him taking the halibut out of his boat'.

Verb with an obligatory negation A **idax̂ta-lakan** 'to know (not ignore)': **uchiitilax̂ idax̂tanas anazulax** (better than **idax̂tanazulax anas**) 'some knew the teacher'.

Derivational suffixes attached to the copula: A 1860 **Iisuusax̂ manginas a-qali-nas** 'they (the people) began to ask Jesus (to depart)' (Mark 5.17); A 1973 **tunumkaasanas a-za-qangis** 'people used to talk about it'; **hanim sangis hakangis hitmilgangis agatingis amnilakaĝis maalal, mayaax̂tanas a-atu-za-qangis** 'freshwater ducks are easier to pluck, that's why people used to like hunting for them'; A 1952 **ayx̂aasix̂ husinax̂ a-qali-ix̂tax̂** 'let us start loading the boat'.

Verb with an intentional in a participial construction: A 1952 **hamaax ingachix̂ a-akin anuxta-na-x a-na-kix hix̂saasaguun** 'if you notice any two wanting to be a married couple' (1959:81, 16 (15)).

3.5.1.4. Constructions with an oblique term

These constructions are analogous with the preceding ones, e.g. A **Piitram hadan hingaaĝax̂taza-na-s a-na-s** 'some used to go there to Peter', **hadan hingaaĝax̂taza-na-s a-qa-a** 'some used to go there to him' (so also A 1860, Mark 1.5); A 1909 **tanĝaaĝim ulagan nagan ukaaĝanax̂ al aguu** 'when one enters a bear's den' (J 79:140); Eu 1909 *Jesse Lee Home* **yulkaĝinan akun** 'in Jesse Lee Home they have a Christmas tree' (J 38:11); A 1952 **hingamatal kugan anĝaĝinas al, kadim hadagaan tanaĝal, ...** 'so people living in it, it being formerly had as a village, ...' (N.M. 1:8); E 1870 **amaagan, Ilaan aĝa-na-m a-kan** (conjunctive 3A), **Ngaan hiisaqaa** 'someone came to Him and said to Him' (Matthew 19.16); **hamangun anqax̂tanam iliin amaagan ngikin tunux̂ta-na-m a-qa-kix** 'someone of those standing there talked to them (two)' (Mark 11.5); A 1860 **wakus kungiin**

hamaaga maqulis haqatas ilingiin Ngaan hiisanam aqaa 'about this, one of the lawyers said to Him' (Luke 11.45); A 1952 **tanadgusim hadan huyanax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us go to the village'; **agalagaan xaadagnaaĝnaaĝnam aaqaa** 'let us try to run after it'.

Reflexive verb: A 1862 ... **huzungin ilingiin txin aglinam aaĝan ingaaĝingis** 'of all of them one should bevare' (Catechism).

With an object and an oblique term: A 1973 **hawayangis akus kamalus ngaan** [for **ngiin**] **asax̂ta-na-s a-za-ngis** 'those are the ones people call (lit. have as name for) kamalus (youngs of rosy finch)'; A 1909 **maazaqadaguun isxaam ilan imax tukuusanas alix** '(he said that) when he passed away, they should take him (the person in question) as a chief for themselves in his place and ...' (J 76:70); A 1952 **chisax̂tanax̂ al tanadgusim hadan huyaasanaaĝnam aaqaa** 'let us scatter and try to chase (lit. bring) it toward the village'; A 1971 **hlam ngaan chagix̂ qachx̂inax̂ aax̂tax̂** 'let us let the boy eat halibut', **chagix̂ ngaan qachx̂inam aaqaa** 'let us let him eat halibut'.

3.5.1.5. Negated constructions

In a few cases where one would expect constructions with **-ku-** (3.5.2.) Salamatov used a negated version of constructions with **-na-**: 1860 **hamaax txidix suglatnax̂ alagaax̂ta kungiin** '(take heed) lest anyone entice you' (Mark 13.5; E 1870 has the normal **-ku-** construction: **amaagan asla txichi ugutikux̂ alagaax̂ta quliin**); **hamakus hamaax qanam aaĝan ingaaĝingizulax** 'those [which] nobody is supposed to eat' (Luke 6.4, but Mark 2.26 **hamaax qaaĝin ingaaĝix̂ azulax** more like a **-ku-** construction); 1862 **unuqus kayuu un'gix̂tanax̂ aaĝan ingaaĝiĝulax** 'one should not rely upon the power of anybody else (than God)' (Catechism, continuation of the sentence quoted in 3.5.1.4.).

3.5.2. **-ku- a-** neg. 'nobody, none'

By these constructions either the subject or a complement is made negatively indefinite, cf. **Piitrax̂ qasi-ku-x̂** 'Peter is fishing' and **qasi-ku-x̂ a-lakax̂** 'nobody is fishing'; **qa-ku-ng** 'I am eating it (or ate it)' and **qa-ku-ng a-lakax̂** 'I have nothing to eat'. In the former case **-ku-** has invariably the form **-ku-x̂**. In the latter case the subject is marked by a possessive suffix as in a participial construction (cf. 3.14.); also an enclitic negation (rather than the negative present **-lakaĝ-**) is possible (example in 3.5.2.2.).

The copula has the ordinary negations of the respective moods and tenses or the suffix **-qada-** 'not anymore' (2.2.6.6.), or else the negation follows in a superordinate verb. Without a formal negation the construction is possible as a question (example in 3.5.2.2.).

The negative construction is comparable with a predicate noun (cf. 3.1.2.). As in the case of nominal predicates (3.2.7.) the verb may also be the transitive **hita-** 'to make' (with a personal or impersonal subject) or **agu-x̂ta-** 'to make', passive **agu-ĝa-**.

The indefinitess may be qualified by the term **asl-a** 'something corresponding, anything', in the ablative **aslagaan** 'at any time, ever' (**asl-a** 'point of time, occasion').

3.5.2.1. Negative subject

Constructions with intransitive verbs: A 1950 (**wayaam uuquchiingis akiĝilakan**) **mayaaĝikux̂ azalakan** '(nowadays foxes have no price and) nobody traps' (1959:77, 7 (1-2)); (**slax̂ iĝamanalakaĝaan**) **qasikux̂ aaĝan amasulakax̂** '(the weather is bad so) perhaps no one will go out fishing'; En 1983 **asla unuugikux̂ aqadanax̂** 'no one sang anymore'.

A reflexive verb has the 3R sg. object pronoun, e.g. En 1909 **asla txin ayugnikux̂ alakan** 'no one moved' (J 45:20): A 1973 **txin waaĝatikux̂ anaĝulax** 'nobody came here'; A 1909 **txin yaaginikux̂ anax̂ ukuĝalakax̂** 'nobody is seen moving' (J 79:110).

A transitive verb with a specified object is treated like an intransitive verb, while the number of an anaphoric object is marked in the copula as an outer subject, e.g. A **hlas kidukux̂ anaĝulax** 'nobody helped the boys', **kidukux̂ anazulax** 'nobody helped them'; A 1971 **wahligan qichitix̂ agukux̂ alakax̂** 'here nobody makes (can make) money'; En 1952 **anĝaĝix̂ asla txin achigakux̂ alakan anutaasaguum** 'when a person thought that he had nobody to teach him'; En 1949 **asla adĝakux̂ kayux anaĝulux** 'no one has touched it either'; A 1860 **hamaax Aguuĝux̂ aslagaan ukux̂takux̂ anaĝulax** 'nobody has ever seen God' (John 1.18); **ilimchiix hamaax Ting ahmatikux̂ alakax̂** 'none of you asks me' (John 16.5; E 1870 likewise); **ilingiin aniqdux̂ aĝiisakux̂ anazulax** 'none of them left a child' (Mark 12.22; the plural of the copula refers to the referent of **ilingiin**). In the following participial construction the plural **-ku-n** was perhaps induced by the plural of the copula: Ea 1909 (accepted En 1984) **wakun uulngiiĝiim asla chaasakun alakaĝin agichaĝingin** 'these squirrels of his all spread out without anybody cleaning (having cleaned) them' (J 10:20). Examples with an additional oblique term: A 1984 **asx̂anaam ilan gruuvax̂ iim agukux̂ aĝulax hiistanax̂** 'he said that when he dies, there is nobody to make a coffin for him'; A 1860 **Ilimiing agayakux̂ alakax̂** 'nobody tries to take it away from Me' (John 19.18; E 1870 similarly).

An adjunct of the object is treated likewise, e.g. A 1971 **haakus sas isxangis ukux̂takux̂ alakax̂** 'nobody can see the nests of those birds', **isxangis ukux̂takux̂ alakaĝis** 'nobody can see their nests'; A 1952 **ulakix ukux̂takux̂ alakan chachiĝil hingamatakux** 'nobody can see their (two) houses and [their doors] are closed' (1959:81, 18 (8)).

Constructions with an oblique term: A 1971-77 **hamakus ulas nagingin anĝaĝikux̂ alakax̂** 'in those houses nobody lives (can live)', **nagingin anĝaĝikux̂ alakaĝis** 'nobody lives (can live) in them'; A 1860 (and 1971) **taĝa Kugan txin chalĝikux̂ anaĝulax** 'but no one laid hands on Him' (John 7.44).

The following biblical translations, where the copula has a suffixal reference as if to an inner subject, seem to be ungrammatical: A 1860 **taĝa ngaan aqaĝikux̂**

adaqaaulax 'but nobody ever gave him anything' (Luke 15.16; E 1870 **taĝa asla ngaan aĝikux̂ ananulux**, probably a copying mistake for **anaĝulux**); E 1870 **asla nagan anĝaĝikux̂ alagaaqaa** 'may nobody live in it' (Acts 1.20; A 1838 had the normal construction: **nagan anĝaĝikux̂ alagaax̂ta**).

3.5.2.2. Negative object

The object may be specified or, more commonly, unspecified.

With a specified object a nominal subject is in the absolutive case and the copula agrees in number with the subject, e.g. A **Piitrax̂ uuquchiingis kavkaanakuu anaĝulax** 'there were no foxes for Peter to trap'; **hamakus tayaĝus uuquchiingis kavkaanakungis alakaĝis** 'there are no foxes for those men to trap'. With an unspecified object a nominal subject is in the relative case or is anaphoric, e.g. A 1973 **Piitram (± asla) qakuu anaĝulax** 'Peter had nothing to eat'; **asla qakuu anaĝulax** 'he had nothing to eat'; A 1952 **qakungis azulax ...** 'they had nothing to eat' (N.M. 3:42).

A 1., 2. or (in a complex sentence) a 3R subject is marked by a possessive suffix in both cases, e.g. A 1971 **uuquchiingis kavkaanakung alakax̂** 'there are no foxes for me to trap'; **asla qakung alakax̂** 'I have nothing to eat'; **hix̂takung aqadakux̂** 'I have nothing more to say'; A 1860 **taĝax̂takuchi ii anaĝulax** 'didn't you understand anything ?' (Mark 7.18); A 1909 **ulax̂takuun anaĝulagaan mal ...** 'because he had no house to stay in (lit. had nothing for house)' (J 77:112); **alitxux̂talaan** (cf. 3.9.2.3.) **qaĝaĝikuun akuĝaan gumaalaqaĝulaxtaan, maakanat haqatalakan ...** 'as he now had no crew to dance with (lit. having as crew for him to dance), he did not know what to do' (J 77:164 f.). Question without the negation: A 1860 (and 1971-) **ukux̂takuun al ii?** 'do you see anything ?' (Mark 5.23; E 1870 **amaagan ukux̂taqaĝikux̂txin hi?**). Redundant negation in Ea 1910 **ukuunulux aqadasix aagiim ...** 'having no more anywhere to go (lit. reach)' (J 18:4).

The subject may be the same as that of a following verb, e.g. A 1952 **asla qakung ax̂siidalakan gumatakuq** 'now, poor me, I have nothing to eat' (**gumata-** 'do now, like this'); E 1870 **anĝaĝinam uglagaan, asla ukux̂takuu aagiimulux, ngaan hiisanax̂** 'seeing nobody except the woman, He said to her' (John 8.10); A 1952 **asla makungis alakan, asla sulaan txidix akikungis alakan, aqadasxaqas** 'being unable to do anything, having nothing to take to fight back with, they were left that way' (N.M. 3:39). In the following expression the construction is a predicate, with a double negation: A 1862 **maakakuuyulax aĝulax akux̂** '(God) is one for whom there is nothing he cannot do, that is, omnipotent' (Catechism).

Constructions with **hita-lakan, agux̂ta-lakan** 'not make': Ea 1910 **wan tanadgusiin alakuu ngaan italakan** 'providing his village with all it needed, lit. not making his village be in need of anything' (J 16:21); En 1910 **malix aman ayagaan nulix, asla alakuu ngaan agux̂talakan, asix anĝaĝiqalinax̂** 'so he went to that woman of his and letting her suffer no want, he began to live with her' (J 67:8).

Constructions with an additional oblique term: A 1973 **imis aĝikung alakax̂**

'I have nothing to give you'; En 1936 **utang qagalĝigan sitxii chunilaaĝanang asla ngaan uĝayaasakung alakaĝim nanakux̂** 'the underneath of my thumb nail that I had punctured is hurting as I have nothing to cure it with'; A 1909 **wakux maqdax̂taqaaklukin agatikix ikin matikukin aaĝutalakan ax̂taanganax̂** 'but as she could not do anything now to her poor old breasts' (J 78:86; note the absolutive case of the referent of **ikin**).

3.5.2.3. Negative oblique term

The referent of the positional noun is specified as an outer subject in the absolutive case in En 1983 **ulax̂ ilan akungin alakaĝin** 'they had no house to stay in' (the final plural agrees with the anaphoric subject **-ngin**). Examples with an unspecified referent: A 1977 (**hamakus anĝaĝinas**) **ilan anĝaĝikungis alakaĝis** 'they (those people) have nothing to live in (nowhere to live)'; Eu 1910 **ilan dax̂kiiming takax̂takuu alakax̂** 'she (dog) does not go anywhere away from me' (J 39:36); A 1860 **waan kugaan ngaan tunux̂takungis alagaax̂tas** '(ordered) that they talk to nobody about this' (Luke 9.21); **hamaaga sukdax̂talka silan gikuun adalagaax̂ta** 'do never envy and covet (lit. feel envious attraction to) anything'; likewise **hamaaga asix qaslugikuun adalagaax̂ta** 'do never quarrel with anybody'.

The following construction seems to correspond to an ordinary claüse with the oblique term preceding the absolutive term (3.3.2.2.): A 1860 (accepted 1971) **qalgadax̂ akuu ilamchi ii? alakan** 'don't you have any food with you ?' (John 21.5; E 1870 **amaagan qalgadax̂ ilamchi matakux̂txichi hi?**); **akuu** odd to Moses Dirks 1997.

Examples with an object: A 1971 **waan anĝaĝinangis ilaan awax̂ ukukungis alakaĝis** 'the people of this [village] can get work from nowhere'; A 1950 **waan tanam kugan ilaan awax̂ ukukungis alakaĝis** 'on this island they can get work from nowhere' (1959:78, 7 (28)); **ilaan awax̂ ukukuu hitaqangizulax** 'they made it impossible for him to get work from anywhere'; A 1862 **anaĝiĝulax ilagaan agatikung alagaax̂ta** '(the church demands from me) that I don't take anything away from anybody' (Catechism). The use of the plural in the following biblical translations is unclear: A 1860 **hamaan angalim il kugaan Ting ahmatikuchi aduukalakaĝis** 'in that day you shall ask me about nothing' (John 16.23; the 2.p.pl. treated like a 3.p.pl.); **hitnisaning il taxsakuning alakaĝis** 'I have nowhere to store my fruits' (Luke 12.17; the plural object treated like a subject).

Indefinite time in A 1862 ... **ilagaan aslagaan agakung ahlilagaanganka ...** 'in order that I do not depart from it (the church) at any time' (Catechism).

3.5.2.4. Constructions with passive verbs

As usual, the passive suffix removes the subject but frequently implies a reference to the speaker and companions, e.g. En 1952 **igdaakax̂ taĝaatukung, asla nuusiĝakux̂ alakan ...** 'I wanted to try a fire drill but we had no knife (lit. nothing for knife)'; En 1936 **usukiingin malgakux̂ alakan angalim angadaan saĝakun** 'all of us having nothing to do slept in the daytime'; A 1952 **ulum qaatagaan**

asla qalgakux̂ alakax̂ 'we have nothing to eat except meat'; A 1860 **ilingiin hamaax maĝaqadakux̂ anazulax** 'none of them was lost' (John 17.12; the plural of the copula refers to the referent of **ilingiin**); A 1952 **asla kugan malgakux̂ anaĝulax** 'there was nothing to be done to it' (1959:80, 16 (9)); En 1934 **aslingin kum ngiin aĝiyaalakun aqadanan** 'we no more had anything to try to save ourselves with' (passive in **-ula-** of **tuman aĝiya-** 'try to save ourselves').

3.5.2.5. Impossibility

The various negative expressions may by themselves imply impossibility, especially if the terms are definite, e.g. En 1934 **ingamasix anĝaĝin inaqaam txin amgiĝim uglagaan agitaasaan ilaaĝukuu aqadanax̂** 'so each person (lit. the people) besides guarding himself could no more help his companion'. Mostly, however, the impossibility is specified by the conjunctive **mas-xa-ngaan** 'in any way, (not) possibly', lit. 'doing it so' (later E **mas-xan-aan**, late A **masxagaan**), A 1860 also **masigaan**, Au 1909 **masigaa** (without the object suffix), passive E 1909 **masxa-lig-aan**, Au **masul**; cf. 3.9.3.4.2. Examples of the different types of constructions follow.

Intransitive verbs: En 1983 **masxanaan taangax̂ iluux̂kuu adaawsalakax̂** (**a-da-agusa-lakax̂**) 'there is absolutely no possibility for water to get inside (inside the clothing)'; A **masxangaan Piitrax̂ mayaaĝikuu hitanazulax** 'they made it impossible for Peter to go trapping'; A 1952 **masinangis six̂tal masxangaan qanaaĝikuu alakan amaatxax̂ agunax̂** 'his motor was broken and he had not been able to fish for a long time'; A 1977 **masxangaan ayuxtakung alakax̂**, Au 1909 **masigaa ayuxtakung ulak** 'it is impossible for me to go out (in my boat)'; A **masxangaan ayuxtakung hitanaĝulax** 'it became impossible for me to go out'.

Transitive verbs with a specified object: E 1870 **masxangaan asx̂ax̂ Haman sux̂takuu anaĝulugaan malix** 'because it was impossible for death to hold Him' (Acts 2.24; A 1838 likewise); A 1860 (and 1971) **hamakus masxangaan qalgadax̂ qakungis hitaqazulax** 'it became impossible for those to eat food' (Mark 3.20; E 1870 similarly); A 1973 **masxangaan uuquchiingis kavkaanakung alakax̂** 'I cannot trap for foxes'; **masxangaan hix̂tananing makung anaĝulax** 'I could not do as (lit. what) I said'. Anaphoric object: A 1952 **igax̂tam masxangaan hachiĝikuu alakaĝim mal txin ayx̂atnax̂** 'the plane could not wait for him so he set out (in his boat)'. Indefinite object: A 1860 **masxangaan qakungis hitaqazulax** 'it became impossible for them to eat (anything)' (Mark 6.31).

Verbs with a specified oblique term: A 1971 **Piitrax̂ masxangaan tanadgusim hadan huyakuu hitanaĝulax** 'it became impossible for Peter to go to the village'; En 1983 **masxanaan qax̂ anim adan aĝalkuu aguĝlakan iistanan** 'they said that it was made impossible for the fish to get to the lake'; A 1977 **hamakus ulas nagan masxangaan anĝaĝikungis alakaĝis** 'it is impossible for them to live in those houses'; **masxangaan tanadgusim hadan huyakung alakax̂** 'it is impossible for me to go to the village'; **masxangaan tanadgusim hadan huyakung ngus agux̂tanaĝulax̂t** 'you made it impossible for me to go to the village'. Anaphoric oblique term: A **masxangaan ilangiin agakuning aqadanas** 'I could no more get away from them'; **uchiitilam** (± **masxangaan**) **qichitix̂ ilaan ukukuu alakax̂** 'the teacher cannot get money from him'.

Passive verbs: En 1949 **usugaan amgim ilan masxanaan saĝalgakux̂ agux̂taqdalix ...** 'it became no more possible (for us) to sleep all night'; Au 1909 **masul hiing ulukux̂ ulaka ukuĝaan**, E **masxaligaan iingun algakux̂ alakan akuĝaan** 'as it was impossible to stay there' (J 80:20); Eu 1909 **masxaligaan agitaasaam chidaĝiigusan aĝalgakux̂ anaĝulux** 'it was impossible (for us) to get quite close to each other' (J 40:37; note the 3R sg. **agitaasaam**); A 1950 **masxangaan kamgam ulaa haxsilgakux̂ alakan** 'the church could not be opened' (1939:79, 11 (9)).

3.5.2.6. Unclear cases

In En 1909 **asla tayaĝum sakix ungax̂takuu alakaĝaan** 'as no man with a torn parka was there (except Ataluung)' (J 42:4), **ungax̂takuu** was changed into Eun 1984 **ungax̂taa** or **ungax̂taqaa**, Eu 1987 **ungax̂tanaa**, a participial construction, cf. En 1909 **tayaĝum sagan agaluuĝigan ungax̂taa** 'the man who had the hind part of his parka torn' (J 58:4).

In A 1860 **amgix̂ waaĝaguu. hamaax maaĝa akuu azuukaĝulax** 'when night comes, nobody can work' (John 9.4) the gerundive with the personal **akuu** seems strange. Eastern 1870 had the expected construction but an unclear plural of the copula: ... **hamaagan asla makux̂ aduukalakaĝin**.

The participial construction E 1838, 1870 **tahlam aslan akuu aayulux** 'the unworthy servant' (Matthew 25.30) seems to contain a predicative phrase with the meaning '(he) is (not) fit for it'. In Luke 17.10, E 1870 had the normal construction, in the plural: **tahlan aslitaqaĝinginulux**, A 1860 **awam anaĝix̂ aslitangizulax** 'unworthy servants'.

3.5.2.7. Analogous constructions

A verbal noun was used by Salamatov 1860 a couple of times like the **-ku-** with a negative subject: **hamaaga txin haqatax̂ aax̂ta anuxtanaĝulax** 'he did not want that anybody should recognize him' (Mark 7.24; E 1870 passive **haqatalgalagaaĝan anuxtalix**); **waan kugaan hamaax haqataqaĝix̂ alagaax̂ta** '(ordered him) that nobody should know about this' (Mark 5.43; similarly Mark 9.30).

The gerundive is used like the **-ku-** with a personal subject in A 1840 **ukuuĝing alagaax̂ta** 'in order for me not to see anybody' (B 1:8); A 1909 **hawaax ngaan ayagaasaaĝa tanaam kuga(an) alakax̂ maasalka** 'because he had no woman to give him on (from) his own island' (J 76:13, likewise 10), cf. **waan tanaam kugaan ngaan ayagaasakuun alakax̂ maasalka** 'because he had no woman to give him from his own island' (ibid. 36).

3.5.3. Counterfactual constructions

In Atkan counterfactual constructions, marked by the particle **kum** (2.1.10.4.), the verbal noun (no suffix) is used like the **-ku-** with a personal subject, e.g. 1971 **hawakus Unangam aluĝix̂taalangis ngus taĝayax̂tanax̂ aguung kum,**

angunaĝulax kum ngaan hing [also **hix̂tang**] **akuĝaan, tax̂ hawakus agach haqatanaĝulaq** 'if I had learned those writings in Aleut, I could tell him a little, but I don't know them (those)'; 1977- **angunaĝulax kum ngiin hix̂taning akus** 'I could have a little to tell them (something to offer in terms of information, but I haven't)'; **Piitrax̂ angunaĝulax kum ngus hix̂taa akux̂** 'Peter could have a little to tell me (but he hasn't)'; **ayuxtal imyaĝnax̂ aguung kum qax̂ imis achxuusang akux̂** 'if I had gone out fishing, I would have had a fish to offer to you (but I didn't go out)'.

3.6. Noun phrases

There are three main types of noun phrases: (1) adjunct phrases, a nominal head with a nominal adjunct in the relative case and/or a possessive suffix; (2) determiner phrases, a nominal head with a preceding determiner; (3) coordinate phrases. Of each type there are several subtypes. In combinations of the different types an adjunct constitutes in most cases an inner layer, a determiner an outer layer, while a coordinate phrase may go with either.

3.6.1. Adjunct phrases

The head of an adjunct phrase may be an ordinary noun (2.1.1.), a contrastive term (2.1.3.2. f.), a quantifier (2.1.4.), a numeral (2.1.5.), a positional noun (2.1.6.) or a relational noun (2.1.6.3.2., 2.1.7.8., 2.1.8.3.6.), a demonstrative pronoun (2.1.7.3.), an interrogative pronoun (2.1.8.1-2.), or a verbal noun (a subtype of participial clauses, see 3.14.).

An adjunct may be specified or anaphoric, with different effects on the clause structure, as discussed in chapters 3.1-3. The following points concern the inner structure of the phrases and the semantic relations of the terms.

3.6.1.1. Phrases headed by ordinary nouns

The adjunct, in the relative case, may be an ordinary noun or a word of any of the above-mentioned classes, including verbal nouns.

As indicated in 3.1.1.6.1., if the nominal adjunct indicates an individual, a definite person or thing etc., it is marked for number, while only the head is marked for number if the adjunct indicates a general kind or species, e.g. A **hlas adaa** 'the boys' father', E 1870 **amgiĝnan tukuu** 'the chief of the custodians' (Acts 5.26) vs. A **isuĝim aniidangis** 'seal pups', Ea 1910 **qam chmangin** 'fish tails' (J 23:4). As also mentioned, however, in Eastern even the number of a definite adjunct may be marked in the head only, e.g. Ea 1909 with a plural determiner **amakun ayagam anaadangin** 'the little mother of those women' (J 10:74) for **amakun ayagan anaadaa**.

In phrases of more than two terms there is no formal difference between an adjunct phrase with a simple head and a simple adjunct with a phrasal head. Examples of the former, abc in the sense of (ab)c, are Ea 1910 **Iguĝnam tukugan asxinuu** 'the daughter of the chief of Eider Point' (J 27:1); En 1909 **Kanaagutum**

ulagan analuĝan (**kangaan**) '(from the top) of the ladder of Kanaagutux̂'s house' (J 43:17); A 1952 **Kasakam anĝaĝinangin tukuu** 'a chief (agent) of the Russian people'; E 1870 **adatxin Aguuĝuu** 'your fathers' God' (Acts 7.32); A **adamis ulagan kamuu** 'the roof of your father's house'; A 1973 **chaagamguuĝing daa** 'my right eye', lit. 'the eye of my right side'.

Examples of abc in the sense of a(bc) are A 1973 **Atx̂am kamgagan ulaa** 'Atka church', lit. 'the house of prayer of Atka' (**kamgam ulaa** 'house of prayer, church'); **kamgangin ulaa** 'our church', lit. 'the house of our prayer'; A 1977 **adamis qaniigagan ayx̂aasii** 'your father's toboggan', lit. 'the snow vehicle (**qaniigam** or **qaniigim ayx̂aasii**) of your father'; A 1971 **mayaaĝingin ulakuchaa** 'our hunting cabin', lit. 'the little house of our hunting '. In 1977 the modern more English-like construction **qaniigim ayx̂aasing** 'my toboggan', where the 1.p.sg. suffix **-ng** replaces the 3A suffix, was corrected by an older speaker into **qaniigang ayx̂aasii**; likewise **chx̂uuĝim masinangin** 'our washing machine' into **chx̂uuĝing** (**chx̂uuĝingin**) **masinangis** 'my (our) washing machine' (**masina-s** pl. '(one) machine'). Thus, in the older language, there were no formal compounds, even though the very special phrase **kamgam ulaa** 'church' can be the base of a derivative like a single word (2.2.0.3.).

The semantics of the constructions includes many different kinds of relationships, for instance

ownership, e.g. A **Piitram ukinaa** 'Peter's knife'; Ea 1792 **Tukum Igim Ukux̂taacha** 'Chief's Mirror (lit. means for looking at himself)' (Census 7.2.34); A 1950 **hawakus huzungin tanadgusii** 'the village of all of those (them)'.

kinship, e.g. A **tayaĝum hlangis** 'the man's sons'; **hlas adaa** 'the boys' father'.

social position, e.g. **tanadgusim tukuu** 'village chief'; En 1910 **Akutanam tukuu** 'the chief of Akutan' (J 69:57).

local connection, e.g. A 1952 **Amlagim anĝaĝinangis** 'the people of Amlia' (N.M. 2:1); **ud-hadan anĝaĝinangis** 'the people around here' (N.M. 1:40); **waan anĝaĝinangis** 'the people of this one (of this village)'; A 1950 **alaĝum achidan hyaagaa** 'driftwood, lit. wood at the sea shore'.

object and tool, e.g. A 1952 **uuquchiingim katmusikix** du. 'fox stretcher'.

whole-and-part, e.g. **tayaĝum kamga** (**kamgii**) 'the man's head'; Eu 1909 **kitagan qalikix** 'the soles of his feet' (J 34:28); A 1950 **Amlagim chuga** 'the north side of Amlia'; **tanas chugis** '(going along) the north side of the islands'.

species and sex or age group, etc., e.g. A 1950 **isuĝim aliĝa** 'male seal', **isuĝim ayagaa** 'female seal', **isuĝim aniidangis** 'seal pups'; **alqum sunaa** 'what kind of ship ?'.

definition of instance, e.g. E 1871- **Anulgilim tugidaa** 'the month of January' = **Anulgilix̂**.

Phrases with a pronominal head are analogous, e.g. A **ayagamis hinganii** 'that one of your wife' (2.1.7.3.); **sunam alquu** 'what part of the ship' (2.1.8.1.).

3.6.1.2. Phrases headed by a contrastive term or a quantifier

Examples of simple phrases with an adjunct in the relative case are given in 2.1.3.2. and 2.1.4. Additional examples are A 1952 **Alaaskam tanangin huzungis** 'all the islands of Alaska' (N.M. 2:39); **alaĝum himlagan hangadan huzuugizaa** 'all of the surface of the wave[s] of the sea' (N.M. 3:93); **tanadgusim hangadan ulangin huzuugizanginiin** 'for all the houses in (all over) the village' (N.M. 2:7); **kudugan angagan igachingin ilangis** 'some of the sinews of one of its feet' (for **anga-** see 2.1.3.4.). Phrases with a numeral head (2.1.5.1.) are similar, e.g. A 1860 **angalim qankuu** 'the third day'; **chasis atuungii** 'the sixth hour'; A 1862 **maqulim qamchiingigan il** 'in the eighth commandment'.

Alternatively, the referent of such terms may be in the absolutive case, in an appositional relation, e.g. contrastive terms (2.1.3.2-3.): A **ulux̂ agacha** 'meat rather (more)'; **ulux̂ uhlii** 'meat only'; A 1909 **husikix uhlikix** 'their loads only' (J 79:311); Ea 1909 **saaqutiin agachiidaa** 'his breach clout only' (J 3:68); quantifier (2.1.4.5): A 1952 **qachx̂a ilaa** 'his skin partly' (N.M. 3:77); **anakin ilakix** 'either one of your parents'.

3.6.1.3. Phrases headed by a positional or a relational noun

Positional nouns (2.1.6.) and relational nouns (2.1.6.3.2., 2.1.7.8., 2.1.8.3.6.) have no inherent number but through their possessive suffixes are marked for number in agreement with the referent or, especially in Eastern, carry the number of the referent, e.g. A 1952 **Niiĝuĝis ilingiin** 'from among the Atkans', E **tayaĝum** [rel.sg.] **iliin** 'from the people', **amakux** [du.] **sakitam** [sg.] **adakin** [3A du. loc.] 'to those two murres', see 3.3.1. Examples of relational nouns with an adjunct are A **Samĝunam qaluuĝigaan** 'from inside S.' (2.1.6.3.2.); **ulam waaĝigan** 'on this side of the house' (2.7.8.); **tanĝim qanaaĝii** 'which side of the islet' (2.1.8.3.6.).

In the locative or ablative these phrases constitute oblique terms, see 3.3. Some of them are used also in the absolutive case as a subject or object, e.g. A 1950 **ulas quchigis qaniixtul** 'the space between the houses have much snow, there is much snow between the houses'; 1952 **agaliin agikux̂** 'he passed behind you'; **udan sitxiin akaliiĝutal aangan** 'when he started passing there under him (3R) again' (N.M. 3:75).

In the relative case such phrases constitute the adjunct of a noun or of another positional noun, e.g. A 1952 **Malas hachan tanĝii** 'the islet outside Malas (a bay)'; **hamaan isim agangan unglugan daĝaan** 'onto the pinnacle on the other side of that chasm' (N.M. 3:57); Eu 1909 **ulaam nagan anĝaĝingin** 'the people in (lit. of the inside of) his house' (J 34:150); Au 1909 **Qalgaaĝim chiiyaam kinguuĝiqagan hatʳan chiiyaa max̂taqaa** 'the young next to his (3R) youngest young that Raven treasured' (J 81:17); A 1952 **waan agalan tugidagan kugan** 'next month, lit. in the month after this one'; 1950 **Sintyaabran tugidagan nagan kugan** 'in the course of (lit. inside) the month of September' (1959:78, 7 (31)).

3.6.1.4. Phrases headed by a verbal noun

The following two types of phrases are subtypes of participial clauses (3.14.) but function as ordinary noun phrases.

3.6.1.4.1. Phrases headed by an intransitive verbal noun

The adjunct, which is in the relative singular, corresponds to the subject, the head to the verbal predicate of a simple clause, e.g. A **hla-m anguna-a** 'a big boy' - **hla-x̂ anguna-ku-x̂** 'the boy is big'; **hla-m anguna-ngis** 'big boys' - **hla-s anguna-ku-s** 'the boys are big'.

Phrases headed by verbal nouns without any tense suffix (the so-called general) correspond to clauses of most of the semantic types listed in 3.1.1.7:

state, e.g. **taangam qinganaa** 'cold water' - **taangax̂ qinganakux̂** 'the water is cold'.

age, e.g. A 1952 **tayaĝum suganĝikix** 'two young men' - **tayaĝux suganĝikux** 'the two men are young'; **ulam tagadaa** 'a new house' - **ulax̂ tagadakux̂** 'the house is new'; **ulam tagadaayulax** (E **-yulux**) 'an old house' - **ulax̂ tagadalakax̂** 'the house is old (lit. not new)'.

quality, e.g. **tayaĝum iĝamanaa** 'a good man' - **tayaĝux̂ iĝamanakux̂** 'the man is good'; A 1950 **anĝaĝinam tukungis** 'rich people' - **anĝaĝinas tukukus** 'the people are rich'.

color, e.g. A **saahmlam quhmangis** 'white eggs' - **saahmlas quhmakus** 'the eggs are white'.

size, e.g. **hyaagam aduu** 'a long log' - **hyaagax̂ adukux̂** 'the log is long'; A 1950 **alax chagim angunahlikix** 'two pretty (**-hli-**) big halibuts'.

quantity, e.g. **slukam hasinangis** 'many sea gulls' - **slukas hasinakus** 'the sea gulls are numerous'.

time, e.g. A 1981 **Punidiilnikam angalii** (**slachxizal aguun**) '(if it is nice weather) on Monday' - **Punidiilnikax̂ angalikux̂** 'it is Monday today'.

A phrase of this type may be the adjunct (in the relative case) of another verbal noun (cf. 3.14.3.1.), e.g. A 1978 **kiiĝuusim qaniixtugan qayaa** 'a snowy high mountain'; **qam iĝiĝidagan aduu** 'a slender long fish'; 1952 **tayaĝum anĝaĝiikangin uyminangis** 'able-bodied vigorous men', **tayaĝum uyminangin anĝaĝiikangis** 'vigorous able-bodied men' (N.M. 3:39, 53). With an oblique complement of the head in Ea 1909 **ilaan tayaĝum angunagan kayutungin** 'big men stronger than he' (J 41:4). With a partitive subject of the head in A 1981 **tanam atxaamugan qatuuĝikix huzuu qayaĝii** 'flat land with steep sides', lit. 'land [that is] flat its sides all having hills' (definition of **changana-x̂** 'valley, ravine'), cf. 3.1.1.6.3. A participial construction of the same type with transitive verbal nouns and objects is A 1952 **tayaĝum anax̂ maakaganulax txidix aĝix̂taasanangis** 'the men who could not do anything (were not able-bodied) and were left' (N.M. 2:1).

The phrase A 1952 **isx̂atim aguu** 'making of basket', where the adjunct corresponds to the object of the transitive verb (**isx̂atix̂ agukux̂** 'she is making a basket'), seems to be marginal, perhaps a calque from English. The regular construction is **isx̂atim agulganaa** lit. 'a basket being made'. Cf. 3.14.4.2.

3.6.1.4.2. Phrases headed by a derivative in -(**ĝ**)**a-na-**, Au -(**ĝ**)**u-na-**

The suffix is a participle of the denominative -(**ĝ**)**a-**, Au -(**ĝ**)**u-** 'to be had as N, to be used as N' (2.2.5.3.), the passive of -(**x̂**)**ta-** 'to have as N, to use as N' (2.2.4.1.). This connection is seen clearly from E 1870 **itaangix̂ kamgatukugan anĝaĝinan talax̂tanangin iliin ataqan** 'one of the women *that the first priest had as* servants, one of the first priest's maid servants' and **anĝaĝinam talaĝanagan** (rel.sg.) 'the maid servant' (Mark 14.66, 69). In other cases, however, the active construction is probably less natural, perhaps impossible, so the passive participle suffix has become a specialized suffix.

As in the cases discussed in the preceding section, the adjunct in the relative case is like a subject of the head, but the relation may be the inverse, e.g. A 1860 **isxam maazaaulax** 'a lonely place' (Mark 6.35; cf. E 1870 Matthew 14.15 **wan tanax̂ maasalakax̂** 'this place is empty, this is a lonely place') and **maazamulax isxaĝanagan il** 'in a lonely place' (Luke 9.12); in the former construction **isxa-** is like a subject, in the latter it is part of the predicate. In this pair the meaning appears to be the same, but there may also be a subtle difference of definiteness, as between the terms of a nominal sentence (3.1.2.), e.g. A 1950 **yaaĝim Hidalux̂ hiilax̂taa** 'the cape (which is) called H.' (1959:78, 10 (2)) vs. A 1952 **Chiimuusix̂ hiilax̂tanam qayaĝanaa** 'the hill called Ch., the so-called Ch. (which is) a hill' (N.M. 3:56).

The semantic relation between the adjunct and the head is frequently that of material and object (artifact or the like), e.g. A 1950 **qagnam quxsuĝanaa** 'bone wedge', E 1909 **yaagam quxsuĝanaa**, Au **hyaagam quxsuĝunaa** 'wooden wedge'; A 1952 **igluqam chux̂taqaĝanaa** 'skin clothing (coat)'; En 1910 **qalngaaĝim saĝanakix**, Au **qaglaaĝim saĝunaki** 'raven parka' (J 64:16, 87:16; **sa-x** du. 'parka'); En 1909 **alam qulanigan udaĝanangin** 'dried whale briskets' (J 41:14; **huda-** 'dried meat or fish'); A 1952 **qiigam ulaĝanangis** 'grass houses'; **chugum tugimaĝanaa** 'sandy beach' (cf. **tugimaĝim chuguu** 'the sand of the beach'); A 1950 **hamaax anaĝim qalgadaĝanaa** 'any kind of food, anything for food'. A similar relation of general and special obtains in E 1871- **anĝaĝinam umniĝanaa** 'niece', 1909 **tayaĝum umniĝanaa** 'nephew' (**umni-** '(a man's) sister's son or daughter'); A 1952 **asxinum aniqduĝanaa** 'girl baby'; A 1860 **ayagam awaĝanaa** 'maid servant' (Mark 14.69), but also **tahlam anĝaĝiĝanaa** 'servant woman' (John 18.17; E 1870 **anĝaĝinam talaĝanaa** 'woman servant'). Another adjunct is added as in 3.6.1.1. in A 1860 **kamgatukuugamagim awangin ayagaĝanangin iliin ataqan** 'one of the high priest's servant women' (Mark 14.66; for E see above), but in the way not accepted on Atka in 1977 (3.6.1.1.) in Eu 1910 **Nawan-Alaxsxim tuunuchx̂aadam chaayaĝanangin** 'the Unalaska band' (J 39:24; **tuunuchx̂aada-** 'wind instrument', **chaaya-** 'musical instrument').

Salamatov 1860 also used phrases headed by a personal name, the adjunct corresponding to a determiner (3.6.2.2.) in Eastern, e.g. **adamas Iaakovaĝanaa** 'our father Jacob' (John 4.12; E 1870 **tumaniin adax̂ Iaakuvax̂**); **asx̂ax̂tam uhngigan Maarfaĝanagan Ngaan tunux̂takuu** 'the deceased's sister Martha said to Him' (John 11.39; E 1870 **tanaadaqadanam hungii, Maarfam, Ngaan tunux̂taqaa**).

And he used phrases with a numeral adjunct corresponding to a numeral determiner (3.6.2.1.), e.g. **chaang hadim sisax̂ aakas anĝaĝinaĝanangis** 'about five thousand people' (Luke 9.14); without the possessive suffix of the head **chaang hadim sisam anĝaĝinaĝanaziin** 'to five thousand people' (Mark 8.19; likewise John 6.67); **hatix̂ hadim sisaĝanaa** 'ten thousand, lit. ten ten-times hundred', **algidim hatix̂ hadim sisaĝanangis** 'twenty thousand, lit. twice ten ten-times hundred' (Luke 14.31).

The adjunct is a participle with an object in the above-mentioned frequent type **Chiimuusix̂ hiilax̂tanam qayaĝanaa** '(a) hill called Ch.'. Likewise A 1977 **qanan liidam sunaĝanaa** 'what kind of ship, lit. a ship like which'. Examples of more complex adjunct phrases are A 1952 **skuunax̂ hiilax̂tadaa-aqax̂ matam sunaĝanaa** 'a ship of the kind (like the one) one would call a schooner' (N.M. 2:26); Au 1909 **il yaxtayaayanaam qugaĝunaa**, E **ilan aĝax̂tadanaam qugaĝanaa** 'a spirit that he used to enter into' (J 81:32); A 1860 **smookvas il taxsalgadagan awaagiĝanaa** 'the time at which one gathers figs' (Mark 11.13); Eu 1910 **tayaĝum chadux̂ atx̂uum kadiin yuchx̂idaa liidam ungiikaĝanaa ama tunusaĝanaa** 'a story or narrative (such as) about a man letting oil run from his fingertips' (J 39:11); Ea 1909 **alamagim ludaĝiganulux an'gan isxalakan qunalitxin isxaasagan chigdaĝanaa** 'a gut parka which the gut of a humpback whale that had none older than itself was not enough to make, [and] which was pieced out with its throatfolds' (J 9:43). The head of these constructions corresponds, in the way indicated above, to the subject of the more common participial constructions discussed in 3.14.

The participial **-na-** of these constructions admits another derivational suffix before it, e.g. A 1952 **quganam unglu-ĝa-kucha-na-gan** rel. 'a small rock pinnacle (a small pointed rock)' (N.M. 3:76); **haakus igluqam ayx̂aasi-ĝa-hli-nangis malgal huzungis** 'all those (whatever) skin boats there were' (N.M. 1:16); A 1971 **chiqim ula-ĝa-za-naa ulax̂tal, qiigas ilax̂taa ulax̂tal, ...** '(my parents) used to (**-za-**) live in a sod house, lived in grass [hut(s)] too'. In this way too a noun phrase make partake of the clause structure as a whole.

3.6.2. Determiner phrases

Determiners, taken in a broad sense, may be (1) quantifying, (2) identifying, (3) relational or ordinal, (4) demonstrative.

3.6.2.1. Quantifying determiners

The most important quantifying determiners are the cardinal numerals, simple and phrasal (2.1.5.). They determine the number marking of the head in a more or less regular way.

The four lowest numerals and the head noun agree in number. With **ataqan** 'one' the head noun is in the singular, but for plural nouns indicating composite objects (2.1.1.3.1.) the numeral has a plural form, e.g. **ataqan alux̂** 'one letter (of the alphabet)', A 1840- **ataqakus aluĝis** 'one book'. E **aalax**, A **alax**, Au **ulax** 'two' entails the dual (in later Atkan replaced by the plural), e.g. A 1950 **alax tayaĝux** 'two men'; Au 1909 **ulax isuĝix** 'two seals' (J 80:10); Ea 1983 **alaalux sax** 'two bird parkas' (2.1.5.7.). E **qaankun**, A **qankus**, Au **qaku(n)** 'three' and E, Au **sichin**, A **siching** 'four' entail the plural, e.g. Eu 1909 **qaankun iqyan** 'three baidarkas' (J 40:30); A 1950 **qankus tayaĝus** 'three men'; Ea 1983 **qankuulun san** 'three ducks each' (2.1.5.7.); E, Au **sichin angalin**, A **siching angalis** 'four days'. The head noun may have an adjunct and/or a possessive suffix, e.g. En 1936 **ataqan kavkaanang** 'one trap of mine'; E 1838 **aalax hachigaqakin** 'two of his disciples' (Matthew 11.2; 1870 **hachigaqaam iliin aalax** like the Russian), A 1860 with a plural **alax achigaqatxin** (Luke 7.19); Eu 1909 **aalax Kanaaĝi(m) suganĝikix** 'two young Koniag men' (J 34:100).

chaang 'five' and the higher numerals entail mostly the singular of the head noun, e.g. A 1952 **chaang slux̂** 'five years', **hatix̂ slux̂** 'ten years', **qankus sisax̂ chngatux̂** 'three hundred sea otter' (N.M. 2:35, 20); Eu 1909 **chaang chngatux̂** 'five sea otter', **atix̂ angalix̂** 'ten days', **aalgidim atix̂ ataqan signax̂taa ama aalax signax̂taa slux̂** 'twenty-one or twenty-two years', but **atuung ulux̂ta-n** 'six baidarkas' (J 40:8, 16, 2, 66); En 1936 **atim signaĝii qamgaang** 'more than ten geeze'. In the biblical translations, however, also the plural was used, e.g. E 1870 **chaang tugidax̂**, but A 1838, 1860 **chaang tugidas** 'five months'; A 1860 **sichidim hatix̂ angalix̂**, but E 1870 **sichidim hatix̂ angalin** 'forty days' (Mark 1.13); A 1860 **uluung xleebas**, E 1870 **uluung x̂liiman** 'seven loaves' (Mark 8.6); with case agreement A 1860 **hatim alax signax̂tagan achixaqas il(ing)iin** '(one) of the twelve disciples' (Mark 14.43, Luke 22.47, John 6.71; E 1870 without the noun **hatim aalax signax̂tagan ilaan**).

The interrogative **qanaang** 'how many' goes with the plural as well as with the singular, e.g. A 1950 **qanaang tayaĝus** 'how many men' (like **qankus tayaĝus** 'three men'), **qanaang anĝaĝinax̂** 'how many people'. So also A 1952- **qanan azax̂** lit. 'being (amounting to) which': **qanan azax̂ asxus** '(about) how many nails (are there)', **qanan azax̂ isux̂** 'how many seal (will the boat take)'.

Approximation is expressed by the transitive verbal noun **aaka-** 'can be, about', with the determiner or the whole phrase as an object, e.g. Eu 1909 **sichidim atix̂ signaĝii aakax̂ ulux̂tax̂** 'more than some forty baidarkas', **aalax nidilix aakax** 'about two weeks', **atuungidim atix̂ miilix̂ aakax̂** 'about sixty miles' (J 40:19, 13, 81); A 1937 **chaangidim hatix̂ signaĝii aakax̂ ayx̂aasix̂** 'more than some fifty boats'; A 1860 **algidim hatim chaang signax̂taa amasxuu qankudim hatix̂ aakax̂ atxitix̂** 'about twenty-five or thirty furlongs' (John 6.19); A 1860 **qankus tugidas aakas**, E 1870 **qaankun tugidan aakan** 'about three months' (Luke 1.56). The nominal **ilaanu-** 'proximity' is used correspondingly as the head of the determiner and as the head of an adjunct phrase in Eu 1909 **sichidim atix̂ chaang ama chaangidim atix̂ ilaanuu miilix̂** 'about twenty-five or thirty miles', **sichiingidim atix̂ miilim ilaanuu** 'about ninety miles' (J 40:77, 79).

Examples of other quantifying determiners are A 1860 **qalaĝix̂ hitxulix̂** 'much fruit' (John 15.8), but the head of an adjunct phrase in **uĝayanas qalaĝingis** 'many physicians' (Mark 5.26); E 1909 **ilam axtax̂ qax̂** 'too much fish'; A 1981 **ataqan paarax̂ kluuchinas** 'one pair of oarlocks', **alax paaras ux̂aasis** 'two pairs of oars';

Eu 1910 **waygim qagnagan ataqan ichaa qaqax̂** 'one full mussel shell of food' (J 36:25); A 1978 **luusxilĝum chx̂aalquzaa saalax̂** 'a heaped big spoon of lard'; **qankus luusxikucham imdangis mukam zaariĝii** 'three small spoonfuls of fried flour'; **alax chaasxim imdakix mukax̂** two cupfuls of flour'; **chaasxim imdaa aakax̂ taangax̂** 'about a cupful of water'; **luukam angaa aakax̂ isikuchas** 'small slices of about half of an onion', lit. 'about half of onion small slices'.

3.6.2.2. Identifying determiners

These phrases are headed by a personal name. The determiner may be simple or have an adjunct and/or a possessive suffix, e.g. A 1909 **suganĝix̂ Qiiliĝliiĝux̂** 'the young man Q.' (J 78:222); A 1977 **Adax̂ Paavilax̂** 'Father (priest) Paul'; Ea 1910 **Chisung tukuu Aagluudax̂** 'the chief of Ch. Little Killer Whale' (J 32:1); A 1973 **hlaan Piitrax̂** 'his (own) son Peter'; Au 1909 **uging Qaglaax̂** 'my husband Raven' (J 82:37); En 1982 **uging sistraa Aagustax̂** 'my husband's sister Augusta'.

With the head in the relative case the determiner is in the absolutive case or agrees with the head, e.g. A 1977 **Adax̂ Paavilam hadan** 'to Father Paul', but **braatamis Piitram ngaan** 'to your brother Peter'; En 1984 **amaan aliĝaadax̂ Maarkagan** 'of that little old man Mark'; En 1934 **braataa Laarigan** 'his brother Larry's', but Ea 1910 **chikiidaam Aagluudam ilan** 'into (the house of) his brother-in-law Little Killer Whale' (J 32:3); A 1860 **Iaakovam agiitudaa Ioannam** 'James's brother John's' (Mark 5.37; E 1870 **Iuannam, Iaakuvam agiitudagan**, an apposition), but A 1909 **Kanaaĝim tukuga(n) Tumgam Hlaadaĝanagan** 'the Koniag chief Tusk-Boy' (J 76:292).

3.6.2.3. Relational and ordinal determiners

Relational nouns, derived by the suffix **-uuĝi-** from positional nouns (2.1.6.3.2.) or demonstratives (2.1.7.8.), have as determiners invariably the abs.sg. form in **-x̂**, e.g. A 1950- **Qagaaĝix̂ Kiiĝuusix̂** 'Eastern Mountain' (Amlia 160), **Suung qigaaĝix̂ chaxaa** 'the eastern hollow of S.' (bight, Atka 569); **ingaaĝix̂ nidilim kugan** '(in) next week'; Eu 1909 **aman kinguuĝix̂ tayaĝux̂** 'that youngest man', **amaan kinguuĝix̂ tayaĝ(u)maan** 'to that youngest man' (J 34:15, 18); Ea 1983 **qaluuĝix̂ kigusin** 'inner teeth, molars'. With the relational noun as the head of an adjunct phrase the relation is the inverse, cf. E 1909 **waaĝix̂ ulax̂** 'the nearest house (the house on this side)' and **ulam waaĝii** 'this side of the house'.

Ordinal numerals constituted by the transitive noun **hiisi-x̂** (2.1.5.6.) with a head in the relative case may have the abs.sg. form or agree in case with the head, e.g. A 1951 **siching hiisix̂ angalim ilan** 'on the fourth day'; E 1870 **qaankun hiisix̂ / hiisim angalim ilan** 'on the third day' (John 2.1 / Luke 13.32). The alternative is the cardinal numeral as the head of an adjunct phrase (3.6.1.2.), e.g. A 1860 **angalim qankungin ilan** or **angalim qankugan ilan** (ibid.).

The ablative form **itxaan** is used as a determiner as well as an oblique term, e.g. A 1950 **itxaan tanadgusim kugaan waaĝakux̂** 'he came from another village'; En 1910 **itxaan tanan kungiin** 'from other villages' (J 59:19).

3.6.2.4. Demonstrative determiners

The pronominal forms of the demonstratives (2.1.7.3.) and of the interrogative **qana-** (2.1.8.3.1.) used as determiners agree in case and number with the head. The head may be a simple noun or a complex noun phrase, e.g. **wan angalix̂** 'this day, today'; A 1950 **waan tayaĝum aluqangis** 'this man (by my side) has written it (pl.)'; **ikakus ayagas** 'the women over there'; A 1952 **akaan yaaĝim kugaan** 'down from the point out there' (N.M. 3:22); En 1983 **aman sistrang** 'that sister of mine'; **udan Atx̂am uhlii** 'this Atka only, only Atka here' (N.M. 3:113); En 1910 **aman asxinuum chimignuu** '(that) his daughter's big toe' (J 60:17); **hikan kiiĝuusim chugum hadan hikang anaa hangal** 'climbing that mountain up there on the north side' (N.M. 3:12); A 1984 **udakus uuquchiingis udang anangis** 'the(se) foxes that are here'; A 1860 **hamakus hatim qamchiing signax̂taa anĝaĝinaĝanangis** 'those eighteen persons' (John 13.4); Eu 1910 **amaan isuĝim igluqagan nagan** 'into the skin of the seal (the skin of that seal or that sealskin)' (J 35:23); A 1952 **haakus naahadan tanangin Aligutangin huzuugizangin ilingiin ayx̂al** 'travelling to (along) all the Aleuts of those islands to the west' (N.M. 3:103); with rare order Eu 1909 **aman - Kanaaĝ(im) tukug(a)n am(a)n ulaa** 'that - that house of the Koniag chief' (J 34:168)'. In Eastern, as mentioned in 3.6.1.1., the demonstrative determiner may indicate the number of a following adjunct in the rel.sg., e.g. Ea 1910 **amakux tayaĝum ulaa** 'the house of those two men' (J 15:11); Eu 1909 **amakux laam kugan maqan** 'what had been done to those two sons of his' (J 34:156); likewise A 1937 **udakus tanam anĝaĝinangis** 'the people of these islands'.

The adverbial case forms of the demonstratives (2.1.7.4.) are used also as determiners of oblique phrases, e.g. A 1952 **hikang kiiĝuusi(m) kangan** 'up there on top of the mountain', **hakaax kiiĝuusimax kangagaan** 'down from their mountain up there' (N.M. 3:17, 21); **umang nam-hadanAguulux̂ hiilax̂tanam ilan** 'there on the south side at [the bay] called A.' (N.M. 2:3); **umang chugum hadan haakus udangin ilingiin ayx̂al** 'sayling there in those bays on the north side' (N.M. 2:2).

3.6.3. Coordinate phrases

There are two types of coordinate constructions: (1) juxtaposition without a conjunction, (2) constructions with a conjunction.

3.6.3.1. Juxtaposition

These phrases are typically binary but there may also be longer enumerations, e.g. A 1952 **saaxarax̂, mukax̂ saaxarax̂, suxarix̂** 'sugar, flour [and] sugar, biscuit[s]', **qalgadax̂, qax̂, ulux̂, huzuugizaa** 'food, fish, meat, all of it', **haakus Unangam chux̂taqangis uliigis, igluqas, an'gim chigdaĝanangis** 'those Aleut clothes, boots, hides, gut parkas' (N.M. 1:9, 15, 16); **qaatuuĝikix qala** 'both sides [and] the head of it (bay)' (N.M. 3:11); Au 1909 **(ataqa) anaan ayagaan (agiitaa as)** '(alone with) his mother [and] his wife' (J 82:73). Note the use of **huzungis** 'all of them' in the enumeration A 1952 **Kanaga, Adaagix̂, Sitxinax̂, udakus Atxax̂ huzungis, Amlax huzungis** 'Kanaga, Adak, Sitkin, Atka here and all (lit. these Atka

[and] all), Amlia [and] all' (N.M. 3:108).

Binary phrases may be the adjunct of a larger phrase, both terms possibly in the relative case, e.g. A 1952 **Qawalangis Niiĝuĝis huzuugizangis** 'all the Eastern Aleuts and the Andreanof Islanders' (N.M. 3:1); **iĝanaasingin uĝalungin huzuugizangis** 'all their weapons and spears' (N.M. 3:39); En 1910 **ayagaam aniqduum-ikin** 'to his wife and child' (J 48:56); En 1949 **chaam chiidgiidaam kukiin** 'by his hands and knees'; Ea 1983 **alaĝum tana(m) saa** 'sea and land bird[s]'. However, the initial term may also remain in the absolutive case: A 1952 **alaĝum qaa chiĝanam qagan huzuugizaa** 'all the ocean fish and river fish' (N.M. 1:52).

The one term is anaphoric in A 1952 **Niiĝuĝis txidix chikiidax̂taqalil** 'they (the Eastern Aleuts) and the Andreanof Islanders having become (lit. begun to have each other as) in-laws' (N.M. 3:4).

3.6.3.2. Constructions with a conjunction

The conjunctions are **kayux** 'also; E and also, and'; **ama** (old E also **hama**) 'or; A, Au and'; E **amayux** 'and, and also'; E **amasix**, A **amas** 'and' (**asix, as** 'with'); E **aguunulux**, A **asxuunulax**, **asxuu**, **amasxuu** 'or' (lit. 'if it is not'), E also **aasxuunulux** (**aasa-guun-ulux** lit. 'if does not'); cf. the entries in *Aleut Dictionary*.

There may be two or several terms, e.g. Eu 1909 **angalix̂ kayux amax** (J 40:79), A 1952 **angalix̂ ama amgix̂** 'day and night' (N.M. 3:99); A 1950 **hlaning ama Aqlax̂ ama Hux̂sunux̂** 'my sons and Hothead and Stink' (nicknames, 1959:78, 10 (1)); **itx̂aygis ama isuĝis ama qawas ama qagmangis ama hamaax anaĝim qalgaakanagan huzuu** 'reindeer and seal and sea lion and emperor geese and anything that can be eaten' (1959:77, 7 (12)); A 1860 **adaan ama ting**, E 1870 **Txin adaan kayux ting** 'your father and I' (Luke 2.48); Eu 1909 **kadim-ad(a)n amayux ukaa-hadan** 'fore and aft' (J 34:98); A 1973 **sas asxuunulax qagmangis asxuunulax qawas haqaasamasukux̂** 'perhaps he is bringing ducks or emperor geese or sea lion(s)'. Examples with numerals in 3.6.2.1.

As an adjunct, only the final term is in the relative case, so at least in Atkan and Attuan: A 1971 **sunax̂ Atx̂ax̂ amas Adaagim akayuu agikux̂** 'the boat goes between (lit. passes the strait of) Atka and Adak'; A 1978 **hmiichix̂ ama qam ngaan anax malgax̂** 'that is a bat (club) for both ball and fish'; A 1977 **braataan ama Piitramaan** 'to your brother and Peter', **braataan ama sistramis ngaan aĝada** 'give it (or them) to your brother and your sister'; Au 1952 **inkax̂ ama alaĝum imyix hnuusik** 'horizon, lit. the meeting of sky and ocean'.

Cf. the use of **asix** 'with' (contained in **amasix, amas**) as in Ea 1910 **ungiin aniqduu asix sulix** 'taking his sister and (with) her child' (J 32:22).

3.7. Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials relate to the verbal tenses (2.1.9.) and to verbal auxiliaries (3.8.1.3.). They consist of or contain a temporal noun (cf. 2.1.1.4.2.) or are pronominal (2.1.7.6., 2.1.8.3.4.). Some temporal nouns are used also as verbal auxiliaries (3.8.1.3.). Unlike local objects (3.2.5.3.) and oblique terms (3.3.) of the clause the temporal adverbials are outside the system of personal reference but are comparable also to temporal clauses (cf. 3.11.). Most of them are in the absolutive case, the rest in an adverbial case or in the relative.

3.7.1. Adverbials in the absolutive case

Adverbials in the absolutive case indicate a definite point of time, some length of time, or recurrency, depending upon the constituents or the context.

With a demonstrative determiner (3.6.2.4.) the temporal noun indicates a definite point of time, e.g. Eu 1909 **wan qanax kuluuman uluu alanalakan qanagikux̂** 'this winter cow meat is plentiful' (J 38:21); **kayux ingan angalix̂ sunax̂ ayugnax̂** 'and that day the ship put out' (J 40:15); Eu 1910 **ingan qilax̂ Usilam asix iklaaĝan ix̂takan** 'the next morning Usilax̂ said he would gather firewood with him' (J 35:13); A 1952 **wan angalix̂ alqus maamis ax̂sit** 'what are you going to do today (lit. this day) ?'; **hingan qan'gix̂ haagal asx̂alanas hiilax̂tazadas** 'that winter they starved to death, it is said' (N.M. 3:110); Au 1952 **aku slux̂ taanaxsaayanaĝulaq** 'last summer I did not go out camping'.

The noun may also be specified by an adjunct (3.6.1.1.), e.g. A 1979 **Chitviirkam angalii qaniiganax̂** 'it snowed on Thursday'; A 1950 **qilagan qilaa ayangix̂ malgaqax̂** 'yesterday morning it was foggy'. The adjunct may also be clausal, possibly anaphoric, e.g. Eu 1909 **kalikan chaasanam-ngaan usukix waaĝaalalix nung ax̂sxaqagan angalii ax̂qaking** 'I gave both of them to the postmaster (lit. the one handling letters) on the day they were brought to me' (J 38"3).

If it has a quantifying determiner (3.6.2.1.) or is headed by a quantifier (3.6.1.2.) the temporal noun indicates a certain length of time, e.g. Eu 1909 **atuungidim atix̂ miilix̂ aakax̂ atim chaang signax̂taa chasax̂ iqyaĝinan** 'they paddled about sixty miles in fifteen hours' (J 40:81); A 1950 **sichiing tugidax̂ anĝaĝikux̂** 'she is nine months old, lit. she is (has been) living for nine months'; A 1952 **slum huzuu chix̂tal slukux̂** 'it has been raining all summer'; Eu 1910 **ulaam ilaan tugidam chimikaa slaaĝax̂talakax̂** 'he has not been out of his house for a whole month'(J 39:61); A 1952 **angalim agnagan huuzuu ukaaĝazanax̂** 'he used to visit here every day (lit. all passing day)'.

Some similar examples: Au 1949 **tuglyax̂ tuung ul mayaaĝnan** 'we stayed there trapping for a month' (1959:127, 36 (12)); A 1952 **angalix̂ ama amgix̂ saĝanax̂ ax̂tanax̂txidix hiisax̂tanas hiilax̂tazadas** 'they said that they must have slept a day and a night, it is said' (N.M. 3:99); **amgix̂ akiitax̂ amgix̂sxaqas ax̂takus** 'they were watched even at night' (N.M. 3:34); **hingamatal tugidaĝahlinax̂ hingay hiilax̂tal** 'like that it was going on every month' (N.M. 1.19).

The exact meaning of **qanax** 'winter' depends on the preceding sentence, which has **qan'gim ilan** 'in the winter', in En 1909 **Nuĝaĝiqax̂ qasilix saaqudakadaguum, qan'gim ilan qaĝanaasax̂ maqax̂talix qanakuum, qasiqangin chugadaqalinaĝulux. Qasiqangin tataam qanax chugaaĝutaagiimulux, ...** 'N., after spending the summer storing food, would give celebrations in the winter and run out of food. Having again run out of stored food one winter, ...' (J 44:1-2).

3.7.2. Adverbials in an adverbial case or in the relative

Several positional nouns are used in a temporal sense, in the locative and/or in the ablative, see *Aleut Dictionary* under **agal-**, **al-**, **haza-**, **asl-**, **guudg-**, **i-**, **il-**, **kad-, ku-, sitx-, utm-**. An example is **qan'gim ilan** 'in the winter' at the end of the preceding section. Another is A 1952 **slux̂ agnagan huzugan ilan txidix agiidal** 'visiting each other every summer', barely different from the absolutive **slux̂ agnagan huzuu** (N.M. 3:5-6). The adjunct may be clausal (see 3.14.4.4) or anaphoric, without a suffixal reference in the verb, e.g. A 1952 **agalagaan** 'after that' (N.M. 3:77). In A 1952 **wan angalimaan atxax̂sangan aĝikung** 'I'll fix it today (lit. for this day)' **wan** is in the absolutive case like a subject of the ambivalent **angali-** 'day, be day'.

The special ablative forms E **amgaan**, A **amgaax** 'at night, by night, in the night', etc. (2.1.1.4.2.)) seem to be contrastive (at night rather than in the day-time), e.g. A 1950 **amgaax alax signax̂tam ilan waaĝal amaxsis** 'they came back at twelve o'clock in the night', cf. 1952 **hingamatal angalinax̂ aguun, amgim ilan uĝlaangii tanax̂ chiĝnix̂tadax̂** 'when it has been a day like that (sunny), in the night dew falls and makes the ground wet' (1959:78, 10 (5), and 80, 13 (31)).

The apparent relative forms **qilam** 'in the morning, this morning', **qilagan** 'tomorrow', A also 'yesterday', E **yam** 'yesterday', etc., probably reflect locative forms (Eskimo **-mi, -ni**).

The pronominal forms **qanayaam** 'when', **wayaam** 'now, nowadays', **hamahliim** 'long time ago', and the particle **tataam** 'again', **tatahliim** 'once again', have a 3R sg. suffix, apparently in reference to the time rather than to a person.

Multiplicatives in **-di-m** (2.1.5.3.) may also be temporal, e.g. A 1950 **slumaan ataqadim sunam** *North Star* **asax̂taa anaĝis laavkimaan waaĝasazakux̂** 'the ship called North Star brings goods to the store once a year' (1959:78, 7 (37)); En 1935 **angalim ngaan aalgidim isuĝim uluu qalix** 'eating seal meat twice a day'.

3.8. Verb phrases

The verbal part of a single clause, final or non-final, may be a single verbal form, marked for mood/tense (2.1.9.) and possibly modified by some derivational suffix(es), notably for tense or modality (2.2.6.8-9.). Or it may be a phrase headed by an auxiliary verb, also marked for mood/tense (including zero, the general) and possibly modified by some derivational suffix(es). As most of the auxiliaries are used also as independent verbs the phrases have close affinities with the complex sentences to be discussed in the next sections. The phrases are (1) headed by indexical auxiliaries and (2) periphrastic expressions of performance and appearance. Cf. also Bergsland 1994b.

3.8.1. Phrases headed by indexical auxiliaries

These auxiliaries include (1) the neutral **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be' and certain derivatives, (2) demonstrative verbs in **-ma-** (2.1.7.7.), (3) temporal and (4) modal auxiliaries.

3.8.1.1. a-, Au u- 'to be'

Phrases with the conjunctive may have the same meaning as simple forms and may serve to simplify the morphology, especially in the case of stems in **-t-** and in the anterior and conditional (see 2.1.9.8-9.). The examples are Atkan and Attuan, e.g. A 1950 **anaĝix̂ hamang uku-lakan a-na-q = uku-na-ĝ-ula-q** 'I did not see anything there'; Au 1949 **hingaa qilaa uchiitila(m) tayaĝuĝunaa asqas unan** 'next morning they killed the male teacher' (1959:126, 34 (14)), probably = **asqahnan**; A 1860 **Adam hadagaan hisix Anaq** 'I came forth from the Father' (John 16.28; E 1870 differently); A 1909 **tanaĝiim hadan ixchiqalil anax̂taa(n)** 'after he had started on the way back to his territory' (J 77:245), presumably = **ixchiqalinax̂taan**; **qaqat inas aam [= inatxaam]** 'after he had finished his food' (J 77:141); **changasxa aqaan [= changatxaan]** '(the skin) he had put on' (J 77:50); ... **hiilax̂takux̂ tutalka adaan** [presumably = **tutadaan**] **maasal** 'because he had heard (usually) it being said that ...' (J 76:193).

Another usage is the combination with a series of conjunctive forms (cf. 3.9.), e.g. A 1950 ...**slachxizaguu sadahligan tunumkal aygaxs aalux̂tal azakus** 'when it is fine weather they are outside talking, walking and smiling' (1959:77, 7 (15); the suffix **-za-** 'usually' marks the whole series); A 1840 ... **ngaan hiisax̂talka, ... ngaan hiisax̂talka, ... ngaan hiisax̂talka aqaa** 'telling her ..., telling her ..., told her (to do so and so)' (V B 3:5-8).

The copula combines also with participipial tenses (2.1.9.3.), e.g. with the general of a demonstrative auxiliary in A 1971 **kiin akux̂ haqal hingamax̂ aax̂taa** (dubitative) 'wonder who is the one coming there'; A 1860 **hamayaa un'gix̂tachi ax̂** 'on him you rely' (John 5.45, E 1870 **haman txichi un'gitaachi**; translates a Russian relative clause). In a non-final clause the copula serves mostly as a connective, see 3.16 (4).

With the suffix **-x̂ta-** the copula serves as an inferential auxiliary, see 3.8.1.4. below.

3.8.1.2. Demonstrative auxiliaries

The demonstrative auxiliaries serve to indicate the place or time of the state or activity in the speech situation or in the context (cf. 2.1.7.1.); sometimes there is another form of the same demonstrative in the same clause. As the demonstrative verbs are used also as simple predicates (2.1.7.7.) the use as auxiliaries is not quite distinctive. They most frequently head a verb in the conjunctive but combine also with the intentional and other verbal forms.

3.8.1.2.1. Phrases with the conjunctive

The forms with the simple suffix **-ma-** appear to combine most frequently with the conjunctive of intransitive or reflexive verbs, e.g. A 1950 (**ting asx̂anil angaliqaang mal**) **uymina-lakan gumakuq** '(because I got tired today) I don't feel quite well now' (1959:78, 8 (6)); **qanaax haqa-l hingamax̂txidix** 'where do you (two) come from ?' (shorter: **qanaax haqax̂txidix**); **hlak haqa-lakan hamamakux** 'my two sons did not come in'; **chix̂tax̂ txin haaĝataatu-lakan umamakux̂** 'the rain will not be stopping now' (1959:78, 10 (8)); A 1952 **qanan tanax̂ al sakaax kuuĝa-l sakamax̂ saka** 'which island is emerging out there ?' (reportedly said about Kasatochi Island when it was emerging); Eu 1909 **hix̂talix wakun qidaasalix qidalix gumanaan away hinax̂ awa** 'he said that he was crying because of them (lit. crying because of these he was crying)' (J 34:84).

The main verb may also be transitive but then the auxiliary may also be transitivized by the suffix **-usa-**. Examples with the simple auxiliary: Eu 1910 **agaya waan aslaan saagamagim madangin ma-lix agama-kux̂ aga hi?** 'is that one up there behaving now in the usual way of an eagle (lit. doing what an eagle usually does) ?' (J 35:58); A 1971 **ayx̂aasiin sakaaĝati-l akama-kux̂** 'he is pushing out his boat out there'; A 1909 **ilguu ayagax̂tanaaĝiiĝan haqa-l guma-qaan hiisax̂talka** 'saying that (s)he was coming to marry her granddaughter' (J 78:183; anaphoric reference to the referent of **ilguu** 'her granddaughter'). Examples with the transitivized auxiliary: A 1952 **plaastiralĝita-l hingama-asa-kung** 'I put a plaster on it, you see' (1959:80, 13 (25)); **hamang adum akangan hachita-l hamama-asa-l** 'having him jammed up there against the ceiling of the cave' (N.M. 3:76).

The same kind of agreement obtains in the passive, e.g. A 1952 **hingay qulangiin qan'gimaan anaĝis taxsanaax̂-sxa-l guma-lga-zakux̂** 'that is why we are storing things (supplies) for the winter' (1959:80, 13 (17)); **hiikulgal ud-hadan anĝaĝinangis sam igluqangis chux̂tanas hi-ila-ĝa-l guma-lga-zakus** 'that is why the people around here are said to have worn bird-skin clothes' (N.M. 1:40).

Derivatives in **-ma-ta-**, which add a nuance of quality ('to be or do like DEM'), are used in the same way as the simple ones, e.g. A 1950 **alqus anuxtal hingamatat** 'what are you thinking about (being like that)'; A 1952 **... qanang kum anuxtaasal umamatal, saĝaaĝan aqaliguun, qachx̂iin ilaa kuum inaqaam amduxs igiim nadusaqadaguum, tutal hagumataqalizanax̂t hiisax̂tanax̂** 'wondering where he (his partner) could be, when he was on the point of falling asleep, when he pinched his own skin, he began to become alert (lit. feel), he said' (N.M. 3:89); Eu 1909 **aqadaagiim tunulak(a)n ingamtalik(u)x̂ haway amasxaqax̂** 'then he remained silent (lit. did not talk) until he was asked' (J 34:88).

3.8.1.2.2. Phrases with the intentional

The intentional indicates an activity starting with or subsequent to the situation marked by the auxiliary (cf. 3.10.), e.g. A 1950 **qanaanu-umis hingamax̂t** 'where are you going ?'; A 1952 **qignax̂ imus alitxu-uĝan hamamanas** 'they intended to attack going around the fire' (N.M. 3:65); A 1909 **gumatahlix̂ ma-aĝan**

gumanaĝulaxt mal 'as he did not intend to do only like that (lit. like this)' (J 77:144); Ep 1941 **amakun alanaax̂sa-akigin gumanatxin atxax̂txalinax̂** 'he started to prepare those with which he was going to hunt whale'.

Heading the intentional of a transitive verb the auxiliary is transitivized in A 1952 **sul igiim ayagaasa-aĝan haguma-asa-naan hix̂takuu** 'he said that he was going to take her for his wife' (1959:80, 16 (3)); Au 1909 **asqas-aĝika tagama-asa-kuun maasaka**, E **asx̂as-akagan aguma-asa-kuun maasakan** 'because he did so in order to kill him (or: because he was about to kill him)' (J 80:32).

The corresponding passive (suffix **-ula-**) is used in A 1909 **hama(n) ayagax̂ ayaga[ĝ]aaĝ(an) hamamaalaqaa ukuĝaadahlimulax** ... 'the woman who was going to be married was not even seen ...' (J 77:234). The following construction with the active optative is rather an instance of a complex sentence (cf. 3.10.1.2): A 1952 ... **mal haman qignax̂ imus asx̂asax̂tas hamamaalakus mal** ... 'so as they were induced (lit. done so to) to attack (lit. kill) going around that fire' (N.M. 3:61; likewise 3:110).

3.8.1.2.3. Constructions with the present and the remote past

The demonstrative verb seems to function as an auxiliary in Eb 1984 **chimingin ukux̂tak(u)ng gumaasakung** 'I just saw the tracks of it', with the transitivizing suffix **-usa-** in agreement with the preceding transitive verb. But the following instances, where the object of the main verb is the subject of the demonstrative verb, have the structure of complex sentences (cf.3.11.2.5.2.): A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ sismita-ku-ng hingamata-ku-x̂** 'that is the man I am supporting'; A 1952 **slaĝuqadal imyax̂chx̂likax̂ anuxtaasa-ku-ng umama-ku-x̂ uma** 'now I want it to become calm and possible to fish (lit. I want it to become calm and possible to fish, (it) is now)' (1959:80, 15 (1)).

Similarly with the remote past of a passive in A 1909 **wan ayagaan aniqduyuugit agiitax̂slidal asx̂asxa-qa-x̂ hagumataaĝutal ax̂takux̂ ukul** 'finding his wife lying there (in turn) killed together with her poor children' (J 76:158).

The present in the relative case indicates likewise the structure of a complex sentence (cf. 3.11.2.2.1.) in A 1950 **Piitram masinangis maqaĝihli-lakaĝ-im hamamanax̂ ax̂tal,** ... 'Peter's motor had apparently (see 3.8.1.4.) not suffered very badly then, and ...'(1959:78, 9 (10).

3.8.1.3. Temporal auxiliaries

There are two main types of temporal phrases, the one with the main verb in the intentional (2.1.9.4.2.), the other with the main verb in the conjunctive. (2.1.9.2.). Most of the phrases of the former type refer to the future while phrases of the latter type refer to the past.

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3.8.1.3.1. Phrases with the intentional

3.8.1.3.1.1. **aĝ-**, Au **uĝ-**

This auxiliary may have originated from the transitive verb **aĝ-**, Au **uĝ-** 'to put; to give', but its transitivity is determined by the preceding main verb. Together with the intentional it indicates expectation or time to come, in the present an immediate future, in the remote a remote future (the latter obsolete in modern Eastern), e.g. A **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'Peter is coming, is about to come'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝnax̂** 'Peter will come back later'.

The two terms of the phrases agree in person, e.g. A 1950 **huzukix hadamis huyaakin aĝikux** 'both of them will come to you'; A 1952 **kimiingan aĝikuq** 'I'll go down'; Ea 1910 **asx̂asxaamin aqax̂txin** '(then) you will be killed' (J 16:2); A 1950 **tataam hamangudaĝan huyaamchix aĝnax̂txichix ?** 'will you be going over there again (tomorrow) ?'. In later Atkan there is partial or full contraction in the 3.person and in the 1.person but not generally in the 2. person, e.g. 1950 old speaker **txin ukux̂tahliingan aĝnaq**, young speaker **txin ukux̂tahli-inaq** 'I'll see you later'; 1952 **txin kiduungan aĝnaq**, **txin kidu-unaq** 'I'll help you'; 1970's **waaĝa-aĝikux̂**, **waaĝaaĝikux̂** 'he's about to come', but **haqaamis aĝnax̂t ii?** or **haqaanax̂t ii?** 'are you coming later ?'

Anaphoric reference is marked in both terms in Eastern, in Atkan only in the auxiliary, e.g. Eu 1984 **suukag(a)n aĝikuu** 'he's going to take it', **suukig(i)n aĝikungin** 'they are going to take it'; Ep 1983 **suukaangan aĝikung / aĝikuning** 'I'll take it / them'; but A 1860 **ilagaan suuĝan aqaa** 'he will take it from him' (Luke 11.22); **Imis atxax̂saĝan aĝikumas** 'we will prepare it for You' (Mark 14.12); A 1950 **haqal agungis agiitaangan aĝikuning** 'if they come I'll go with them'; later A **Piitram suu(ĝan)-aĝikuu**, **suuĝikuu** 'Peter is going to take it'; **maa(ngan)-aqang**, **maaqang** 'I'll do it later'.

The phrases are used also in the conjunctive, indicating an inceptive action, in Attuan commonly a near future or a question, e.g. A 1978 **hital slaaĝax̂taangan ax̂siting** 'I am going outside for a while now'; A 1952 **kadim hadagaan malgaliin udang anĝaĝiqas ax̂tanas, ilakuchangis haqatananing imis hix̂taangan ax̂siting** 'now I shall tell you the little I know about how people lived here in the early days' (N.M. 1:1); Au 1952 **asuung usiting** 'I'll go over to the other side'; **ma angaliking maaĝaax̂ ux̂s** 'he'll be back this evening'; A 1952 **hadan huyaamis ax̂sxat ii?** 'will you be going to him ?'; Au 1952 **qanaanuum ux̂sit** 'where are you going ?' The conjunctive is used also in subordinate clauses such as the following, with a verb of utterance (cf. 3.15.3.1.): En 1983 **Voskrisiiniyam ilan chitachx̂isxaang(an) aĝiting** [= **ax̂siting**] **iistanax̂** 'he said that I would be married on Sunday'.

In old Eastern the phrases were used also in the optative, both positive and negative, e.g. Ea 1910 **Ayagam ugiĝigan ilan taaman aĝaamin aĝiix̂txin. Taĝa ayagaadam ugiĝiganulux ilan tataam aĝaadalilagaamin aĝiix̂txin.** 'By all means get inside a married woman. But do not get inside an unmarried girl again.' (J 16:14-15; story about a spirit).

In his grammatical sketch Jochelson listed negative phrases in the present and the remote: Eastern **sulagaangan aĝikuqing / aĝnaqing** 'I will not take ' (object left out), but there are no examples in his texts. In Atkan only a verb with an obligatory negation (**idax̂ta-lakan** 'to know', "not ignore") is used in this way, e.g. **idax̂talagaamis aĝikuun** 'you will recognize (know) it', **idax̂talagaamis aqaan** 'you will know it sometime'. The negated future (improbability) of other verbs is expressed by the suffix **-duuka-**, **-zuuka-** (2.2.6.8.) with a negation, the negated present **-lakaĝ-** for the foreseeable future, the negated general for the unlimited future, e.g. **Piitrax̂ waaĝaduukalakax̂** 'Peter probably won't come back (now)'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝazuukaĝulax** 'Peter will probably never come back here'. In Eastern this suffix is used also in positive statements, e.g. **qilagan ukux̂taduu(ka)kung** 'I'll see him tomorrow'.

The auxiliary may also have certain derivative suffixes, e.g. A 1952 **slaqatum iĝanaa haqaaĝan aĝiiĝutakux̂** 'terribly stormy weather will be coming again' (1959:79, 13 (12)); Au 1952 **maaĝax̂ aqalil** 'he'll soon be back' (lit. he is beginning to be about to come back).

3.8.1.3.1.2. **ax̂-ta-**

In Atkan the auxiliary **aĝ-** with the suffix -(**x̂**)**ta-** 'temporarily' or 'apparently' (2.2.6.1.) indicates in the present, in the interrogative conjunctive and in participial constructions an immediate or near past, e.g. (1970's) **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan ax̂takux̂** 'Peter came back a while ago'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan ax̂tal ii?** 'did Peter come back ?'; **Piitrax̂ waaĝalagaaĝan ax̂takux̂** 'Peter did not come back as expected'; 1950 **sabaakam kigiiĝan ax̂takuu** 'the dog bit him', **sabaakam kigiiĝan ax̂tal ii?** 'did the dog bite him ?'; *Navy*-**m sunaa al hiĝakux̂ tutaangan ax̂takung** 'I heard (a while ago) it being said to be a Navy ship' (1959:79, 11 (25)); 1840 **hingaya malgahlilix anuxtaangan ax̂takuning malix** 'just as I have been thinking it to be' (V B 1:14).

In rapid speech and commonly in the later language there is partial contraction in the 3. and 1.person, e.g. 1909 **hama[kux] hlakuchax hamamaasa(aĝan) ax̂takukin** 'the two little boys he had seen (lit. done so to) earlier' (J 76:99); 1950 (young speaker) **maaĝan hix̂ta-ax̂tanat makux̂** 'he did what he said he would do', but **maamis hix̂taamis ax̂tanat mada** 'do what you said you would do'; 1952 old speaker **alaĝum achidan timas sakaaĝasaĝin ax̂takus**, young speaker **tingin sakaaĝati-ax̂takus** 'we came down to the beach'; **kalulga-ax̂takux̂** 'we (passive) shot it'; 1973 **saxtal unalagaa-ax̂takuq** 'I was lazy and didn't cook'. In modern Atkan there is full contraction in the 3. and 1.person, e.g. **waaĝa(aĝan) ax̂takux̂ > waaĝaax̂takux̂** 'he came back a while ago'; **uku(ungan) ax̂takung > ukuux̂takung** 'I found it a while ago'.

In old Eastern of Akutan there is an example with the additional suffix **-gali-** (if not **a-x̂ta-gali-** 2.2.6.9): **asx̂aam(i)n ax̂tagilkux̂txinaan** [syncopated from **ax̂tagalikux̂txinaan**]... '(you said you would do so and so) even after you were dead' (J 2:8). The regular Eastern equivalent of the Atkan auxiliary, however, is the suffix **-*ia*qalta-** (2.2.6.8.), e.g. En 1982 **qaqadaaqaltakux̂** 'he finished eating a little while ago'; **nung aĝiiqaltakuu** 'he gave it to me a while ago'. This suffix seems to be derived from the optative-intentional ***-iaĝ-*** with the suffixes **-qall-**, which corresponds to the auxiliary **aĝ-**, and **-x̂ta-**, so the underlying idea seems to be the same as in Atkan.

3.8.1.3.1.3. A, Au **amu-**

This auxiliary may have originated from the verb **amu-** 'to dress' in an earlier sense of getting ready (cf. **hax̂sa-** 'to get ready', E also 'to dress').

In the present and in the interrogative conjunctive it indicates a near future: 'to be ready to, about to', in modern Atkan 'will soon', e.g. A 1860 **asx̂aaĝan amukux̂** '(his son who) was about to die, at the point of death' (John 4.47); Au 1909 **maqat maaĝ-amukux̂** 'he begins to behave (lit. do) as he did before' (J 81:21, E **maqalikux̂**); **saĝaax̂ amukuĝaa** 'after she had fallen asleep (lit. began to sleep)' (ibid. 24, E **saĝaqalikuĝaan**); A 1950 **waaĝaaĝan amukux̂** 'he'll be coming soon'; A 1971 **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan amul ii?** 'will Peter be coming soon ?'. It admits certain derivative suffixes, e.g. A 1950 (young speaker) **waaĝa-amuqalikux̂** 'he'll be coming soon'; A 1952 **qan'gix̂ amaatxaqadaaĝan amuuĝutakux̂** 'winter will soon again be close at hand' (said in October, 1959:79, 13 (19)). Participle of the derivative in **-usa-** (2.2.5.2.) in A 1860 **maĝaqadaasaaĝan amuusanamas** '(the fact) that we are about to perish' (Mark 4.38; E 1870 **tumaniin hikiiĝin-aĝikuniin**).

In the remote, in Atkan, the auxiliary indicates a past, in modern Atkan a distant past, possibly a distance of several years, e.g. 1950 **hamahliyaachxuzaam waaĝaangan amunaq** 'I came here a very long time ago'; **hamahliim ngus aĝiiĝan amuqaa** 'he gave it to me a long time ago'; 1971 **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaĝan amunax̂ ii?** 'did Peter come here long ago ?'; 1952 **akayux̂ imax agulal angaliilaa-amuqax̂txidix hiisax̂tanas hiilax̂tazas** 'they said that they had been taken across the strait all day (bleeding), it is said' (N.M. 3:77); 1909 **hakaax kimkalidaaĝ(an) amunax** 'while they had started descending from up there' (J 79:40); 1860 **il aaĝan amuqaam hadan** 'to where he was before' (Mark 4.38; E 1870 **kadimadaan ilan aqaam hadan**). In late Atkan the phrases are contracted and used like an English simple past, e.g. **waaĝaamunax̂** 'he came back here'; **iming aĝiimuqaa** 'he gave it to me'. In Atkan 1909 it was used also with the conjunctive: **hagumatal ulamax nagan qanguuĝutalix amunax** 'the two had gone into their house again' (J 79:43).

In traditional sentence final formulas the participle of the auxiliary may indicate a past or a fictitious future, e.g. A 1909 **txin inix̂sitaaĝ(an) amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii** 'he said he was happy, it is said' (J 76:241); Au 1909 ...**hiisax̂taax̂ amunaan hix̂tal hiĝanaĝii** '... he said that he said, it is said' (J 82:9, E **iistaqalinaan ix̂talix iĝanayii**).

Like **aĝ-**, this auxiliary does not combine with a main verb in the negative. For the future the negated **-duuka-**, **-zuuka-** (2.2.6.8.) is used, for the past the simple remote.

To **amu-** in the present may correspond E **maayu-** 'to prepare to, be about to, begin to', e.g. En 1910 **angalix̂ aqaaĝan maayukuĝ-aan** 'when dayligt was about to come' (J 55:9), transposed into Atkan 1973 as **angalix̂ haqaaĝan amukux̂**; Ea 1952 **uukigin** [Eu 1984 **nuukigin**] **maayuqalikungin** 'they were about to reach it/them'.

In Eastern the sense of 'soon' is expressed by the remote of the suffix **-*ia*qila-** (2.2.6.8.), e.g. En 1982 **Piitrax̂ waaĝaaqlanax̂** 'Peter will come back soon'; Eu 1984 **qilagan uuqlaqang** 'I'll see (lit. reach) him tomorrow'; Ea 1910 **txin akuuĝaasaaqalanaĝulting** 'I will not carry you to shore' (J 28:8). This suffix is used also in the optative, in the negative with the suffixal negation before it, e.g. Eu 1910 **saĝatulagaaqilaax̂txin** 'don't sleep late' (J 35:8). The order of the negation indicates a phrasal origin of the suffix: an apocopated intentional + **qila-** 'to do in the morning', cf. 3.8.1.3.2.1.

3.8.1.3.1.4. **saĝa-** 'to sleep; to pass the night'

As an auxiliary with the intentional this verb in the remote, in the interrogative conjunctive, and in the imperative and optative indicates a future with an interval of one night, in Eastern also a more indefinite future, e.g. A 1971 **qilagan haqaaĝan saĝanax̂** 'he will come tomorrow'; En 1936 **qilagan asla qaangan saĝaqang aqatalakaqing, taĝa Aguuĝux̂ agacha qaaĝing nung aĝiiĝan saĝanax̂ amasukux̂** 'I don't know if I'll eat anything tomorrow, but perhaps God will give me something to eat'; A 1950 **haakus anĝaĝinas huzungis imyaĝiiĝin saĝal ii?** 'will all those people go fishing (with deep-sea line) tomorrow ?'; **sadahligan imis hix̂taangan saĝaqaning** 'I'll tell it (pl.) to you outside tomorrow'; Eu 1909 (translated from Attuan) ... **qilagan txin asix Qixtikax̂ tanaadaaĝan saĝaakagan ix̂taqaa** 'said that he (the other one) should the next day visit Q. with him' (J 85:8); E 1909 **slax̂ chiĝanax̂ ulux, txin atxiiĝan saĝanax̂** 'a wind is not a river, some time or other it will stop' (proverb, Jochelson 1933:86); Ep 1941 **ukuliimin saĝaqaan** 'you will find him some day'; Eu 1984 **ux̂taang(an) saĝaqang** 'I'll go there (lit. reach it) some time (perhaps after three or four days or even a month)'. In Eastern the anaphoric reference may be marked also in the main verb, e.g. En 1982 **suukam(in)** [also **suum(in)**] **saĝada** (imper. 2.sg.), **suukamchin saĝaaqachin** (optat. 2.pl.) 'take it tomorrow'.

3.8.1.3.2. Phrases with the conjunctive

These phrases are headed by verbs that indicate (1) a certain point or portion of time, (2) a certain length of time. They have close affinity to conjoined predicates where the conjunctive qualifies the head, such as A **qidal tunux̂takux̂** '(s)he talks weepingly' (3.9.3.2.).

3.8.1.3.2.1. Point or portion of time

saĝa- in the remote is used in Atkan also with the conjunctive, to indicate a past with an interval of one night, in which case **qilagan** means 'yesterday' (E **yam**) or 'the day before', e.g. 1950 **braatang qilagan waaĝal saĝanax̂** 'my brother came back yesterday'; 1971 **qilagan saĝalakan saĝanaq** 'yesterday I could not (lit. did not) sleep'; 1950 **sabaakax̂ txin kixs saĝanax̂ ii?** 'did the dog bite you yesterday?'; **chix̂tax̂ malgal saĝaqax̂ ?** 'was it rain yesterday ?'; **ukux̂tal saĝaqang hama** 'I saw him yesterday' (1959:78, 9 (44); 1860 ... **chinglam aĝiisalka saĝaqaa** 'yesterday (at the seventh hour) the fever left him' (John 4.52); 1840 **asagaan akux̂ gumaasalka saĝaqaan ax̂takux̂ ukulix** 'seeing that it was his cousin he had done so to (killed) the day before' (V B 2:4). In Eastern the recent past (2.1.9.3.2.) is used in this sense, e.g. 1870 **yam uluung chasam ilan chinglagan ilaan agalaaĝanaa** 'yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him' (John 4.52).

The other verbs in question have an ambivalent stem (2.2.1.), used also as temporal adverbials in the absolutive case (3.7.1.). As auxiliaries they may indicate, like the adverbials, (a) a definite point of time or (b) a certain portion of time, or else are used as (c) independent verbs meaning 'to pass x (time)' or 'to be x'.

angali- 'day' is used

(a) in a final predicate in the general (no mood/tense suffix) and in non-final clauses in the sense of '(earlier) today' or '(earlier) that day', e.g. A (and E) **Piitrax̂ waaĝal(ix) angalix̂** 'Peter came back today (earlier today)'; Au 1952 **ma qilax̂ his angalix̂** 'he went out this morning'; A 1952 **haang ax̂s angaling** 'I put it there (earlier today)'; **sunang ukux̂tal angaliin ii?** 'did you see me taking it ?'; A 1952 **wan angalix̂ igax̂tax̂ kuuĝalakan angalikum qilagan agach waaĝaaĝan amasukux̂** 'today the airplane did not show up but perhaps it will come tomorrow'; A 1950 **ting asx̂anil angaliqaang mal uyminalakan gumakuq** 'because I got tired today I don't feel quite well now'; A 1950 **maangan hix̂tal angalining maangan aĝikuq** 'I'll do what I have said I'll do'; En 1909 **iqyax̂ ukux̂taqli-kan-aan** [see 3.14.3.2.1.] **angalix̂ta-na-an txin nuuĝan aqaliingan** 'when a baidarka man he had seen earlier in the day was about to reach him' (J 45:9).

(b) in a final predicate in the present or another tense and in non-final clauses in the sense of 'today, the whole day', e.g. A 1950 **chix̂tal angalikux̂** 'it is raining today'; Eu 1984 **aygaxsix angalkuqing** 'I walked all day'; A 1952 **huĝnaazax̂ malgal angalikum tax̂tikum qinganax̂ masxal** 'it was warm in the day but when it got dark it was cool'; E 1870 **tumaniin angalim husuu awalix chinglix̂ kayuĝiqadaasalix angalikuniin** 'when we have worked the whole day and got tired by the heat all day' (Matthew 20.12).

(c) as an independent verb in the sense of 'to pass the day', possibly headed by the same verb in function (a), e.g. Au 1909 **hiing angalil angaliku(m), angalix̂ inas angalix̂ uuyax̂takux̂** 'when he had passed the day there, had finished the day' (J 82:7). It has the transitivizing suffix **-usa-** in En 1910 **qasuux̂sxin angaliisaaĝutananing chugalakaĝin** 'the food I have spent the whole day again getting is not sufficient' (J 74:15). With a temporal subject it constitutes a predicate by itself (3.1.1.7.), e.g. A 1971 **aĝang angalikux̂** 'it is my birthday today (lit. my being born is today)'.

qila- 'morning', **amag-** 'night', and other temporal words or derivatives (suffix 2.2.4.5. **-x̂si-**, or **-t-**) have corresponding functions, although the difference between (a) and (b) are less clear-cut.

(a) In Atkan derivatives in **-x̂si-**, e.g. 1950 **qilam waaĝal qilax̂sis** 'they came back this morning'; **ukux̂tal qilax̂sing** 'I saw him this morning'; **kamgalgalakan qilax̂six̂** 'there was no worship (service) this morning' (1959:79, 11 (17)); **aĝal qilax̂sikux̂** 'it was born this morning' (reason for **-ku-** unclear); **amgaax alax signax̂tam ilan waaĝal amaxsis** 'they came back at 12 o'clock in the night' (1959:78, 10 (5)); **ukux̂tal angalikingsing** 'I saw him this evening' (**angali(m)-king-a**); 1952 **waaĝal dayax̂six̂**, Au **ma avix̂ maaĝal ayax̂six̂** 'he came in last night (late evening)'; but Eu 1984 **waaĝalix qilakux̂** 'he came in this morning' **=qilam waaĝ(a)laaĝanax̂** (recent past, 2.1.9.3.2.). Here perhaps also Au 1909 **misiisaaĝuung ting ayugnil qan'gaanaq** (E **qanagnaqing**) 'last winter I set out to hunt foxes' (J 80:1); A 1973 **sunam kugan ayuxtal amaxtikus** 'we went out on a ship in the night (or that night)' (**amax-t-** from Attuan); Ea 1974 **iqax̂silix qanikingtxalikux̂ awa** 'he started to build a baidarka in spring' (**qan'[g]i-(m)-king-a**).

(b) E.g. A 1977 **awal qilakuq** 'I worked all morning' (or 'I spent the morning working'); A 1950 **chix̂tal amagikux̂** 'it rained last night'; **amgim huzuu achunal amaxsikux̂** (perhaps for **amagikux̂**) 'it has been blowing all night'; Eu 1984 **umladalix amaxkuqing** 'I woke up several times (**-da-**) last night'; Eu 1909 **saĝalakan amagnaqing** 'I did not sleep that night' (J 40:49); Au 1909 **iqiyuki iim saĝuliisaka amaxtikuu** 'she was kept sleepless all night by his two children' (J 84:4); A 1952 **uuquchiingis qiĝunal qanagikus** 'foxes were hard to get this winter'; Eu 1909 **wan qanax kuluuman uluu alanalakan qanagikux̂** 'this winter there is plenty of cow meat' (J 38:21); En 1909 **aniqdum ukuuĝu-kan-aan** [cf. 3.9.2.3.] **qanagikuu** 'the child had waited for her all winter' (J 50:44); A 1952 **slum huzuu chix̂tal slukux̂** 'it has been raining all summer'; A 1950 **qanang amal slut** 'where did you pass the summer ?' (lit. 'where were you in the summer ?'). In Attuan **qila-** had the meaning 'until morning', e.g. 1952 **saĝal qilating** (conjunctive) 'I slept (all night) until the morning'; **avim ukaaĝii saĝalak qilating** 'I did not sleep from midnight to the morning'; 1909 with **angali-** in function (a): **hiing saĝal qilal angaliqaa** 'when I had slept there until the morning' (J 80:19).

(c) E.g. A 1952 **hagumatal anĝaĝinas qaatulakan qanagzanas hiilax̂tadas** 'in that way the people lived through the winter without starving, it is said' (N.M. 1:54). With the transitivizing **-usa-** En 1909 **saĝachx̂ilakakan amagusaqadaagiim** 'having spent the night with him not letting him sleep' (J 49:4); **qugaanguusaaĝngin ngaan atxax̂sxan amagusaqaliqaa nawa** 'spent the night preparing magic protectors for him' (J 48:12); passive **Idmaaxtun achuuĝix̂ tanadgusim ilan qaĝanaasaalalix amagulaqax̂** 'I. was entertained with a feast in the lower village during the night' (J 48:24). A transitivized derivative may also have a nominal object, e.g. E 1978 **chix̂tax̂ qilaasaaqaltakux̂** 'it started raining this morning', lit. 'it was (recently) morning with rain'.

Unalaskan Burenin 1909 used **angali-** also with the general and the remote: **qitax̂ anĝitaadax̂ angalil(i)x akuĝaan** 'until the cramp had become a little better' (J 34:42); **hamaaĝ(a)qaan angalilix ludaĝ(i)qadasxaqax̂txin** 'the day he had arrived there he had lost his older brothers (he said)' (J 34:136, 141).

3.8.1.3.2.2. Length of time

ukut-, as a full verb 'to turn (something or somebody) toward (something)' and 'to show up after having been away for some time', as a temporal auxiliary indicates 'for some time or a rather long time', e.g. Eu 1984 **awalix ukutikux̂** 'he has been working for a long time'; A 1950 **qanang al ukusit** 'where have you been all this time ?'; A 1860 **haman azaatax̂ slux̂ imis awal ukutikuq** 'that many years I have been working for you' (Luke 15.29); A 1978 **sunax̂ haqal ukutikux̂ way waaĝakux̂** 'the ship has been coming (been expected to come) for some time and just arrived' (likewise En 1978). After two other auxiliaries in A 1909 **hiing axs gumal angalil ukusaĝ(an) amunaan hix̂tal** 'she said that she had been moving along there for some time' (J 78:177).

haĝit-, as a full verb 'to lift', vr. 'to rise', as an auxiliary indicates 'for some time' or 'some time ago', e.g. En 1935 **chingliisaadalix txin aĝitikux̂** '(the bath house) has been too hot all day'; A 1909 **tatahliim txin ayugniiĝutal txin haĝitnax̂** 'he started over again for a while' (J 77:203); A 1840 **hiaan ukulakan haĝitikumaan** 'he had not been finding his son for some time' (V B 2:1); A 1950 **waaĝal haĝitnax̂** 'he came in the other day (two or three days ago)'.

hula-, as a full verb 'to dawn (of daylight), to begin (of month), to come or happen in the morning (e.g. of wind)', as an auxiliary indicates 'in or until the morning or tomorrow', e.g. A 1973 **chagilĝux̂ asx̂as hulal ax̂takux̂** 'he killed a big halibut in the morning' (for **ax̂takux̂** see 3.8.1.4.); A 1978 **tanasxan saĝal hulakuq** 'I slept at camp last night (until the morning)'; transitivized Ea 1909 **amakun uulngiix̂txin qakaadgulix ulaasakux̂ awa** 'he dried his squirrels until dawn' (J 7:15); A 1980 **taangam ilan ax̂tal hulaasal agumis** 'if you soak (lit. keep) them in fresh water overnight'.

A **ngat-**, as a full verb 'to cool off, grow cold', as an auxiliary indicates 'until or in the morning', e.g. 1909 **saĝalix ngatikux̂taan angalix̂ haqakuĝaan** 'having slept until morning, when daylight came' (J 76:205); **hamaax hagumalĝul ax̂takux̂ ukux̂talka ngatikung hama** 'this morning I saw (dreaming) him doing greatly' (J 76:217). Likewise Au 1909 **at-**: **hiingu saĝal atiku**, Eu **iingun saĝalix ulakum** 'having slept there until the morning' (J 82:19).

The Eastern adverbial **uniix̂** 'recently' as an auxiliary verb in the remote indicates 'recently, some time ago', e.g. Ekn 1982 **waaĝalix uniiĝnax̂** 'he came back here recently (a couple of days ago or perhaps a week ago)'. In the subdialect of St. Paul 1983 it had become a suffix by contraction with the preceding conjunctive: **waaĝalniiĝnax̂**; so also with an anaphoric object **unugulux ukulniiĝnang** (rather than ***ukulniiqang**) 'I saw him a long time ago'.

Attuan **sii-na-x̂** '(did) yesterday, the preceding day', e.g. 1952 **his siinax̂** 'he went out yesterday'; 1909 **ting saĝanil siinax̂ ukuqaa** 'I went to sleep (and the next day ...)' (J 80:8).

In Atkan the phrase **amaatxax̂ agu-** lit. 'to make far' has a similar function, e.g. 1952 **chix̂tax̂ kimduxs amaatxax̂ aguhlikux̂** 'the rain has been pouring down for a long time now'; **naga hagyayaĝidalakan amaatxax̂ agunax̂** 'the inside (of the boat) has not been cleaned for a long time'.

3.8.1.4. Modal auxiliaries

The more important of these auxiliaries are derived from **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be' with suffixes used also with full verbs.

3.8.1.4.1. **a-x̂ta-**, Au **u-uya-x̂ta-** (**-aada-x̂ta-**) inferential

Like a full verb with the suffix **-x̂ta-** (2.2.6.1. c), a phrase with this auxiliary indicates an event or state of affairs inferred from circumstances or report, including stories, or experienced by senses other than eyesight. The auxiliary may head a verb in (1) the conjunctive (Atkan), (2) the remote, (3) the intentional with or without the auxiliary **aĝ-** (3.8.1.3.1.1.), (4) the general.

3.8.1.4.1.1. Atkan phrases with the conjunctive

With the auxiliary in the present (**-ku-**) the phrases with the conjunctive indicate an inference about the present or the immediate past, e.g. 1979 **Piitrax̂ waaĝal ax̂takux̂** 'Peter apparently is coming' or 'Peter apparently has come in' (it is said to me, I see his boat, I heard him landing, or the like); **Piitrax̂ waaĝalakan ax̂takux̂** 'Peter apparently has not come'; 1950 **aluĝiin al ax̂takux̂** 'it must be your letter'; **ulux̂ txin chaknatiqalil ax̂takux̂** 'the meat is getting spoiled (I think)'; **ugunul ax̂takung** 'I must have forgotten it' (the fact of forgetting is not experienced); 1860 **tayaĝunaax̂ Ting liidaasalix Ting suumchi waaĝal ax̂takux̂txichi** 'you are apparently coming to take Me as if I were (lit. likening Me to) a brigand' (Mark 14.48). Ironical use: 1980 **bumaagichxizalakan ax̂takux̂** 'wow, that's some paper !', lit. 'it is apparently not a nice paper'.

Such phrases are used also in a non-final predicate, e.g. 1952 **Amrikaanchix̂ sakaaĝal ax̂takuĝaan** 'when the American[s] came out here' (N.M. 2:26); 1950 **tayaĝux̂ waaĝakum anaĝiin hamang ayx̂aasim nagan aĝiisal ax̂takuu ngaan kum sigusat ii?** 'the man [who] came in but left his stuff there in the boat, would you take it up from the beach for him?'

In the conjunctive the auxiliary may combine with a following temporal auxiliary, e.g. 1950 **hlang ludaaĝigan kalul ax̂tal saĝaqangis** 'my oldest son shot them (wild dogs) yesterday'; **suna(m) kugan waaĝal ax̂tal qilax̂six̂** 'he came back on the ship this morning'; **amgaax alax signax̂tam ilan waaĝal ax̂tal amaxsis** 'they came back at twelve o'clock last night' (1959:78, 10 (5)).

In Eastern just the suffix **-x̂ta-** is used, e.g. En 1982 **Piitrax̂ waaĝax̂takux̂** 'Peter apparently has come in (I'm told)' (also 'Peter has been in her'); **waaĝax̂talakax̂** 'he has apparently not come in'; Ep 1984 **ugunux̂tax̂takung** 'I must have forgotten it'; Eu 1909 **atuung ulux̂tan maasax̂talakaĝin ax̂saasanaqing** 'I learned that six baidarkas were missing' (J 40:66).

3.8.1.4.1.2. Phrases with the remote (**-na-**, **-(ĝ)ka-**)

Phrases with the remote indicate an inference about the past and are used frequently in stories.

The auxiliary agrees in number with a 3.p. subject of the main verb, e.g. A

1952 **haman agitaadaa Amuux̂tam qigangan hadan tanaĝinax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'his partner lived towards the east side of Amukta (according to the story)' (N.M. 3:84); **alax tayaĝux asagadudax akix, hamang adu(m) qalan changanax ax̂takux** 'two men who were cousins had entered into the bottom of the cave' (ibid. 73); **tukungis anas ax̂takus** 'he was their chief' (ibid. 27; cf. 3.1.1.6.2.); Eu 1909 **amakun qaankun ulux̂tan ... Akungan nunan ax̂takun** 'those three baidarkas ... reached Akun Island (I learned later)' (J 40:78); Au 1909 **sagan axtaki iqinax̂ uuyax̂takux̂** 'the end of his bird parka came off' (J 84:9). In Attuan (and in late Atkan), however, only the auxiliary may be marked for plural, e.g. 1952 **hamaax** [for **tamaax**] **qagaanunax̂ uuyax̂takun** 'from there they went east' (1959:125, 33 (36)).

An enclitic subject pronoun for the 1. or 2.person goes with the auxiliary, while the negation goes with the main verb, e.g. A 1979 **ting saĝaninax̂ ax̂takuq** 'I must have fallen asleep (at that time)'; A 1860 **Daviidam ... matxangis ii hilanaĝulax ax̂takux̂txichix** 'have you not read what David did ...' (Mark 2.25); En 1975 **tutusiking agitaakakuq(i)ngaan madan(a)ĝulux ax̂takuqing** 'I could have kept my ears open (to stories) but (apparently) I didn't'.

In the case of anaphoric reference the auxiliary agrees in number with the outer subject, e.g. A 1979 **Piitram ukuqaa ax̂takux̂** 'Peter found it (they say)', **Piitram ukuqangis ax̂takus** 'Peter found them'; **ugunuqang ax̂takux̂** 'I must have forgotten it'; A 1952 **asaa haqataqadang ax̂takux̂** 'I don't remember his name, lit. I must have ceased knowing his name'; A 1860 **txichix tayaĝunaaĝis aduu hitxachix ax̂takux̂** 'you have made it a den (lit. cave) of brigands' (Mark 11.17). Likewise in the passive, e.g. A 1952 **hitnangis ukuĝaqas ax̂takus** 'they were seen on the way out' (N.M. 3:15).

The auxiliary is very often in the present also in reference to the past, as in the examples above, in Attuan likewise in the conjunctive (cf. 2.1.9.2.), e.g. 1909 **Qaglaax̂ hiing anĝaĝinax̂ uuyax̂tal** 'Raven lived there, according to the story' (J 82:1; E **ax̂takux̂**). But also the remote is used, with no apparent difference, e.g. A 1952 **kadim hadaan Qawalangis Niiĝuĝis huzuugizangis txidix ilax̂tal anĝaĝiqalinas ax̂tanas** 'Originally, all the Eastern Aleuts and the Andreanof Islanders had started to live in friendship' (N.M. 3:1; likewise 2,3, but from 7 on generally **ax̂taku-**); En 1909 **Kanaaĝim suganĝa malgaqax̂ ax̂takux̂. Malix ... wakun aan'gilakaadaasalix txin aguqalinax̂ nawa.** 'There was once a Koniag lad. And thinking about those ... he grew up' (J 41:1-2). The phrases are used in participial clauses as well, e.g. Au 1909 **agluyiganax̂ uuyax̂ta-na-an anuxtal, qiyanax̂ uuyax̂tal taga** 'thinking that he had got too far in his jealousy, he cried, so the story goes' (J 84:10).

In reference to a customary or repeated event or situation of the past the auxiliary may have the suffix **-da-**, A **-za-**, alone or in agreement with the main verb, e.g. A 1952 **umay agach Kasakam qalgadaagamagii anax̂ ax̂tazakux̂** 'that (potatoes) used to be the main Russian food' (N.M. 3:46); **dangis truba(m) qichiĝa liidanas ax̂tazakus** 'their eyes were like a sharp telescope' (N.M. 3:18); **huzungis tanalĝil inatzaqangis ax̂tazakus** 'they used to bury (lit. finish burying) all of them'

(N.M. 3:49). In Eastern, however, the suffix may indicate the usualness of telling, e.g. Eu 1909 ... **txin hagumanax̂ ax̂tad(a)x̂ awa** 'in that way he (avenged his sons) according to the story' (J 34:197); En 1975 **akun Udax iiltax̂ nunan ax̂tadakun** '(the Indians) reached the so-called Udax over there, so the story goes'.

The remote headed by the auxiliary may be that of a demonstrative or a temporal auxiliary, e.g. A 1952 **aagayuuĝis kamlixtal hamamanax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'he (apparently) was shooting cormorants'; Au 1909 **tamaku qugan taangulax̂ asqaasal asqaax̂ amunan uuyax̂takun** '(he gave a drink of water to) the spirits [who] seemed to be about to die of thirst' (J 81:16); A 1979 **ugunuungan amuqaning ax̂takus** 'I must have forgotten them a long time ago'; A 1840 **asagaan akux̂ gumaasalka saĝaqaan ax̂takux̂ ukulix** 'seeing that it was his cousin he had done this to (killed) the day before' (V B 2:4); A 1952 ... **hamang changanakix ukux̂tazigatal angalikin ax̂takux maasal** 'because he had clearly seen them entering there earlier that day' (N.M. 3:74); Au 1909 **alax̂ haqaasal angalix̂ uuyax̂takux** '(they two) having brought a whale' (J 81:18).

In the conjunctive the auxiliary may in turn be headed by a temporal auxiliary, e.g. A 1952 **hachitikuu hamaax anĝaĝinam haxsiqaa ax̂tal amaxsix̂** 'he closed it (the door) but somebody must have opened it last night'; A 1950 **six̂s hamamanax̂ ax̂tal haĝitikux̂** 'it (the motor) had apparently broken some time ago'.

3.8.1.4.1.3. Phrases with the intentional ± aĝ-

The intentional with the auxiliary **aĝ-** in the remote (3.8.1.3.1.1.) is found with the inferential auxiliary in predictions and questions referring to a remote future, e.g. A 1860 **wan kingulix̂ ilam-agduukalakax̂, wakus huzungis masxaaĝin aqas akus** 'this generation shall not pass, [till] all these [things] be done' (Mark 13.30); E 1870 **qanan akiitalix txichi asix aangan aĝnax̂ ax̂takuqing?** 'how long shall I be with you?' (Mark 9.19); Ea 1909 **malakan ingamaliimin aĝnax̂ ax̂taltxin?** 'you are apparently still not going to do it?' (J 9:4); A 1952 **hingakuugizas maqaĝal anĝaĝilgaqaliiĝin aqas ax̂takus ii?** 'do we (passive) have to start living in that way?'

Without **aĝ-** in A 1860 **Inaqaam Txin ii? asx̂asaĝan ax̂talix Hinga** 'will He kill Himself?' (John 8.22); Ea 1910 **aguĝim kinaa ukux̂taatung ukux̂taqadax̂ masxaangan ax̂talting** 'the low-tide beach that I like to see, I am going to be reduced to never seeing again' (J 30:15, likewise 16); En 1952 **alaĝum ilan aĝasxaaĝan ax̂takux̂ ukuuming** 'when I saw that he apparently was going to get (lit. be brought) into the sea'.

3.8.1.4.1.4. Phrases with the general

In modern Atkan the general is used with the inferential auxiliary in the same way as the remote (3.8.1.4.1.2.), e.g. **Piitrax̂ kurizaĝulax ax̂takux̂** 'Peter apparently does not smoke'.

In Atkan 1860 the negation went with the auxiliary: **taĝax̂taasis ama qunĝumaalinas ukux̂tasxuchigulax, luduukax̂ ax̂talakax̂txichi** 'if you don't see signs and wonders, you will not believe' (John 4.48). In Attuan 1909 the auxiliary, rather than the main verb, carried likewise the anaphoric person marking: **Qalgaaĝim mataka anĝaĝiyax̂ uuyax̂takung** 'how Raven used to live' (J 81:15); **luyat mayax̂ uuyax̂takuyin mal** 'his (3R) older siblings doing as they apparently used to do', E **ludatxin madachi ax̂takun malix** (ibid. 19).

3.8.1.4.2. **a-masu-**, Au **u-masu-** 'possibly'

Like the suffix **-masu-** with other verbs this auxiliary indicates a possibility. It heads the intentional with the auxiliary **aĝ-** in the remote (3.8.1.3.1.1.) and, in Atkan and Attuan, the intentional alone, e.g. Eu 1909 **waaĝagumin tataam Shaayashnikum ulaa ulax̂taamin aĝ-na-x̂ amasu-ku-x̂txin ?** 'when you come here, perhaps you are going to stay in Shayashnikov's house again ?' (J 38:15); A 1950 **qilagan haqahliikin aĝnax amasukux** 'they (two) will come in again tomorrow, I guess'; **haqaasahliiĝan aqaa amasukux̂** 'perhaps he will bring it back again (later)'; **qilam waaĝaguu-ngaan, kamgalgaaĝan aqax̂ amasukux̂** 'if he (the elder) comes back in the morning, we (passive) will have service, I guess' (1959:79, 11 (10-11)); **slaa txin isxanaguun saalus hula-aĝan amasu-kux̂** 'if the wind changes it will be dry weather tomorrow, I guess'; A 1973 **ayuxtaa-amasulakaq** 'I probably won't go out (in my boat)'; Au 1952 **maaĝa-ax̂ umasu-kux̂** 'it (the airplane) will probably come down (lit. here)'.

3.8.1.4.3. Double negation for certainty

Combined with the negation of a preceding verb in the general or conjunctive the negated copula **a-**, with or without some derivational suffix, indicates a strong affirmation.

3.8.1.4.3.1. Phrases with the general

The negated copula alone or with the suffix **-da-** 'generally' indicates a strong affirmation, e.g. A 1860 **Aguuĝum ilan hamaax masxaakaĝ-ulax aĝ-ulag-aan malix**, E 1870 **Aguuĝum ilan amaagan malgaduukan-ulux a-lakaĝ-in-iin malix** 'because for God nothing shall be impossible (lit. not be possibly done)' (Luke 1:37); A 1984 **alitxunax̂ akux̂ tiĝluĝiĝ-ulax̂ a-da-ĝ-ulax̂ hiilax̂tal** [**-ulax̂** for **-ulax**] 'a warrior was said never to be taken (prisoner) without having a scar'.

With the suffix **-duuka-**, **-zuuka-**, in Atkan, the negated copula indicates a strong prediction or obligation, e.g. 1974 **qan'gim slaqatuu malgaguu, taxsaqas anĝaĝiilaĝ-ulax a-duuka-lakax̂** 'if it is a stormy winter one will have to live on what is gathered'; 1979 **ulaam ilagaan hitiĝ-ulax a-zuukaĝ-ulax** 'he/she has to get out from his/her house sometime (sooner or later)'. The auxiliary rather than the main verb is marked for anaphoric reference, e.g. 1979 **hadan huyaĝ-ulax a-zuuka-ĝula-a** (= **azuukaaulax**) 'he/she has to go there (to him/her/it), sooner or later'; 1982 **haqataĝulax aduukalakaĝiin** 'you cannot fail to know it'; **ukux̂taĝ-ulax a-duuka-qada-ku-un** 'you cannot fail to see it'.

3.8.1.4.3.2. Phrases with the conjunctive

In Eastern the negated conjunctive has an additional negation **ulux**, e.g. 1909 **su-lakakan-ulux ana[a]qang-ulux** 'I certainly must take him (later)'; 1870 **nung kyax̂taasanatxin chx̂a**(t)**-lakan-ulux a-da-naĝ-ul-ting** 'I did never transgress (lit. not fulfill) your commandments' (Luke 15.29); **ngaan maasa-lakakan-ulux a-atu-qa-a-yulux** 'he did not want to reject (lit. not do with) her' (Mark 6.26).

Salamatov 1860 had likewise **suglayas waaĝa-lakan-ulax a-[h]li-ika-z-ulax**, E 1870 **ungayam malgaa waaĝalakanulux aduukalakax̂** 'it is impossible but that offenses will come' (Luke 17.1). Netsvetov 1840 translated 'it is necessary' (Russian *neobkhodimo*) as **alakan a[h]liikalakax̂** "it just cannot not be", and 'certainly' (*neprimenno)* as **alakanulux** (for A **-ulax**) "not not being", both forced expressions according to a modern Atkan consultant.

3.8.1.4.3.3. Other cases of double negation

Salamatov 1862 translated '(God) is omnipotent' as **ma-aka-ku-u-ulax a-ĝ-ulax akux̂** "is one for whom there is not what he is not able to do", with an enclitic negation of the present (rather than ***maakalakaĝa**).

The Atkan and Attuan verb **aaĝa-** 'to miss; to do in vain' is used as an auxiliary with the conjunctive in non-final clauses to indicate a contrast to the following clause, e.g. A 1971 **ting ilgal aaĝakuqaang ting ukulagaa-ax̂takuq** 'I looked for you but didn't find you'; Au 1909 **sinul aygaxs aaĝaku maatʳax̂ kasulaka** 'he was walking beachcombing but did not find anything' (J 82:3; E **aygagiiĝlikum**). With a negative conjunctive and a following negation it indicates inevitability in A 1952 **qidanax̂ alakan aaĝal maalalakaĝis mal, qidal ...** 'because they were put in a position so that they could not but cry, they cried ...', more literally "not being crying but were not done to so, so they cried ..." (N.M. 3:41).

The combination within a word of the suffix **-qada-** 'no more, etc.' (2.2.6.6.) and a negation yields a strong affirmation, e.g. A 1909 **taĝaqadazuukaanulax mal ukuqadazuukaĝulaxt ngaan hiisax̂talka** 'said to him that he would certainly visit him and not fail to [come and] see him' (J 76:127).

3.8.1.4.4. A, Au **ingaaĝi-** and old A **uku-**

ingaaĝi-, as a relational noun 'further; next' (cf. 2.1.7.8.), as an auxiliary with the intentional in Atkan indicated obligation, e.g. 1860 **wakus maqaĝaaĝin ingaaĝiqas** 'these should be done' (Luke 11.42; E **malgaaĝin aqan**, cf. 3.8.1.3.1.1.); **ataqan qiquchaĝix̂ ngiin igniiĝankis ingaaĝiza[h]liqangis** 'he was obliged (according to custom) to release one prisoner unto them' (Luke 23.17); **haman maaĝan ingaaĝi[h]liqamas u[h]lii manaziin mal** 'for we have done only that which was our duty to do' (Luke 17.10; E **malgaaĝin aqan**); 1862 **huzukix txidix unuqutalakan txidix asix anĝaĝiiqin ingaaĝix** 'both of them (husband and wife) must live together in purity (lit. keeping themselves pure)' (E ... **aĝnax**); 1952 **anaĝis maaĝan ingaaĝidigulax mazas** 'they always do what they are not supposed to do'. In Attuan it rather indicated ability or near future: 1909 **maatʳax̂ maasaaĝ ingaaĝilakaka**

'without being able (or about) to do anything to him' (J 81:34; E **maasaduukalakakan**).

uku-, as a full verb 'to get sight of; to look or turn in a specified direction; to find; to get', was used in old Atkan as an auxiliary with the intentional to indicate obligation, e.g. 1860 **Subbootam angaligan il iĝamanas ii malgaaĝin ukus, amasxuu ii iĝamanazulax agatingis malgaaĝin ukus ?** 'is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath days, or to do evil ?' (Mark 3.4; E **malgaax̂tan matxan**); **haman isxax̂, il kamgalgaaĝan ukuu** 'the place where one ought to pray' (John 4.20; E **kanax̂sxadaaĝan aqaa**).

3.8.1.4.5. **ma-**, **mat-**, **mata-**

With (a) the intentional (same subject) and (b) the optative (different subject) **ma-** 'to do' and the derivatives **mat-**, passive **masxa-** (2.2.5.3.), and **mata-** (2.2.6.1. b), are used more or less like modal auxiliaries. Other usages follow in 3.8.2.1.2.

ma- (a) A 1860 'to be worthy', with ***-ia*ka-** (2.2.6.9.) 'to be able to, can': **Hamaan ... tahmiigasikix chiliidahliingan maqingulax** 'His shoestrings I am not even worthy to unloose' (Mark 1.7, likewise Luke 3.16; E ... **chililgaa aslitalakaĝing**); **tanam ama kuyuudam matanangis haqayaamchi maakakux̂txichi** 'you are able to discern the nature of the earth and of the sky (but ...)' (Luke 12.56; E **[h]ax̂saasasud[a]kux̂txichi**).

mat- (a) 'to undertake, see to it, intend; to agree, offer, promise', e.g. Ea 1909 **aman uyqiĝaadax̂ ukuuĝan masix slaaĝakum** 'when he went out in order to see the little old woman' (J 10:103); **ayagam kinguuĝii agliisaamin mach-aadalilaga-aqalaax̂txin** 'you'll be sure not to (lit. you'll even see to it not to) miss that younger woman' (J 17:142); En 1909 (**ting asx̂anax̂txichi iistalix**) **qagaaĝaamchi matikux̂txichi** 'you will go east (saying that you have killed me)' (J 45:13); A 1909 **chalaaĝan matikux̂** 'when she was about to land' (J 78:106); E 1870 **qichitin ngaan aĝiikigin matxangin** 'they promised (offered) to give him money' (Luke 22.5; A 1860 likewise); A 1952 **inaqaam maaĝan matii-ax̂takuu** 'he volunteered (offered) to do it'.

(b) 'to have, make (cause)', e.g. A 1860 **txidix anĝaĝinas mayaaĝdaax̂txidix txidix matduukakuq**, E 1870 **anĝaĝim anĝaĝingin mayaax̂tadaax̂txidix kayux maduukakuqing** 'I will make you (two) to fish people, too' (Mark 1.17); A 1840 **asagaam ayagaĝanaa ugiin asix saĝaax̂ta masix aqadaam** 'after having had her female cousin sleep with her husband' (V B 3:1); A 1973 **hlang Daviidax̂ ulaĝiix̂t matil aqadaaming** 'after having had my son David stay home'; E 1870 **alqutan sumuutam angaligan ilan malgaax̂tan matxan** 'what is lawful to do (lit. was made to be done) on the Sabbath day' (Mark 3.4; A 1860 **uku-s**, see 3.8.1.4.4.).

masxa- (a) Eu 1909 **amaan Usilam-aan ayagaadax̂ agulganaa iiltaaĝan masxaqax̂** 'it was arranged to tell Usilax̂ that a girl was born' (J 35:3); A 1838 **ayagaalaaĝan masxaqax̂** lit. 'was arranged to be given as wife' (Luke 1.27; E 1870 **ayagaalaaĝan atxax̂sxaqax̂**).

(b) A 1952 **haman amgiĝnax̂, amgiĝiix̂tax̂ masxaqax̂** 'that guard, the one that had been put on watch (lit. made to watch)' (N.M. 3:46); A 1973 **hamaa(n) suna(m) kuga(n) awaax̂tas masxaku(x̂) mal, hamaan suna(m) kugan awaaĝa(n) matil** 'as one had us work on that ship, so having to work on that ship ...'.

mata- (a) 'to have to, be supposed to, should', e.g. E 1870 **alqutan nung hiimin mataltxin ?** 'what do you have to tell me ?' (Acts 23.19); Eu 1909 **aman amgulgakum, ... anaĝix̂ ilaan ukulgaaĝan matakux̂** 'if it were excavated, ... one should find something in it' (J 37:14); A 1952 **hingamaasaamis mataĝulaan** [= **mataanulax**] **hinga** 'you are not supposed to do that'; A 1973 **awaang[an] matakuq** 'I have to work'; **igax̂tax̂ hawaadahlix̂tal, hawa[kus] tanas huzungis ilgax̂tal ukuzaaĝ[an] matakux̂** 'the airplane was supposed to go there and search and inspect all those islands'.

(b) 'to make (cause)', e.g. A 1860 **hamayaa hamakus txin taĝax̂taax̂tas matalix anax̂** 'he made them understand him (by signs)' (Luke 1.22); A 1952 **tunux̂tal aguun hix̂tanat tutalgaax̂tas matal tunux̂tazax̂** 'when he talks he talks so as to make what he says understood' (translation of 'he expresses himself clearly').

3.8.2. Performance and appearance

There are two main types of phrases discussed under this heading, both with close affinities to participial clauses (3.14.). In the one the main verb has no mood/tense suffix, being perhaps a verbal noun rather than a form in the general tense, without or with a person suffix, used as the object of **ma-** 'to do' and derivatives and a few other verbs, and as the subject of **haqa-** 'to come' in the sense of 'to become'. In the other type the main verb is a participle, mostly in **-na-** (2.1.9.3.3.).

3.8.2.1. Phrases with a verbal noun

3.8.2.1.1. Invariable verbal noun

The verbal noun may be intransitive or transitive. Anaphoric reference is marked only in the auxiliary verb, viz. **ma-** 'to do' or **maqax̂ta-** 'to do usually, as a habit' (**ma-qa-** 'done, deed' 2.2.2.2. + **-x̂ta-** 'to have as' 2.2.4.1.). The phrases are well attested in old and later Atkan, barely in modern Eastern. The passive **malga-** is used with a passive verbal noun in all the dialects.

With **ma-** the verbal noun is mostly marked for contrast by the suffix **-hli-** 'just, only' (2.2.7.) or by an appositional **agacha** 'it rather, it only' (2.1.3.2.), e.g. A 1950 **saĝaĝulaq, quyuĝihlix̂ makuq** 'I did not sleep, I only lay down'; **chugalakan inahlix̂ mazakus** '(the supplies of the store) are insufficient and just take an end' (1959:78, 7 (38)); A 1952 **iqyaan aygagiiĝan txin aygaxs aguun himlagan kadan higitzahlix̂ maqalinax̂ hiisax̂tanax̂** 'when his own baidarka started to go, it just hopped along the waves, he said' (N.M. 3:92); A 1909 **atx̂us ilagaa(n) lizahlix̂ malka** (conjunctive 3A sg.) 'the fingers (of those carrying it) just stuck out of it (the skin of the baidarka)' (J 77:109); **quyx̂ix̂ agacha madax̂taan mal** 'as she would be coughing only' (J 78:199); A 1860 ... **hiisax̂tahlix̂ manax̂** 'He said only ...' (John 21.23; E 1870 **ngaan hiisax̂taliqaa**); **anĝaĝinas suglayax̂ agacha makux̂** 'he just deceives the people' (John 7.12; E 1870 **anĝaĝin adaluusadakux̂**). In Atkan 1909 also with **-da-**, **-za-** 'usually, habitually, each time' (2.2.6.5.): **unadax̂ maaĝan txin unaqalil** 'started cooking as usual (lit. to do the usual cooking)' (J 77:3); **... alaĝuĝizax̂ maaĝ(an) ayuxs angaliiĝutax̂taan** 'as (his cousin) set out every day to hunt (lit. to do hunting each time)' (J 76:138).

With **maqax̂ta-** the verbal noun has mostly no suffix but also admits **-hli-**, e.g. A 1860 **adaluĝulax maqax̂tada** 'be (always) truthful (lit. do not-lying)'; A 1984 **txidix lax̂ maqax̂taqalinas** 'they began to kill each other (in constant wars)'; A 1950 **ting adaluusahlix̂ maqax̂tal** 'he is always just fooling me'; A 1952 **anĝaĝinangis hingaan Saĝuugam hadan ayx̂al ilagaan alanadix ukumixtax̂ maqax̂tazanas hiilax̂tazas** 'the people used to go to Old Harbor to get what they needed, it is said' (N.M. 1:30); **ulungis taxsax̂ maqax̂tazaqangis ax̂takus** 'they used to collect their (the slain enemies') bodies (and bury them)' (N.M. 3:49); A 1979 **kukutus chiidax̂tax̂ maqax̂tazanas** 'they used to have young eider ducks as pets', **chiidax̂tax̂ maqax̂tazaqangis** 'they used to have them as pets'; A 1952 **maasal iĝanaasahlix̂ maqax̂tazakung** 'so I usually just scold him (disobedient boy)' (1959:81, 17 (2)); A 1909 (**ilguun ...**) **gilgix̂tanaa(n) anuxtax̂ maqax̂tazahlikux̂** 'she used to feel attracted to her (her grandchild)' (J 78:6).

In the passive both terms are in the passive, e.g. A 1952 (**hingaan Saĝuugamax hiilax̂tanam sangis lalgal**) **chux̂taqax̂silgax̂ maqaĝazaqax̂ hiilax̂tadax̂** '(the birds that were caught over at Seguam) they (passive) used to make into clothes, it is said' (N.M. 1:47). The passive of the auxiliary is treated like a participle in En 1978 **awax̂ maqaĝaa taĝax̂takux̂** 'he is used to doing work'; cf. 3.14.4.3.

agu-x̂ta- 'to make' is used in a similar way in A 1909 **aaxchigaadax̂ agux̂talix, ayx̂al ...** 'making fairly good speed, he traveled ...' (J 77:64 f.); **hamaax txin iqyaĝis, tanaanuhlix̂ agux̂tal, ...** 'he started paddling, going right toward the shore, ...' (J 79;119 f.); A 1952 **qidal tutaatunaĝulax agux̂taqalikus tutalgaqaliqas ax̂takus** 'they were heard starting to cry and make an awful noise (lit. unpleasant hearing)' (N.M. 3:41).

With **malga-** the attested verbal nouns have the suffixes **-chi-** and **-aatu-** (2.2.5.3.), e.g. E 1909- **ayuxtachix̂ malgakux̂**, Au 1909 **ayuxtachix̂ malukux̂** 'it is good (the right time) to go out (in a boat)'; A 1950 **taanasxaadaatunax̂ malgal?** 'is it good camping, do you enjoy camping?'

3.8.2.1.2. Verbal noun with personal suffix as an object

The verbal noun has generally the suffix *-ia*ka**-** 'can, etc.' (2.2.9.) but also **-da-** 'usually' is attested. It is the object of **mat-**, **masxa-**, **mata-** (cf. 3.8.1.4.5.) and two other verbs. Most of the examples are Atkan.

mat- 'to do, accomplish', with the preceding **-*ia*ka-** 'to be able to', e.g. 1952 **hix̂tananing hix̂taakaan masit ii?** 'are you able to tell (repeat) what I am telling?' (1959:69, note 52); **asagaan as txin asx̂aakat masmikux̂taan mal** 'as he had caused as many deaths as he could revenging his cousin and himself' (N.M. 3:75); 1909 **matachxizaakat igi(m) mas ax̂takux̂taa(n)** 'she had fixed herself as nicely as she could but ...' (J 78:85).

masxa- (passive of **mat-**) 'to be time for', e.g. 1950 **quyuzang masxakux̂** 'it is my bedtime now'; **hax̂tiqaliikaan masxakux̂** 'it is time for you to get up, you have better get up now'; 1952 **aniqdus quyuchx̂iikang masxakux̂** 'it is time for me to put the children to bed', **quyuchx̂iikaning masxakus** 'it is time for me to put them to bed' (plural in reference to the outer subject). Constructions with **-da-** 'habitually', passive or indefinite (3.5.1.): 1952 **saĝalgadaa** or **saĝanax̂ adaa masxal** 'it is time for sleeping'; **aangsusxadaa** or **aangsutnax̂ adaa masxakux̂** 'it is time (the right season) for picking berries'.

mata- 'to have (the possibility or obligation), to be such that', e.g. 1978 **ixchiikang matakux̂** 'it is possible for me to go home'; 1980 **anĝaĝinam uyaakaa matal ?** 'could anybody (lit. a person) get it ?'; 1978 **Charis ngus asax̂taakaan matakux̂** 'you can call me (lit. have as name for me) Charis'; **qalgaakaan matakux̂** 'it is such that it can be eaten, it is edible'; 1973 **Agamgis unangaa axsxaakaa matal aguun agilgazax̂** 'when (depending upon the tide) the channel inside A. (rocks) can be passed we (passive) pass it'; 1971 **kugan aakang matakux̂** 'it is such that I can stay (lit. be) upon it, I can stay upon it (e.g. a rock)', **tayaĝum kugan aakaa matakux̂** 'a man can (could) stay upon it', **kugan algaakaan matakux̂** 'it can be stayed upon, one can stay upon it' (so 1952, N.M. 3:74, about shelf in a cave). Eastern example: En 1983 **taatang skuulam adan ting sismiikaa matakum ting sismin(a)ĝulux ax̂takux̂** 'my dad could have helped me to [go to] school but (apparently) he didn't help me'.

A **aagi-** 'to be adequate for', **aagit-** vr. 'to become adequate for', e.g. 1973 **awaakaan aagil** 'he is old enough to work'; 1909 **umniin ayugiikaan igi(m) aagitik(ux̂) maasalix** 'when (because) his nephew became old enough to go out in a boat' (J 79:2); **ayagaĝiikaan igim aagitikux̂** 'he came of age to have a wife' (J 76:9). An Eastern near synonym has a verbal noun without a person suffix: En 1982 **inaakax̂ sanatikux̂** 'it is time to be finished'.

liida- 'to resemble; to look like, seem to', e.g. 1978 **ayuxtaakaan liidax̂ malgakux̂** 'now it looks like it's time for you to go out', lit. 'like your possibly going out'; 1909 **tanaĝilgaakaa liidal hulal ax̂takux̂ mal** 'as in the morning it looked like weather for hunting on land' (J 79:16); **alasxaĝin(ax̂) aakaa liidalgal aguu** 'when it seemed to be time for hunting on land' (J 78:215); 1952 **anaĝis ngaan, maayuĝachxizaakadix liidangis, uĝachxizaakadix liidangis, ngaan agux̂tal** 'making for him (as gifts) something that could be nice to be had, to be possessed' (N.M. 3:6). For other constructions with **liida-** see 3.8.2.2.3.

3.8.2.1.3. Verbal noun with personal suffix as a subject of **haqa-**

As the subject of **haqa-** '(be)come' the verbal noun with its subject suffix has the nature of a participial clause, so the whole construction comes close to a complex sentence (cf. 3.14.4.). The verbal noun may be intransitive, reflexive, transitive or passive.

In the case of an intransitive verbal noun a nominal subject is in the absolutive case or, in old Atkan, in the relative case, e.g. A 1860 **hlamis anĝaĝiikaa haqakux̂** beside **hlaan anĝaĝiikaa haqakux̂**, E 1870 **hlaan kaanguu haqakux̂** 'your son became healthy, is healed' (John 4.50, 51), cf. A 1860 **hlam anĝaĝiikaa haqatnax̂** 'healed the boy, lit. brought about the boy's health' (Luke 9.42); En 1978 **chihmignung qax̂alĝii aduu aqakux̂** 'the nail of my big toe is getting long'.

A plural subject, specified or anaphoric, entails the plural of the auxiliary, e.g. A 1860 **huzus ... anĝaĝiikangis haqadanas**, E 1870 **kaangungin haqadanan** 'all ... were healed' (Mark 6.56); Ek 1982 **anĝaĝin taangalix kuraas(ix̂)tangin aqagungin** 'when the people were drinking and got drunk'; A 1973 **huzugaan qiĝunangis haqakus** 'they (game) always become more difficult to get at'. The same agreement is seen from cases like the following where the 3R suffix of the auxiliary refers to the outer subject of the verbal noun (cf. 3.1.1.6.2.): En 1910 **taangulaa aqaagiim** (anterior 3R sg.), Au **taangulaa haqakum** 'when she became thirsty' (J 64/87:24). Some other examples: Eb 1984 **waaĝ(a)duuk(aa) aqakux̂** 'he should be coming here pretty soon'; En 1978 **chilux̂ saaqudgix̂ aqaguun amnaĝuu aqadakux̂** 'when summer comes the Alaska longspur[s] become(s) numerous'; Ea 1910 **chaam ilakiin takaduukaa aqakux̂ tusaglim** 'when he felt that he would (was about to) come loose from his arms (in wrestling)' (J 17:100); En 1909 **qidaliiĝlikum, dakix isax agix̂taa aqax̂takux̂ ukux̂taqangin** 'they saw that he had been crying until he could barely open his eyes' (J 49:24).

With a 1. or 2. person subject, marked by a possessive suffix, the auxiliary is in the 3. person, e.g. Eb 1984 **ingaan agalaan ukalĝa(n) qasidang aqanax̂** 'after that I started fishing here'; A 1860 **txin kayix tagadaqadaan haqamaaĝan aĝnaĝaan malix** 'because you too will be getting old (lit. cease to be young)'.

Reflexive verbs and transitive verbs with a specified object are treated likewise, e.g. Ea 1910 **txin uyqix̂sii aqalix, kayux aman laa txin suganĝi[x̂]sii aqalix akum, aygaxsuqadanaan tutaa aqalix, amaan laam-aan tunux̂taqalikux̂ awa** 'she became an old woman, and that son of hers became a young man, and feeling it difficult to walk any longer (lit. beginning to feel that she no longer walked easily) she said to her son' (J 15:19); Ea 1909 **Kuyakuyasaa amaan Miichim Aliiĝugan manangin achx̂ii aqalix, ayugikux̂ awa** 'K., gathering (lit. beginning to think) what M.A. was doing, set out' (J 8:25); Ea 1910 **adaan igiim iĝayux̂sinaa aqalix** 'she felt ashamed before her father and ...' (J 20.1); En 1952 **tumhdanaax̂sxax̂takutxin ukux̂taa aqalix** 'getting to see that they (passive) tried to shoot at him'; A 1952 **uluhlix̂ qaatuqadal qax̂ anuxtang haqakux̂** 'no more wanting to eat just meat, I begin to want fish'; En 1952 **kaangux̂ tutaan aqalix nung ix̂taangan** 'when he said to me that he was feeling better (lit. began to feel health)' (note that the whole phrase **kaangux̂ tutaan** is the subject of **aqalix**, while the 3R sg. suffix of **tuta-an** refers to the subject of **ix̂taangan**, cf. 3.15.3.1.).

An anaphoric object entails, as usual, the relative case of a nominal subject and number agreement in the auxiliary, e.g. A 1973 **Piitrax̂ aangsus qaatuu haqanax̂** 'Peter began to feel like eating berries' vs. **Piitram qaatuu haqanax̂** 'Peter began to feel like eating it (them)', A 1996 **qaatungis haqanas** 'he began to feel like eating them'; En 1982 **idusaakatxin aqakun** 'it is about time for you to take them out'.

The final 3A suffix in the following sentence is due to the preceding **ngaan** 'for him': En 1935 **wayaam sigaarkax̂ sanasxan igiim ugutaasaa ngaan aqakuu** 'now he is getting happy making it (his penis) as big as a cigar'. The following is a participial construction: En 1975 (**taĝa ataqan braatax̂ ukux̂tanaqing,**) **asix angunang aqaqaa** '(but one brother [of mine] I saw,) the one I grew up *(lit. became big) with*'.

Passive verb: A 1952 **hizax tutalgadangizulax txidix haqaqalikus** 'when they became (began to become) barely audible' (N.M. 3:44; **txidix** conditioned by **-qali-**).

Verb with an oblique term: A 1973 **hital sadaan anĝigan hagyagan ilan aĝax̂taatung haqakux̂** 'I begin to feel like going out and get into the fresh air of the outside for a while'.

3.8.2.2. Phrases with a participle

3.8.2.2.1. **-na- mat-, mata-**

The conjunctive of **mat-** 'to do' and **mata-** 'to do (temporarily)' with the participle **-na-** indicates a concomitant of the following predicate: 'while'. The participle of an intransitive verb or of a verb with a specified complement has a person suffix coreferential with the subject of the following predicate, e.g. A 1977 **qanaan mas tunux̂takux̂** 'he/she is talking while eating'; **qanang mas tunux̂takuq** 'I am talking while eating'; **chalizanaan mas haqakux̂** 'he comes fishing (throwing his line as he goes)'; **aangsus lazanang mas qayax̂ hanganaq** 'I went up the hill picking berries'. In later Atkan **-naan mas** is contracted into **-naamas** or **-naamis** and used without distinction of person, e.g. **qanaamas tunux̂takuq** like **qanaamas tunux̂takux̂**.

Anaphoric reference is marked in the auxiliary in Eastern, e.g. Ea 1952 **qanangin matakin asx̂adguqangin** 'they killed them as (while) they were eating'. Plural participle of a derivative in **-usa-** (cf. 3.1.4.4.1.) in Ea 1910 **naĝnaadaaĝan asuum ilan txin kiniisanangin masxan, amaan dux̂taasigan kumsikan** 'while she was bowing down into her pot, her guest lifted her up (and held her head in the soup)' (J 14:8). The auxiliary has the suffix **-usa-** in A 1979 **qasanangis mataasal kalul lazangis** 'we shoot them at the moment they surface'.

Atkan 1860 had a similar construction with the general: **haman angalix̂ hachiĝichigulax mas txichi tadutlagaax̂ta kungiin** 'in order that that day do not come upon you while you do not expect it' (Luke 21.34).

3.8.2.2.2. **-na- a-, aada-**

a- 'to be', **aada-** 'to be like, pretend to be', together with the participle **-na-** with a suffix coreferential with the subject indicate 'to pretend to', e.g. En 1909 **umlanaan alix txin imikuĝ-aan** 'when she pretended to wake up and rolled over' (J 49:9); Ea 1910 **umlanaan aadakux̂txin-aan** 'when she pretended to wake up' (J 26:13); En 1952 **asx̂alkaĝim asx̂anaan aadanax̂** 'he did not die but pretended to die'; Ea 1910 **saaqutiin iqihlakaĝiin iqihlinaan aadalix** 'he did not take off his breachclout but [only] pretended to take it off' (J 17:129). With the passive, meaning ‘we’, in both terms A 1980 **Atx̂am hadan huyalganaa aadalgaax̂t** ‘let us pretend we are going to Atka on a trip’.

3.8.2.2.3. **liida-** ‘to look like, seem to’

The object of this auxiliary is commonly an invariable participle in **-na-x̂**, a possible anaphoric reference being marked in the auxiliary (cf. 3.8.2.1.1.), e.g. Ep 1983 **qan'gim ilan tugidax̂ ilkiingin amaatxan(a)ĝulux liidadakux̂** ‘in winter the moon seems to be (looks as if it is) not far from us’; **chagan isii haangunanax̂ liidakux̂** ‘the cut in his hand looks (seems to be) severe’; A 1909 **quyx̂iikanax̂ liidakux̂** ‘she was likely to (suffix **-*ia*ka-**) to cough’ (J 78:200); A 1952 **chix̂taakanax̂ liidaqalikux̂** ‘it looks like it is going to start raining (more lit. it begins to seem likely to rain)’; **aniqdudix yaxtanax̂ liidakudix tataam sihmizakus** ‘they seem to love their children but still (lit. again) spank them’; **alaĝum himlagan hangadan huzuugizaa hwaĝiin igiim chachix̂taasanax̂ liidakux̂** ‘the agitated sea was as if covered with smoke all over (lit. all the surface of the rough sea seemed to have covered itself with its smoke)’ (N.M. 3:95); Eu 1910 **inaqamin aluĝiqatxin ngaan iistagalikung, nung luusanaĝulux liidaqaa** ‘I told him that you had written it yourself but (**-gali-**) he did not seem to (lit. seemed not to) believe me’ (J 39:54); A 1983 **mangizulax ngaan machx̂inax̂ liidakung** (likewise Ea) ‘I have a feeling that he is doing what he should not do’ (lit. I seem to think he is doing what he does not [have to] do); A 1952 **anaĝis masxaa-aĝnax̂ liidax̂ tutakuq** ‘I felt that something is going to happen (lit. be done)’; A 1980 **tutalgaa Atx̂am kugan huzugaan slaĝuzax̂ ax̂tanax̂ liidakux̂** ‘it sounds like you have nothing but storms in Atka’ (lit. it being heard, it seems apparently to be always stormy in Atka); A 1973 **alixcha qaxchikdal ukuĝaa kitux̂ kugan anax̂ liidazax̂** ‘the middle of it (the flower of dogwood, Cornus suecica) is black and looks (lit. being seen) as if there is a louse on it’ (participial version of the type of constructions discussed in 3.3.2.2.2.).

Passive participle: Eb 1984 **tunux̂taalaqax̂ liidaqax̂** ‘it seemed to have been talked about, they seem to have talked about it’; Eu 1910 **uman ulax̂ kamisxaqax̂ liidaa tutalix̂takum** ‘he felt as if the house were swinging...’ (J 35:29). General with suffix **-da-** ‘habitually’: Ea 1910 **itx̂aygim uluu kum qadax̂ liidax̂ tutakuqing** ‘I feel like eating caribou meat’ (J 26:15); Ea 1909 **algam ukuĝadax̂ liidaayulux** ‘an animal the like of which was never seen’ or ‘an animal unlikely to be seen’ (J 3:71). Present: Ea 1910 **iqam iqaĝii taduyaĝakux̂ liidaayulux** ‘a paddler not likely to be taken by surprise’ (J 33:7).

In the following clause the participle of the derivative in **-*ia*ka-** has a personal suffix like the verbal noun (3.8.2.1.2.): A 1909 **mataakanadix liidax̂ imax masaĝutal ax̂taanganax** ‘when again they (her two breasts) became (seemed to have become) as good as they could’ (J 78:89).

3.9. Conjoined predicates

Two or more predicates are very frequently conjoined by the conjunctive into a pair or series. The semantic relation may be successive or simultaneous but only the final term carries the mood/tense specification. In general, with certain qualifications, the predicates have a common subject. The verbs may have no complement, a shared complement, with zero anaphora for the non-initial term(s), or separate complements, in both cases specified or anaphoric. The suffixal marking of an anaphoric complement in the conjunctive (2.1.9.2.) is regular in Eastern but partly left out in modern Atkan, if not reintroduced from Eastern (suffix **-kan** for old Atkan **-l-ka**, etc.).

Auxiliaries with the conjunctive (3.8.1.1., 2.1., 3.2., 4.1.1.) have a close syntactic affinity with these constructions. For a very different use of the conjunctive see 3.15.3.1.

3.9.1. Mood/tense and negation.

Any modal/temporal marking of the final term of a pair or series applies also to the preceding conjunctive(s), e.g. A 1950 **haqa-l qa-ax̂-txichix** (optative 2.p.pl.) 'come and eat!'; En 1978 **tayaĝux̂ kaangu-lix kayutu-ku-x̂** 'the man is healthy and strong'; A 1971 **Piitrax̂ ayuxta-l qawanaaĝ-na-x̂** 'Peter went out to hunt sea lion' (lit. 'Peter going out hunted sea lion'); A 1973 (**Tiĝyudix qichx̂il aqadagumdix** [conditional]) **igi-l alugax̂ la-l igusa-l tanaaĝaasa-l chiĝanam ilagaan chx̂uux̂-s hagyaya-l, unaaluĝim ilan una-l qanga**(t)**-s qas ngaan angax̂ta-l chadulĝita-l qa-a**(**ĝin**)**-aĝ-na-s.** '(When they have hung up their wild rye to dry) they will head back, dig out black lily bulb[s] and take them back (bringing them) to the village, wash and clean them in the creek, cook them (making them) ready in the cooking place, add fish and oil and eat them.'

The same is true of the suffix **-da-**, **-za-** 'generally, habitually' (2.2.6.5.), e.g. A 1978 **alax̂ anguna-l adu-za-x̂** 'a whale is big and long'; A 1973 **taatang kidu-l awa-ma-za-q** 'I, too (**-ma-**), help my dad working' (lit. 'helping my dad I, too, work').

A final negation applies likewise to the preceding conjunctive, e.g. A 1978 **Ivaan tachim hila-l aluĝi-lakax̂** 'John does not yet read and write, John cannot read and write yet'; **Davlidax̂ kalu-l aaĝa-za-ĝ-ulax** 'when David shoots he never misses', lit. 'David does never shoot and miss'; **anaĝim ignatungis kumsi-l hachiin nati-iĝana-x̂t** 'don't hurt your back lifting heavy things', lit. 'don't lift heavy things and hurt your back'; A 1952 **alitxum tayaĝugan ilaa sulgakux̂ qachx̂a ilaa sasxaĝutalga-l sulga-da-ĝ-ulax hiilax̂tadax̂** 'when a warrior was captured, his skin was never left intact, it is said', lit. 'his skin, part of it, being left intact, was never captured' (N.M. 3:77). To prevent the first term from being negated through the final predicate a different construction must be used, e.g. A **Mariiyax̂ unguchi-kum qana-ĝ-ulax** 'Mary sat down but did not eat' (see 3.11.1.1.) vs. **Mariiyax̂ unguchi-l qanaĝulax** 'Mary did not sit down and eat'.

A negation of the conjunctive does not extend to the following term, e.g. A

Mariiyax̂ unguchi-lakan qa-na-x̂ 'Mary ate without sitting down'; En 1978 **tunulakan saĝa-da !** 'stop talking and go to sleep !'.

A negated conjunctive may be followed by a negated term on the same level, in Eastern without or with the conjunction **kayux** 'and', e.g. Ea 1910 **ngaan txin itxichx̂i-lakakan adan anĝiidali-lagaaqaan** 'don't let it drop you down and don't even breathe at it' (J 15:23); **qa-lakan kayux taanga-lakan txin quyuda !** 'go to bed without eating or drinking !' (J 16:30). But according to Atkan consultants in 1973 it is not possible to negate the initial negation and say * **Mariiyax̂ unguchilakan qanaĝulax** 'Mary did not eat without sitting down' (one can say **M. unguchilakan aguun qanaĝulax** 'if M. did not sit down, she did not eat' or **M. huzugaan unguchil qazanax̂** 'M. always ate seated'); cf. the different construction (3.11.1.1.) in A 1860 **chadix chamĝux̂ta-lakaĝis, qadaz-ulag-iin malix**, E 1870 **chadix x̂ulasiga-lakaĝin-ulux, x̂liimax̂ qadan-ulug-iin malix** 'for unless (lit. when not) they have washed their hands, they do not eat (E bread)' (Mark 7.3).

3.9.2. Person relations

3.9.2.1. Shared complement

By zero anaphora a specified nominal complement of the conjunctive may be shared by the following predicate, irrespective of the case (object in the absolutive case or adjunct in the relative case), e.g.

object - object A 1978 **ulux̂ unal qakus** 'we cooked the meat and ate it'; En 1978 **braatamin chulkii stuupralix ix̂amnax̂ ichaa** 'mend your brother's socks well', lit. 'mending your brother's sock[s] make them good'; **putiilkam chachii chixisix taxsada** 'put the cover on the bottle (lit. put on the bottle's cover) and put it (the bottle) away';

object - oblique En 1952 **ulax̂ nulix nagan qangunax̂** 'he reached the house and entered into it'; **amaagan anĝaĝix̂ sagiquudaa ukux̂talix ngaan tunux̂talagaaqing** 'I (was told) not to talk to anybody looking him into his face', lit. 'any person, looking into his face, I (was told) not to talk to';

oblique - object A 1973 **skuulnikas skuulim nagan qangul hagyayal qilax̂sis** 'the students entered into the school house and cleaned it this morning'; A 1978 **kuufyang saaxarax̂ ngaan angax̂tal taangazaq** 'I drink my coffee with sugar added', lit. 'my coffee, adding sugar to it I drink';

oblique - oblique A 1952 **Anĝaĝinangis hingaan Saĝuugam hadan ayx̂al ilagaan alanadix ukumixtax̂ maqax̂tazanas hiilax̂tazas.** 'The people (of Amlia) used to go to Old Harbor to get what they needed, it is said.' (N.M. 1:30).

Also the nominal base of a derivative in the conjunctive may constitute the referent of a following predicate (cf. 3.12.1.1.), e.g. Au 1909 **ayaan sivsum il chamaqut'a-x̂sita-l, ixsax̂tayax̂ uuyax̂taku[x̂] ukux̂tal angalikuun** 'having seen that his father used to sleep in a cavity he had made in a big rock', lit. 'his father, having made-cavity in a big rock apparently had it as bed' (J 81:26); En 1935 **aalax qamgaangix suupa-x̂si-lix agiitanaking asix qakuqing** 'I made soup of two geese (cf. 2.2.0.3. and 2.2.1.2. (c)) and ate it together with my two companions'; A 1973 ...

taaĝan'gi-si-l, qiigas aqidgul ngaan chachiisal angalii aguu 'when one has picked cow parsnip and covered the cut grass with it', lit. 'picking cow parsnip, cutting grass, covering it with it, when one has'.

Anaphoric reference is marked in both or all terms, e.g.

object - object Eu 1909 **akuĝaan haway hawaagan su-kan, hax̂tachx̂i-kan su-kan, away ingaag(a)n ayugas(a)qa-a** 'then he took him from there, had him get up and took him, and set out with him (in his boat)' (J 34:183 f.); A 1952 **su-lka igiim aygaxtusaqa-a** 'he took it and walked off with it'; Au 1909 **maasa-ka hnu-ka asqata-a** '(doing) so (to him) he reached him and killed him' (J 81:34).

object - oblique A 1860 **Hama[a]n achuuĝix̂ta-lkis ngiin hiisaqa-ngis**, E 1870 **Hamaan angdax̂sx̂i-kin, ngiin hiisaqa-ngin** 'He answered them and said to them' (Luke 3.11).

oblique - object Ea 1909 **amaan ayagaĝan ngaan slaaĝa-kan aaluusa-qaliku-u awa** 'his wife came out to him and began to laugh at him' (J 10:63); Ea 1910 ... **aman laa adan uya-kan, ingaagan sitxaan kumsi-kan, alaĝum adan sakaanusa-kan, alaĝum ilan taangalĝita-kan, ngaan tunux̂taqaliku-u awa** 'he went up to her boy and, lifting him up on his arm (lit. from under him), carried him down to the sea and, holding him in the water, said to him' (J 28:21); A 1840 **ngaan ting iqyaĝi**(t)**-sxa, ilagaan aĝa-lka uĝalux̂tagaliku-ng** 'paddling toward him I got near him and speared him but ...' (V B 1:6).

oblique - oblique En 1910 **kayux amaan anagan ikin igiqax̂si-kan, amnaĝux̂ ikin aguqa-kix** 'the[ir] mother also made a lot of spears for them (lit. made spears for them, made a lot for them)' (J 67:27).

In later Atkan, however, the marking of the conjunctive is mostly left out, e.g. 1952 **iliiĝingis igukuun huzuu haĝu-l** (or Eastern **haĝukan**) **alaĝum achidan hadan huyaasaqa-a** 'when he had taken out its entrails he carried all of it (the whole body) down to the beach'; 1971 **anĝaĝinas hnux̂ta-l ahmayaax̂tazaqa-ngis** 'people used to come to him and ask him'; cf. also A 1909 **naga hilgi-lka, alixcha hilgi-l hamamaasahliku-un** 'he dug the inside of it, dug the middle of it until ...' (J 79:175).

The conjunctive is marked likewise in participial constructions such as Ea 1910 **aman aniqduun anĝaĝita-kan tanatxa-an** 'that child of hers that she had buried alive (lit. keeping it alive)' (J 13:3); see 3.14.3.2.2. Likewise Ep 1941 **aslingin qaĝax̂ta-kin mata-kuning alakaĝin** 'I have nothing to do that I would like to (lit. liking them)'; cf. 3.5.2.2.

A pronominal complement is repeated, e.g. A 1973 **kaduuĝix̂ uluĝuum nagan ting agiital al, ting ayx̂aasazanax̂** '(my grandfather) used to travel with me being together with me in his front hatch (of the baidarka)'; A 1909 **taaman wa(n) amiim agiitaqaakluu sasuglil angalinaa txin** [3R sg.] **agiital txin haĝulĝis usix sakaaĝal** 'then only the one uncle of his who had been annoyed helped him packing down to the beach ... (he said)', lit. 'being together with him put a pack on him and went down to the beach' (J 79:291).

3.9.2.2. Different complements

The terms may have different complements, possibly with repetition of the same verb (cf.3.9.2.5.9.), e.g. A 1860 **sagimaĝin saanĝulix, imlitxin agitxadaguun** 'when you have washed your face and combed your hair'; A 1950 **hingan tayaĝux̂ chaayux̂ anaamaan ax̂s kanfiixtax̂ aniqduumaan aĝikux̂** 'that man gave tea to his mother and (gave) candy to his child'.

In the following sentence the conjunction **kayux** 'and' combines an anaphoric predicate with a specified one: Ea 1910 **wan lakaayax̂ wakun iingan** [anterior], **amaan anax̂tanagan chaagamguuĝix̂ chaam ilan su-kan, kayux aman ayagaadax̂ angaqiiĝix̂ chaam ilan su-lix, idusalix slaaĝaasalix ...** 'when the boy said that, his foster mother took him by her right hand and (took) the girl by her left hand and, leading them outside ...' (J 13:47).

The complement of the following term may have an anaphoric reference to the complement of the conjunctive, e.g. A 1937 **uxchus uhlingis tanam ilaan igula-l hakangis chux̂taqax̂tadanas** '(the ancient Aleuts) used to pull only puffins out of the ground and use their feathers as clothes'; A 1950 **masinat igux̂ta-l huzungis chiliх̂tal ax̂takux̂** '(I saw that) he had taken his motor out and taken all of it apart' (1959:78, 9 (8)).

3.9.2.3. Separate complement of the conjunctive

A conjunctive with a complement may be followed by a predicate with no complement or a different complement (3.9.2.2.), e.g. A 1978 **hlakuchax̂ mikaasiin sayu-l ixchikux̂** 'the little boy is pulling his toy home (lit. goes home); **sunax̂ Adaagim ilagaan angi-l waaĝakux̂** 'the ship came from Adak to here', lit. 'starting from Adak came here'.

An anaphoric reference of the initial conjunctive continues into the following term, also if the latter has a specified complement.

In Eastern the anaphoric conjunctive has regularly an enclitic dative **+(ng)aan**, pl. **+(ng)iin**, which provides also the following term with an anaphoric complement, e.g. En 1934 **tataam aĝiisa-kan-aan akuunuqa-ng** 'leaving him again I went ashore'; E 1870 **Taĝa Hamaan hamayangin quchx̂ingin ax-sxin-iin amaanuqa-ngin.** 'But he passing through the midst of them went his way.' (Luke 4.30); Ea 1910 **amayangin usungin sux̂ta-kin-iin aygagdaamin aqa-txin** 'using all those you will be walking' (J 15:56); En 1910 **asx̂atxadaagiim, iqyaa igiim iqyaasa-kan-aan, qagaagan Alaxsxim chidaĝa naanuqaliqa-a** 'having killed him he took his baidarka for himself and started to go westward along the mainland' (J 72:31). Sometimes, however, the dative is left out, e.g. En 1910 **Qagaamilan tayaĝungin iĝu-kin kayux ukux̂taqada-kin, Adugax̂ nuqa-ngin ax̂takun** 'the men from Kagamil left them behind and, losing sight of them, reached Adugak Island' (J 73:13).

In Atkan the anaphoric conjunctive has only the enclitic dative, e.g. 1973 **Piitram kalu-l-aan** [or Eastern **kalu-kan**] **chiiluqa-a** 'Peter shot it and returned'; 1952 **hachikiim kukin haĝu-l-aan txin aygaxtiku-u** 'he put it on his back and walked off'; **akux̂ ukux̂ta-l-aan qasxaqadaam aqlaqa-a** 'seeing that it had, after having laughed he was angry' (1959:81, 19 (4)); 1909 **alitxux̂ta-l-aan anĝaĝiku-un aqadakuĝaan** 'as you have no more warriors to protect your life (lit. to live)' (J 76:318), cf. 3.5.2.2. In late Atkan the dative may be left out, e.g. **kuusxim su-l** [or Eastern **su-kan**] **amaanuqa-a** 'the cat grabbed it and ran away'; 1971 **kumsi-l ting angliqa-ng** 'I strained myself lifting it'.

The marked conjunctive is used also in participial clauses such as En 1978 **chngax̂ sux̂ta-kan-aan qigluna-ng chugalakax̂** 'the yarn I used for knitting is not enough'; see 3.14.3.2.2.

3.9.2.4. Separate complement of the following term

A conjunctive without a complement may be followed by a predicate with a complement, e.g. A 1952 **itx̂aygix̂ uchix-s hanix̂ agaaĝa-l qayax̂ hangakux̂** 'the reindeer swam (passing) across the lake and ascended the hill'; A 1978 **chaasxix̂ imdakung alix-s stuuluĝim hangadan hyunax̂** 'when I filled the cup it overflowed over the table (lit. spilled over the table)'.

If the following term has an anaphoric complement the conjunctive remains unmarked but a common nominal subject may be in the relative or in the absolutive case, e.g. A 1950 **suna-m haqa-l uyagu-ngis** 'when the ship comes and fetches them' (1959:78, 7 (29)); Ea 1910 **kingtim sitxaan asx̂ukidam asx̂ukidam igluqaadaa sux̂ta-gan kuuĝa-lix ngaan tunuku-u awa** 'a mouse holding a little mouse skin came out from under the sideboard of the bed and said to him' (J 13:33); **ingamatadalinam, ayaga-a sanĝutuu aqa-lix, lam aniqduĝanaa ngaan kuuĝatiku-u awa** 'after some time his wife became pregnant and bore him a boy child' (J 16:22); A 1860 **Iisuusax̂ achuuĝi-lix ngiin tunuqa-ngis** 'Jesus answered and said to them' (Mark 11.29).

Salamatov 1860, however, also marked the conjunctive in agreement with the following anaphoric term: **ada-gan slaaĝa-lka, hadaam hix̂taqa-a** 'his father went out and called him to him(self)' (Luke 15.28).

3.9.2.5. Coreference of other terms

3.9.2.5.1. Subject - adjunct of subject

As expected (cf. 3.1.1.6.), a nominal subject of the conjunctive may be coreferential with the adjunct (3A) of the subject of the following predicate or vice versa; in the latter case the coreference obtains also for the first person (and presumably for the second person). E.g. E 1978 **vidrax̂ tasix taanga-a yukux̂** 'the bucket broke and the water in it is pouring out'; A 1950 **anĝaĝinas qalgadas ukul qal kimla-ngis txidix chx̂as agumax** 'when the people find food and eat it and their stomachs get full' (1959:77, 7 (14); A 1909 **inaqaam manaaĝnatxin ayugnix̂talix alitxu-u chuqidahliiĝdagalikum ...** 'he himself is carrying out what he is trying, [but] his crew, although it has gotten (killed) many ...' (J 76:213); A 1973 **alas ataqan hiisax̂tal akayux̂ axs, agiiti-ngis nam-hadan huyal agiiti-ngis chugum-hadan huyazas** 'whales all the time pass the strait, some of them going south, others going north'; En 1910 **tayaĝum isux̂ ugdux̂taa cha-kix adulakan agalimadaan**

ukaaĝaangan 'when the man with a seal as a magic guise, having short arms (lit. his arms being short), had come in last' (J 48:36); Au 1909 **kavi-ngi tiyix uluut'as asqalanan** 'their head became red and they died' (J 81:36); A 1952 ... **ting alix̂six̂siidal chnga-ning txidix quhmas hiikul gumakuq** 'now, poor me, I am getting old and my hair (pl.) is getting white and I am like that (feeling chilly)' (1959:80, 14 (10)); En 1978 **tutusi-ng chutalix anaĝix̂ tutaakalkaqing** 'my ear is plugged and I cannot hear anything'. Likewise in the case of negative indefinite constructions (3.5.2.), e.g. A 1952 **asla sulaan txidix akiku-ngis alakan, aqadasxaqas** 'having nothing to fight back with [lit. having nothing to take and fight back], they were left [that way]' (N.M. 3:39); A 1950 **qaku-ng alakan haagal gumakuq** 'having nothing to eat I am hungry now'.

3.9.2.5.2. Adjunct of complement - adjunct of complement

The anaphoric complement of the conjunctive may also be coreferential with the anaphoric complement of the following predicate, the predicates having so a common outer subject, while the inner subjects may be different: E 1870 **malix Hamaya inkamaaĝu-m su-kan hamakun ukux̂taqadaqa-a** 'and a cloud hid (lit. took) Him and they (lit. those) did not see Him anymore' (Acts 1.9); cf. 3.11.2.7.

In addition, the inner subjects may have an anaphoric adjunct coreferential with the outer subject: En 1910 **aman tukux̂** [outer subject] **tayaĝu-ngin qaĝax̂taqada-kin, chikiida-gan asx̂asaĝan maayuqa-a** 'that chief, his men beginning to hate him, his brother-in-law prepared to kill him' (J 54:20). Here, then, the outer subject is also the object of the final verb, but since it is separated from it by the inner subjects there is a suffixal reference to it in the final verb (**-a**), cf. 3.2.2.3.

3.9.2.5.3. Shared inner subject, adjunct of subject - adjunct of complement

The inner subject of the conjunctive may be the subject also of the following predicate, but at the same time the adjunct of the subject, specified (in the relative case) or anaphoric, may be coreferential with the adjunct of the complement of the following verb, being thus an outer subject (cf. 3.1.1.6.3.), e.g. A 1973 **haman kuvsina-m taanga-a hama-an qalan aqaa hangal** [or **chiĝdul**] **uyaĝi-i hnuku-x̂ ...** '(when) the water in the pitcher, which had been in the bottom of it (lit. of that one), rose to its neck (lit. rising reached its neck) (the raven putting pebbles into it)'; **hachigan qudgaaĝi-ngis haluusis kux̂tal kamgi-gan agalagaan utal hizax chma-a hnux̂taza-x̂** (sg. **-x̂** in reference to the outer subject) 'its (the red sculpin's) dorsal fins have needles on them and go down from behind its head almost to its tail'.

3.9.2.5.4. Adjunct of subject - subject, inner subject - object

While the adjunct of the subject of the conjunctive is coreferential with the subject of the following predicate, the inner subject of the conjunctive is by zero anaphora the object of the following verb in A 1909 **husi-kix uhlikix ikaax alaĝum ilaan lix̂tal igi(m) iqyaĝidusakux̂** 'only his loads [being very heavy] showed up from the sea [as] he paddled off with them' (J 79:311); cf. 3.11.2.4.3.

3.9.2.5.5. Anaphoric complement - subject

The anaphoric complement of the conjunctive is quite often the subject (or the adjunct of the subject) of the following predicate (cf. 3.11.2.5.), e.g. En 1910 (**txin atxilakan iqyaĝiliiĝlikux̂**) **amaan sux̂tana-m takachx̂i-kan, ingaagan tanaam adan uyalix tanaan nunax̂ ax̂takux̂** '(he paddled without stopping until) the one who was holding let him go, and he got back from there to his place' (J 52:21); (**qugax̂ ax̂alix analuĝim chidaĝan aĝaangan**) **aman chunglux̂ ngaan anuusa-kan, utxi-kan, chuyu-gan agiicha iqikux̂** (**ukux̂taagiim ...**) '(when the demon came dancing next to the ladder) he threw that flagstone at him, hit him and (saw that) one of his arms came off' (J 52:10); A 1909 ... **ngaan ahngax̂tal-aan, hamaax ilagaan agal kims ..** 'he (a) agreed to him (b) and he (b) left him (a) and went down ...' (J 76:203); A 1952 (unmarked conjunctive) **... qaniigiidahlix̂** [for the case cf. 3.3.2.2.2.] **kungin chatil, hiikus ilax̂tas asx̂alaasal, inanas** 'even a snow avalanche sliding upon them, they died from that, too, and were no more' (N.M. 3:111).

3.9.2.5.6. Cross-reference

In the following Eastern sentence (irregular according to Atkan Moses Dirks) there is cross-reference of the subjects and the oblique complements of the conjunctive clauses, and the subject of the second one is also the object of the final verb: Eu 1909 ... **tataam adangin iqyaĝidalix, kayux amakun iqyan asix adaming uyalix, nuqalinaqing** '(I) paddling again toward them and those baidarkas likewise coming toward me, I began to reach them' (J 40:36).

3.9.2.5.7. Coreference with base of derivative

In the following sentence the base **gulaasxi-** 'bootleg(s)' of the derived conjunctive is the inner subject of the following verb, while the adjunct of its subject (**-ngis**) is coreferential with the outer subject of the sentence: A 1984 **wakus Kasakas** [outer subject], **wakus sapuugi-ngis gulaasxi-ĝi-l wan aduutazana-s ax̂taku-s** 'the Russians used to have shoes (boots) with bootlegs as long as this (as shown), it is said', lit. 'these Russians, these shoes of theirs having bootlegs, [the bootlegs] were as long as this'. Both the adjunct of the subject of the conjunctive and the adjunct of the object of the following verb are coreferential with the outer subject in A 1973 **awayqis** [outer subject] **kudu-ngis haka-ĝi-l kita-kix hnux̂tazas** 'immature eagles have feathers down the legs to the claws', lit. 'immature eagles, their legs having feathers, [the feathers] reach their feet'. Cf. 3.9.2.5.3.

3.9.2.5.8. Subject of the conjunctive included in following subject

The subject of the conjunctive may also be included (with or without a complement) in the subject of the following predicate, e.g. A 1979 **Katariina-m as hangakan skuulim hadan txidix aĝatikus** 'Catherine ascending with her, they got to the school'; Eu 1909 (**ataqan ulux̂tax̂ ukux̂taqalliming, agitaasaning-ngiin ix̂takung,**) **agitaasaning uku-kin, asix aman ulux̂tax̂ tixchx̂iiĝan adan sakaanunan** '(having seen one baidarka, when I told my companions,) my companions seeing it, we went down together to help that baidarka land' (J 40:45); **aman ulux̂tax̂ agiitaaqaltanang kayux tixsix, usukiingin ulux̂tan akuuĝasix amuqadaangin ...** 'the baidarka that I had accompanied landing also, all of us took the baidarkas farther up the beach and tied them ...' (ibid.).

3.9.2.5.9. Enumeration of nominal terms

Nominal terms are enumerated with repetition of the common verb (cf. 3.9.2.2.), as in Ea 1909 **ayagaan aka tanĝaax̂ igiim ugdux̂sx̂iisalix, adan ayagaa aliiĝgix̂ igiim ugdux̂sx̂iisalix, ..., anaadangin tanĝaaĝim uyqiĝa igiim ugdux̂sx̂iisakux̂** (**ukux̂taqalikux̂**) '(he saw that) his wife over there was putting on a bear [skin], the next woman a wolf [skin], (the third a fox skin, the fourth a caribou skin), and their little mother an old she-bear [skin]' (J 10:83).

3.9.2.6. Clauses in the passive

The passive suffixes formally remove the inner subject (3.4.3.). In a pair or series both or all terms may be in the passive or a passive conjunctive may be followed by an active verb or vice versa. A passive may also imply reference to the speaker's group, meaning 'we' (3.1.1.2.).

3.9.2.6.1. General passive

The removal of the shared inner subject of conjoined predicates may leave a complement as a new subject, either a shared complement or the complement of one of the conjoined predicates.

The new subject may correspond to objects or oblique terms of the corresponding active constructions (3.9.2.1.) but an oblique term must be anaphoric, possibly following a specified outer subject, e.g.

< *object - object* A 1952 **awa-ĝa-l hamang anĝaĝi-ila-qaliqas hiilax̂tazadas** 'they were put to use as workers there, it is said', lit. 'being had as workers (serfs) they began to be lived with there' (N.M. 3:78); Eu 1909 **away amakux higdiknangin, hingaag(an) taxsa-lga-lix, hid-ula-lix, amaan ulaak(am) nagan taxsa-lga-lix, ax̂sxa-lix, ...** 'then the burned remains of those two were collected and taken out and put away in that burial hut, put [there] ...' (J 34:22-26). Anaphoric adjunct of the one term in Ea 1910 **iisaangan, u-lga-lix, asix imgaĝingin ungux̂-sxa-qalikux̂** 'being told, [the man] came over to him and they began to pull the line together', lit. 'when he (a) told [him (b)], he (a) was reached and his (a) line began to be pulled together with [him (b)]' (J 31:27); En 1910 **amaltanaa tayaĝugan usungin ina**(t)**-sxa-lix, agachiidaa aĝi-ila-agiim,** (**tanaam adan chiilunax̂**) 'while he was over there all his men were killed and he only having been left (returned to his village)' (J 48:4).

< *object - oblique* A 1978 **iĝama-ĝa-l ngaan tunu-ĝa-kux̂** 'he was spoken to in a very friendly way (lit. being liked)'; A 1952 **an'gingis, kimlangin huzungis taxsa-lga-l, qakadgu-lga-l hudas ngiin, qakax̂tangis ngiin imda-ala-zaqas** 'the(ir) intestines and all the(ir) stomachs were stored, dried, and filled with dried fish, dried ones' (N.M. 1:28).

< *oblique - object* A 1952 **slukin changa-lga-l hamaax̂ igu-lga-ax̂tax** '(the chief ordered that) they should be gone in to and be pulled out from there' (N.M. 3:74); Ea 1910 **ulaadax̂ ngaan agu-lga-lix, algam igluqagan ilidan chaxtaayulux ngaan chuchx̂i**(t)**-sxa-lix, ungutachx̂i**(t)**-sxa-lix, amangun ax̂-sxa-lix, sila chachilga-dax̂** 'a hut is built for her (the menstruating woman), she gets put on the skin of an animal not slit down the front, is placed seated there, and her front is covered' (J 11:3); A 1973 **qata**(t)**-sxa-qadaguun tataam chidĝinangis chuqingis amux̂ ngiin chachix̂ta-ala-l, ulalĝita-lga-yugaax̂-sxa-dax̂** 'when it (the grass for weaving) has been split, the green parts of it are covered [at] the root end by a piece of clothes and kept in the house for a while'.

< *oblique - oblique* A 1952 **qikun sisxix̂, ilan anaĝis haĝu-lga-l, huzugaan ilan anĝaĝi-lga-qax̂ hiilax̂tadax̂** '[as for] the portage in there, goods were carried [across] there and [people] were always living there, it is said' (N.M. 2:33).

Corresponding to the cases where the conjunctive has a separate complement (3.9.2.3.), the passive conjunctive has the enclitic dative **+(ng)aan** followed by the passive of a verb with no complement or with a specified different complement in Ea 1909 **aman sax̂ ukux̂talaaĝanaan angaasim-aan iidasi-ĝa-lig-aan unuuxsxa-kux̂ tutaqalikux̂ awa** 'he heard them sing a song describing the bird he had seen the day before', lit. '(heard that) the bird he had seen the day before being described by a song was sung' (J 10:110); Eu 1909 ... **aman kaadĝaadax̂, uya-lga-ax̂t(a)x̂ i-ĝa-l(i)g-aan am(a)n ayagax̂ uya-lga-ax̂tax̂ ngaan hamaanuchx̂i**(t)**-sxa-qaa ngaan agiita-ala-lix, amay amalig(a)n ax̂-sxa-qax̂** 'the stone amulet was ordered brought [in] and the woman that had been sent for for him, being given him as companion, he was put there' (J 34:31-34); A 1952 ... **ida-ĝa-zigatal[akan] ilaa akalu-ĝa-l-aan, malgaa-aqam huzuu malgaqax̂ ax̂takumaan ida-ĝa-qaĝulax** 'he was recognized when one passed by him, and was recognized when all to be done was completed' (N.M. 3:46). Without the enclitic, in Atkan, there is no formal (personal) connection between the clauses, e.g. 1978 **tanax̂ ax-sxa-l umaanu-lga-zax̂** 'one has to pass over the land to get across to the other side', lit. 'land being passed, one gets ("it is gotten") over there'; 1952 **qagaa-hadaan alitxux̂ uku-ĝa-daqadal, anĝaĝi-lga-qaliqax̂ hiilax̂tazadax̂** 'warriors from the east being no more seen, one began to live [in peace]' (N.M. 3:101).

A conjunctive in the passive and a following active verb may share an outer or inner subject, e.g. En 1910 **malix aman Luung, taangax̂ ngaan aĝ-a-lakan, taangaatuqalinax̂** 'and that Luung, being given no water, began to be thirsty' (J 72:4); **tanaan isxanax̂takux̂ ax̂sa-ala-lix, Aglagam kugaan iqyan adan uyaqaa** 'it being learned that he had changed his village, baidarkas went out from Aglagax̂ toward him' (ibid. 41)

3.9.2.6.2. Active conjunctive followed by a passive verb

The inner subject or the adjunct of the subject of an intransitive conjunctive may be coreferential with the "new" subject (the underlying object) of a following passive, e.g. A 1978 **sax̂ uchix-s amaanu-l uku-ĝa-qadanax̂** 'the duck swam (going) away and was no more seen'; En 1983 (**sunax̂ angamadaan itx̂aalaax̂tukuĝaan**) **aman, Inukiintiidax̂, chakix taka-lix, sunam qudgaan itxi-lga-kux̂** '(when the ship was hit again by the breakers from the side) he, Little Innocent, his hands slipping, was cast off from the top of the ship'.

Also the anaphoric complement (object or oblique) of a conjunctive, that is, its outer subject, may be coreferential with the "new" subject or an adjunct of the "new" subject of a following passive, e.g. En 1909 **aalax tayaĝux amaan ilaan sulgaqaam adan uyaasa-kix, amangun ax̂-sxa-kum ...** 'two men bringing him to where he had been taken from, he was put there ...' (J 46:30; note the 3R form **sulga-qa-am**, coreferential with the outer subject); ... **alitxum kuuĝaasa-kan, malix sngaasiin tayaĝuudguusaaĝalilix asx̂a**(t)**-sxaqax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'a war party came upon him so, although killing several men with that adz of his, he was killed' (J 45:24); **ilaan aĝa-kin, chagan unangaan su-lga-lix qangu-ula-qax̂** 'they approached her, took her by the hand and led her indoors', lit. 'they approaching, being taken by her hand she was led indoors' (J 49:40); A 1952 ... **ayx̂aasingin huzuugizangis qisadguqadaamchix ayuxtux̂chx̂i**(t)**-s, huzungis ayuxtux̂chx̂isxakus ...** 'having tied together all their (the enemies') boats they sent them out to sea, and when they had been sent out ...' (N.M. 3:39); **... ayx̂aasim huzungin ilingiin tanaanu-l, tanĝis kungin aĝi-ila-qas hiilax̂tadas** 'all the boats going ashore away from them, they were left on the islets, it is said' (ibid. 40). The anaphoric complement of the conjunctive is coreferential with the anaphoric oblique complement of the following passive in A 1909 ... **hiing ataqan aa hiing aĝiisa-l sluga(an) hama hi**(t)**-sxa-l-aan ...** 'they left him there (being) alone and went out (passive) from him' (J 76:284 f.).

When the conjunctive is intransitive or has a specified object there is no formal (personal) connection with the following passive, e.g. Ea 1909 **tanadgus(im) tayaĝuu sinuuĝ(a)n ayux-six, kasu-lga-lix haĝu-lga-lix hakaaĝa-al(a)-lix ...** 'a man from the village going down to the sea to beachcomb, he (the man in the story) was found and carried (and taken) up from the shore ...' (J 6:10-13); A 1952 **Qawalĝan kugan adaaĝala-l, Unalĝan kugan adaaĝa-l, ayx̂aasingis ... hakuuĝa**(t)**-sxa-l ...** 'they came ashore at Kavalga, came ashore at Unalga, and their (the enemies') boats were pulled up from the beach ...' (N.M. 3:41); En 1909 **asla txin ayugnikux̂ a-lakan** [cf. 3.5.2.1.], **angi-ĝa-qaĝulux** 'nobody moved and he was left alone' (J 45:20); En 1910 **amakun isuĝnaaĝnan isuĝin waaĝaasa-lix, iqyaa chx̂a**(t)**-sxa-lix, tanagan adan uyachx̂i**(t)**-sxa-qax̂ aman Igulaasix̂** 'those seal hunters bringing seals, his baidarka was filled [with seals] and he was sent back to his village, that I.' (J 70:18); Eu 1910 **aman ungii tataam lax̂ aguugiim, igiim iĝaynganiisa-lix, malix amaan Usilam-aan ayagaadax̂ agulganaa iiltaaĝan ma**(t)**-sxa-qax̂** 'when his sister again bore a boy she became afraid for him, so it was arranged to tell (lit. to be told) Usilax̂ that a girl was born' (J 35:3; **ungi-i** 'his sister' refers to Usilax̂).

3.9.2.6.3. Passive meaning 'we'

In constructions with the conjunctive a passive meaning 'we' does not differ formally from a general passive if the predicates are connected by some term such as a common "new" subject or by anaphoric reference, e.g. A 1978 **Amilaayax̂ idaĝa-lakan tunux̂ta-ala-zax̂** 'we know and speak English', lit. 'English (American) being known is spoken'; A 1949 **aaqanax̂ suulix̂ ngaan anga-ĝa-l una-lga-daĝulax** 'we never use salt to cook octopus', lit. 'octopus, salt being added to it, is never cooked'; A 1973 **kidu-lga-l waaĝaasanaa sig-ula-ax̂tax̂** 'let us help him take up (from the beach) what he brought in', lit. 'being helped, what he (outer subject) brought in may be taken up'; **kidunas a-kan chagix̂ ayx̂aasigan ilagaan igu-lga-l angalix̂** 'we helped him take the halibut out of his boat', lit. 'some helping him (3.5.1.3.), the halibut was taken out of his boat' (outer subject him - his). The following biblical translation contains the object pronoun **tuman** 'us' but is formally like the constructions with a passive conjunctive with an enclitic dative **+(ng)aan** discussed above (3.9.2.6.1.): E 1870 **un'gi-ĝa-lig-iin tuman haĝiya-lga-kun aqadanan** 'we could no more hope to be saved', lit. 'for it (pl.) being hoped, to be tried to save us was (pl.) no more' (Acts 27.20), cf. 3.5.2.4.

Differently from the general passive, however, the connection may be just the semantic subject implied by the passive (the subject formally removed by the passive), rather than a formal "new" subject left by the passive; for instance, with underlying intransitive verbs, A 1980 **waaĝa-lga-l chaayu-lga-qax̂** 'we came back and had tea', cf. **waaĝa-l chaayu-na-q** 'I came back and had tea'; A 1973 **uti-lga-l chala**(t)**-sxa-ax̂tax̂** 'let us go down (to the beach) and meet him (the landing hunter)'.

So the subject of an active conjunctive with no complement or a specified one may be coreferential with the implied subject of the following passive, e.g. Eu 1909 **akayu-lix Ugamgax̂ nu-lga-angan** 'after we had crossed the strait and reached Ugamak Island' (J 40:60); **tuman ayx̂a**(t)**-six sutux̂ anga**(t)**-sxa-qax̂** 'starting we hoisted sail' (ibid. 26); A 1973 **gula-l sunax̂ ukux̂ta-lga-ax̂t[ax̂]** 'let us take a walk and look at the ship' (note **uku-x̂ta-lga-** rather than **uku-ĝa-**); A 1978 **aangsus amdugi-l taangangis igu-lga-zax̂** 'we squeeze the fruit juice out', lit. 'squeezing the berries we (passive) take out their water' (**-ngis** 'their' makes the objects coreferential but the conjunctive is active); A 1980 **qa-l ina**(t)**-sxa-qax̂** 'we ate all of it', lit. 'eating [it] we finished it', rather than "eating he was finished", cf. **qa-lga-l ina**(t)**-sxa-qax̂** 'we ate all of it', lit. 'being eaten it was finished', and **qa-l** [E **qa-kan**] **inati-qa-ng** 'I ate all of it', lit. 'eating [it] I finished it'.

The following sentence is an example of a series of active conjunctives with a more complex passive construction in between: Eu 1909 **Malix Tulagim sila ax-six, sadaan aaliisii uku-ĝa-kum, alaĝutulix, ilan tix-sxa-duukalakan, tataam sutux̂ angasix tuman ayx̂anan.** 'So, passing close to Cape Lazaref, when we saw from the sea [that] the landing place there was taking heavy sea and we would not be able to land there, we again hoisted sail and traveled on.' (J 40:28); **aaliisii** 'its landing place', the "new" subject of the passive **uku-ĝa-ku-m** (cf. 3.11.2.2.1.), has a suffix referring to **Tulagi-**, the complement of the preceding active conjunctive, and is the referent of **ilan** 'in it, there', the complement of the following passive conjunctive, while the subject implied by the passive forms is coreferential with the subject of the preceding as well as of the following active verbs.

3.9.2.7. Meteorological clauses

Meteorological clauses in the conjunctive, with a subject, are conjoined with a following clause without further formal connection, e.g. Eu 1909 **ayangix̂ aqa-lix kayux slax̂ agnaax̂-six, iqyan ukux̂taqadanaqing** 'fog coming and the wind increasing, I lost sight of the [other] baidarkas' (J 40:29); A 1952 **qaxchikdax̂ haqa-l anĝaĝinax̂ yaagiduukaqadakux̂** 'when darkness was coming and people (sg.) were going to rest (lit. were no more going to move)' (N.M. 3:63); Ep 1941 **amaya amax axsmili-lakan asx̂anax̂** 'it died before the night was over', lit. 'the night not yet passing it died'; A 1950 **anangis sla-m qagaanuusa-l, chix̂tam slaĝuu haqa-l, amgaax alax signax̂tam ilan waaĝax̂tal amaxsis** 'being there the wind held them east and a stormy rain coming they came back at twelve in the night' (1959:78, 10 (3-5)).

Likewise with the passive **malgalix** 'there being' (3.4.3.3.4.) and A **masxal**, Au **masul** 'there becoming', e.g. Eu 1909 **qagaadaan maadux̂ aqa-lix, kachix malga-lix, ingaligan sichidim saĝanan** 'a breeze from the northeast blowing up to a storm (lit. from the northeast a breeze coming and there being a storm), we passed four nights there' (J 40:23); En 1978 **tudngilgix̂ malga-lix chix̂tax̂ aqaaqlaaĝan aĝikux̂** 'there is a rainbow and rain will be coming soon'; A 1950 **achunax̂ masxa-l ting haaĝaniing[an] ax̂takuq** 'wind set in and I stopped (fishing)'; Au 1909 **hlaĝul masu-l hiing ulukux̂ uqayakuĝaan** 'when the wind rose and one could not stay there anymore' (J 80:20 with note d).

Similarly A 1973 ... **hitanaaĝikus sunam hangadaa taangaĝi-l hita-lga-adahliikalakax̂** 'we tried to go out (from the galley) but the deck of the ship being full of water we (passive) could not even go out' (possible English influence).

3.9.3. Semantic relations

Sharing the mood/tense marking and possibly a negation, the predicates conjoined by the conjunctive are formally paratactic, or rather, there is no formal difference between parataxis and subordination. Semantically, however, the constructions include a wide range of relations. In temporal terms they may be classified roughly as successive and simultaneous but also various other relations are involved.

3.9.3.1. Succession

As seen from many of the examples above, a verb in the conjunctive very frequently indicates an action followed immediately by the action indicated by the following verb. The relation is mostly contextual only but the succession may also be marked by suffixes such as **-qada-** 'stop, no more. already' (example towards the end of 3.9.2.6.1., A 1952) or by the particle **taaman** 'then only', e.g. En 1978 **paltuun atxax̂-six achitxaaluĝa achiti-lix taaman itada** 'button up your coat well before you go out', lit. 'adjusting your coat, fastening its button, then only go out'; **masinan ayx̂a-liiĝli-lix txidix atxikun** 'the motor was running until it stopped'. Note also the use of the negation in A 1978 **qaagudgusix̂ chx̂ati-chx̂i-lakan hyutida** 'empty the garbage before it is too full', lit. 'not letting the scrap can become full pour it (**qaagu-** the garbage) out'.

A notable type of temporal succession is a verb of movement followed by an expression of the end point, especially the verb **hnu-**, E **nu-**, **hu-** 'to reach' or a derivative in **-uuĝa-** of demonstratives (2.1.7.9.3.) and a few other stems, e.g. A 1950 **hadakin huyal hnukuk** 'I went over to them (two)', lit. 'going toward them I reached them'; A 1978 **utal alaĝum achidan** [for **achidaa**] **hnux̂takuq** 'I went down to the beach', lit. 'going down (toward the beach) I reached the seashore'; En 1978 **duurax̂ udusalix sakaaĝatikun** 'they are taking the dory down to the shore', lit. 'taking the dory down (toward the beach) they are getting it down (there)'; Eu 1909 **qangul(i)x ukaaĝalix** 'he went in', lit. 'entering he got in' (J 34:77); Ea 1910 **... idusalix slaaĝaasalix ...** 'leading them outside' (J 13:47; for the suffix **-usa-** in both terms cf. 3.9.3.2.); A 1978 **tayaĝux̂ ixs tanaaĝakux̂** 'the man returned', lit. 'the man going homeward got to his place'. Some other verbs are used in a similar way, e.g. A 1978 **qayax̂ hangal kangakux̂** 'she climbed right to the top of the hill', lit. 'climbing the hill she got to the top of it'; **chiĝanax̂ amnax̂s utikux̂** 'the river flows downstream', lit. 'the river flowing goes downwards'; En 1978 **anaĝix̂ ingulix ayutikux̂** 'he pushed something down', lit. 'pushing something he felled it'.

Likewise, a verb of activity in the conjunctive may be followed by an expression of the result, e.g. En 1978 **atx̂uun ungasix aamagnikux̂** 'he cut his finger and it is bleeding', lit. 'cutting his finger he made it bleed'; A 1978 **sax̂ iĝas iganikuq** 'I scared the duck into flight (lit. made it start flying)'; **hyaagax̂ struuzal qachx̂izigax̂ hitikuq** 'I planed the wood until it was smooth', lit. 'planing the wood I made it smooth'; A 1950 **sayul qyachada** 'pull it tight', lit. 'pulling make it tight'; **hmiichix̂ anagil amaatxax̂ ngaan hnuchx̂ikux̂** 'his hit sent the ball far', lit. 'hitting the ball he made it reach far'. Note especially the use of the verb **ina-t-** 'to finish', which may come close to an aspectual auxiliary of completion, e.g. En 1938 **saligux̂ agul inatikuqing** 'I finished making the cap'; Au 1952 **angayuuchaĝil anĝaĝinan tamang ax̂sas inas** 'making war they killed all (lit. killing finished) the people there' (1959;124, 33 (5)).

Depending upon the meaning of the verbs, the conjunctive may also be followed by an expression of purpose (cf. 3.10.), e.g. A 1978 **sadaaĝal hamaya alquuq** 'what shall I go out for ?', lit. 'going out then, what shall I (am I supposed to) do ?'; **igax̂tax̂ kims tagakux̂** 'the plane descends for landing', lit. 'descending is landing'; A 1971 **Piitrax̂ ayuxtal qawanaaĝnax̂** 'Peter went out to hunt sea lion (he did hunt)'; En 1978 **Chuxchan kdax̂ tatxitalix iimqaayudan** 'Eskimos make a hole in the ice to fish'.

3.9.3.2. Simultaneity

The simultaneous states or actions expressed by the conjunctive and the following verb may be on the same semantic level, as in A 1978 **alax̂ angunal aduzax̂** 'a whale is big and long'; **Ivaan tachim hilal aluĝilakax̂** 'John cannot (lit. doesn't) read and write yet' (3.9.1.). This relation may be specified by the conjunction E **kayux**, A **ama** 'also, and', cf. 3.9.1. and A 1860 **qalix ama taangang sitxan** 'while I eat and drink (lit. under my eating and drinking)' (Luke 17.8; E 1870 **qang kayux**

taangang sitxan); A 1979 **ukuĝalakaĝim haway aygaxs ama anĝinaa uhlii kugaan tutalgakux̂** 'we (passive) did not see him but only heard him walking and breathing'. A negation may indicate a contrast, e.g. A 1952 **hingan sulakan uglaga agacha suda** 'don't take that one, take rather the other one'. An alternative is expressed, in Atkan, by **asxuun(ulax)** 'or' (lit. 'if it is not'), e.g. 1979 **qal asxuunulax hilax̂ ?** 'is he eating or (is he) reading ?'.

More frequently the conjunctive indicates a concomitant of the following action or state, temporal as in the case of the conjunctive of **ma-** and **mata-** with participles in **-na-** (3.8.2.2.1.), or quite as often modal. In many cases there is an agreement of transitivity such that the conjunctive has the suffix **-usa-**, passive **-ula-** (3.4.1., 2.1.) when combined with a following transitive, resp. passive verb, cf. A **chaĝil qakuq** 'I am eating with (lit. having, using) my hand' and **ulux̂ chaĝiisal qakuq** 'I am eating the meat with my hand (lit. using the hand at it)'. But the derivative with its complement may also be followed by the same verb without the suffix, as in Eu 1909 **wakun qidaasalix qidalix gumanaan away hinax̂ awa** 'he was crying because of them, he said' (J 34:84; likewise A 1952, N.M. 2:33).

As in the last example, the conjunctive may indicate the reason or cause for what is expressed by the following verb (with or without a temporal succession) (cf. 3.11-12.), e.g. En 1978 **braataan ikisix qidaasakux̂** 'he is crying because he lost his brother', lit. 'losing his brother he is crying because of him'; A 1952 **haagal asx̂alanas** 'they starved to death', lit. 'starving they died' (N.M. 3:111); En 1978 **akalux̂ kdaĝilix qdinakux̂** 'the road is slippery from the ice', lit. 'the road having ice on it is slippery'; E 1838-70 **x̂liiman ugunux̂talix sunanulux** 'they had forgotten to take bread', lit. 'forgetting bread they did not take' (Matthew 16.5); A 1950 **iĝatuusal suqangulax** 'I did not dear to take it', lit. 'being afraid concerning it I did not take it'; A 1979 **daqaĝiisalakan suqaĝulang** (= **suqangulax**) 'I was foolish enough not to take it', lit. 'being foolish about it I did not take it'; En 1978 **agitaasang txin qyunix̂tanaa ukulix sismikuqing** 'I found my friend having a hard time, so I helped him'; A 1978 **asxinux̂ kachalal txin ugutakux̂** 'the girl is swinging happily', lit. 'the girl swinging is happy'. More examples in 3.9.2. passim.

The conjunctive frequently indicates manner, in various senses such as speed, intensity, quantity, etc., and posture and the like, etc., e.g. Ea 1910 **alqulix ingan txin liidasitxin** 'how (lit. doing what) did you get to be like that ?' (J 13:19); A 1978 **baankix̂ alqutal haxsit** 'how did you open the can ?', lit. 'doing what to the can did you open it'; A 1952 **hingamatal hitikux̂** 'he went out in that way' (2.1.7.7.); A 1950 **xadaxs aygaxs** 'walking fast', **xadaglakan aygaxs** 'walking slowly'; A 1973 **slaĝux̂ kayutul humsikux̂** 'the wind is blowing hard'; **ataqan hital itxilal** 'dropping them one by one (lit. making them one)'; A 1976 **anax̂ hitalakan lazaqangis** 'they had no problem getting (catching) them', lit. 'not making them anything (= easily) they used to catch them'; A 1978 **txin kinital aangsutikux̂** 'is picking berries in a bowed position'; A 1950 **chlax̂tal ayx̂al** 'swimming under the water (lit. having dived)'; **iix̂il aygaxs** 'walk limping'; A 1978 **qanglaaĝix̂ ulux̂ kixtal igax̂takux̂** 'the raven is flying with a piece of meat in his mouth'; **itx̂aygix̂ kalas**

kimusakux̂ 'he is dragging the reindeer down the hill', lit. 'dragging the reindeer takes it down'; **qidal tunux̂takux̂** 'is talking weepingly'; **hlax̂ adalul tunux̂takux̂** 'the boy is telling a lie', lit. 'is talking lying', En 1978 **ting adaluusalix tunusakux̂** 'he is telling me lies'; etc.

Manner includes also means, e.g. Eu 1909 **... atuukix uĝalul(i)x asx̂as(i)x aqadaagiim** 'after having speared both of them to death (lit. spearing killed)' (J 34:115); A 1971- **Piitrax̂ skiifaĝil ayuxtanax̂** 'Peter went out in (lit. having, using) a skiff', **Piitrax̂ Paavilax̂ skiifaĝiisal ayuxtaasanax̂** 'Peter took Paul out in a skiff'; A 1952 **iĝilaĝiilal aglalgal** 'being brought together in baidars' (N.M. 2:7); A 1860 **kamga quganaĝiisal six̂isxa** 'smashing his head with rocks' (Mark 12.4; E 1870 **kamga quganan ngaan tatxilaasaqax̂**).

Further relations expressed in the conjunctive are, for example, order, place, time, and quantity, e.g. A 1978 **itaangis txin hamaaĝatikux̂** 'he got there first (lit. being first)'; A 1973 **tanĝim Angusxus asax̂taa itaangiisal axs angalis** 'we passed first (lit. doing first to) the islet called A.'; A 1978 **tayaĝus chugaanux̂tal qaqamiiĝukus** 'the men are hunting on the north side (lit. having moved to the north side)'; **qagmangix̂ hamang aalal qalgaqax̂** 'the goose was consumed there (lit. being done to there)'; Ea 1909 **amaan adagan qusan aasakan, ayugnaa ukux̂taqalikuu awa** 'that father of his, being (in relation to him) above him, began to watch him go out' (J 8:4); A 1950 **angunalakan waaĝanax̂** 'he came here as a child (lit. being small)'; A 1952 **ilan angunatalgal qaqaĝulax** 'it (groceries) was not eaten in great quantity there' (N.M. 1:55). Quantity may also be expressed by the following term, e.g. A 1978 **wayaam qalgal liisnaalazalakaĝis ...** 'nowadays they are not eaten very much (but ...)', lit. 'being eaten are not usually done to much'.

The constructions appear to be paratactic but semantically the conjunctive may also imply a predicative relation with respect to the following verb: A 1978 **anĝaĝinax̂ aqlal txin ukux̂tachx̂idaĝulax** 'a person should not (lit. does never) show that he is angry', lit. 'being angry never lets himself be seen'; A 1979 **kangaa uluudal txin ukux̂tachx̂izakux̂** 'the top of it (covering for flashlight) appeared red (showed up being red)'. Similarly, the conjunctive may seem to be the semantic object of a following **taĝa-** 'try' but then it may also have the suffix **-naaĝ-** 'try', which underscores the parataxis, e.g. En 1978 **anaĝix̂ ayalix taĝada** 'try to request something'; A 1952 **hunkinaax̂s taĝaaqaan** 'try to tip it over'; with reflexive **taĝa-:** A 1973 **chalil ting taĝamaa-aĝikuq** 'I, too (**-ma-**), will try fishing (with a line)'; En 1952 **aygagnaax̂six ting taĝagung** 'whenever I tried to walk'.

In a series of conjunctive clauses different semantic relations may be combined, e.g. Ea 1909 **uulngiix̂txin aĝulix, igusalix, kayuĝiqadaasalix tanaaĝaasakux̂ awa** 'he got home completely exhausted from carrying his squirrels on his back', lit. 'packing (on his back) his squirrels, going homeward with them, becoming weak from them, he brought them back to his place' (J 10:5); A 1973 **qiigas lax̂tal, isxax̂tal, ingtix̂ akiiĝasal, chachix̂tal, saĝazanas** '(when we were out trapping) we used to sleep in beds of grass that we cut, covered by blankets we took along', lit. 'cutting grass (pl.), using it for bed, taking along blanket[s], using them for cover, we used to sleep'. More examples in 3.9.1-2.

3.9.3.3. Specialized conjunctives

su-x̂ta- 'to hold; to use', passive **su-ĝa-**, is an ordinary verb, used also in the conjunctive, e.g. En 1978 **alugax̂ suĝalix xliibax̂ agulgadakux̂** 'we use flour to make bread', lit. 'flour being used, bread is made'. But the conjunctive is used also in a generalized sense, like the conjunctive of derivatives in **-ĝi-** 'having, using, with' and **-usa-** 'with', passive **-ula-** (cf. 3.4.1.), e.g. En 1978 **biilkax̂ sux̂talix qakux̂** 'he uses a fork to eat' = **biilkaĝilix qakux̂** 'he is eating with a fork'; A 1979 **tukuulkix̂ sux̂tal iklas quxsukuq** 'I am chopping wood with an (or the) axe', cf. **tukuulkix̂ iklas ngaan quxsuusakuq** 'I am using an (or the) axe for chopping wood'; A 1950 **chaan sux̂tal quganax̂ kumsikux̂** 'he lifted the rock with his hand'; A 1979 **chaan sux̂tal suqaa** 'he took it with his hand' = **chaan ngaan suusaqaa.**

agiita- 'to accompany, be together with' is used likewise as an ordinary verb and, in the conjunctive, as a postposition like the petrified conjunctive **asix**, A, Au **as** 'with' (3.3.7.), e.g. En 1982 **amalig(a)n alix ting agunaq(i)ng anaak(i)ng usuk(ix) agiitalix** 'there (being) I grew up together with both of my parents' (innovative order with the conjunctive phrase last); A 1952 **alitxuum ilakin txidix aĝiisanaa agiital tanat hadangin chiilunax̂** 'together with the few warriors he had remaining, he returned to his islands' (N.M. 3:28); **agiital tunux̂tal qilax̂sichix ii?** 'did you (pl.) talk with him this morning ?'; Au 1909 **ugiin agiital qasuuĝiix̂**, E **ugiin agiitalix qasuuĝiiĝan** 'together with her husband to look for food' (J 81:13).

3.9.3.4. Special constructions with **ma-** 'to do' and derivatives

This verb constitutes several types of verb phrases (3.8.1.4.5. and 3.8.2.) and is used also as a sentence connective (see 3.11.4.; 3.16 (3)). In the conjunctive it constitutes two special types of idioms.

3.9.3.4.1. **anax̂ ma-**

Meaning literally 'doing anything' (**a-na-x̂** 'being'), these phrases serve in modern Atkan as a generalizer in negated clauses, e.g. A **anax̂ mal adaaĝachx̂isxaduukalakan ax̂takux̂** 'one (passive) would apparently not let anybody get ashore'; **anax̂ mal tingin takachx̂iduukalakan** 'they would not let any of us go'; A 1978 **qan'gim aslaan anax̂ mal ayuxtalgaakalakan aguun** 'in the winter when nobody can go out (to sea)'; **qas Atx̂am kugan anax̂ mal taxsaĝaakazalakaĝis** 'one cannot really keep fish fresh (lit. store fish) on Atka'; **chagix̂ agach anax̂ ma-ala-l sulilga-akazaĝulax** 'only halibut cannot really be salted'; A 1973 **anax̂ malgal chalalgaakalakax̂** 'there is no place there where one could land', lit. 'there being anything it cannot be landed'.

3.9.3.4.2. Conjunctive with enclitic dative **+aan**, pl. **+iin**

Being used with a following participle or verbal noun, these forms are formally comparable with the anaphoric conjunctive followed by a verb with a specified or no complement discussed in 3.9.2.3. They indicate manner: "doing so to it/them", etc., and may be translated by 'how', but the constructions are not indirectly interrogative or relative like the English translations. The forms have the simple stem **ma-** or the derivatives **mat-**, **mata-**, used with or without the anaphoric complement marker or in the passive. For the use of **masxangaan**, etc., in indefinite expressions see 3.5.2.5.

Examples with the simple stem are En 1909 **ladix makiniin asx̂anangin aqatalakan**, Au **layix makinii asx̂anang t'aĝlaka** 'not knowing how their son had died' (J 58:13, 86:13); A 1860 **anĝaĝinas maliin Txin tagaqutanangis Inaqamis ukux̂takut** 'You see Yourself how the people are thronging You' (Mark 5.31; note **-t** 'you them' in reference to **mal-iin**); A 1952 **kadim hadagaan malgaliin udang anĝaĝiqas ax̂tanas** '(I shall tell you about) how people (passive) lived here in the early days' (N.M. 1:1). With negation Ea 1910 **malakakin-iin ulaaqaltakutxin malix** 'doing as she had not done during the night' (J 28:25).

Stem **mat-**: A 1860 **anĝaĝinas, hamakus masxiziin txidix ayx̂atxangis ukux̂tanas** 'the people saw how they (lit. those) departed' (Mark 6.33); **haman masigaan ulam il qanguusaaĝin ilganas** 'they sought [a way] how they could bring him (lit. that one) in' (Luke 5.18; E 1870 **maasakin**); A 1952 **masxalaan agulgaa ngus ukuchx̂iqaa** 'he showed me how it is made'.

Stem **mata-**: A 1909 **mataliin agacha qudusaĝa(n) aqat haqatanaanulax anuxtal** 'having no idea (lit. thinking that she did not know) how to urinate' (J 78:129). Constructions with **mata-** are used especially in comparisons, followed by another **mata-** or **mat-**, e.g. E 1870 **matakiniin inim hadan Hamaan hanganangin ukux̂tanachi, kayux hiikuugusan liidan matalix haqaduukakux̂** 'in the way you see Him ascending to heaven, exactly like that He will be coming' (Acts 1.11); **anĝaĝim anĝaĝigan matakiniin tunux̂tadanginulux matakux̂, hingan tayaĝux̂** 'never man spake like this man', lit. 'how a person never speaks, he is like, that man' (John 7.46); A 1952 **matalgaliin anĝaĝilgaqas matalgax̂talakaĝis imax ukux̂taqalinas ax̂takus** 'they began to see that one (passive) did not live in the way one had lived [before]' (N.M. 2:34); Eu 1909 **amakun laam kugan matak(i)niin asx̂achx̂i[na]ngin masxan** 'making him die in the way he (the enemy) had done to his son[s]' (J 34:189). Cf. 3.14.5.2.

The forms are used also with a following conjunctive with the enclitic dative, e.g. A 1952 (**huzungis alaĝux̂ axchx̂isxahlikus,**) **masxiziin udagaliin Hadĝiilu(m) daĝan aĝaaĝdagalikus huzungis txidix alaĝulitikus, ...** '(all of them were allowed to pass the sea [the sound] until) all of them had gotten into the sea on their way over to H.', lit. 'how going into the sea they would get over to H.' (N.M. 3:25); Ea 1910 **malakakin-iin asx̂akin-iin amagnatxin malix** 'doing as he did not do in his mortal combats (lit. killing) the nights before' (J 17:110); E 1861 **Iisuusam kayux makiniin anĝaĝin iliin inaqan Txin hitakaniin Inim Aguuĝuganaan kamgadaqangin matalix kayux inaqan txin hitadada** 'as Jesus also went apart (lit. making Himself apart) from the people [when] praying to God in Heaven, you, too, go apart [when praying]' (1902:9).

In biblical translations the conjunctive of verbs with the suffix **-usa-** are used in the same way as the conjunctive of **ma-**, e.g. A 1860 **angagasalkangaan hingan**

manang 'by what authority (lit. having power over it) I do that' (Mark 11.29); **Peetram asx̂aasalkiziin Aguuĝux̂ sanganataduukanangis** 'by what kind of death Peter was to glorify God' (John 21.19). Cf. 3.14.4.1.

3.10. Clauses of purpose

A non-final verb in the intentional or optative (2.1.9.4.1-2.) indicates in general the purpose or motive of the person represented by the subject of the following verb (in biblical translations, as a calque from Russian, a clause of purpose quite often comes last); the purpose may be specified by the ablative pl. **quliin** (A also sg. **qulaan**, **qulagaan**) or (A 1860) **kungiin** 'in order to' (in other connections resp. 'for the sake of' and 'because of', etc.). The subject of the intentional is in general coreferential with the following subject, the subject of the optative mostly coreferential with a complement of the following verb, or else the one or both verbs are in the passive. The semantic cohesion of the clauses ranges from phrases with an auxiliary verb as the second term (see 3.8.1.2.2., 3.8.1.3.1., 3.8.1.4.1.3., 3.8.1.4.4-5.) to rather free combinations.

3.10.1. Person relations

3.10.1.1. Active verbs in the intentional

The subject of an active verb in the intentional is coreferential with the subject of a following active verb (note that, apart from recent innovations in Atkan, the intentional has only 3A forms for the third person), e.g. A 1977 **imyaĝ-iiĝan ayuxtanax̂** 'he went out (in his boat) in order to fish', cf. **ayuxtal imyaĝnax̂** 'he went out to fish (and fished)'; A 1952 **chix̂t-lagaangan qanguuĝutal angaliq** 'in order not to get wet I came in again'; A 1973 **saahmlat huĝnata-aĝan kingtim sitxan isxaĝikux̂** 'in order to brood (lit. keep warm) her eggs she (the eider) has her nest under the bank (by the seashore)'; **slachxizax̂ malgal aguun qawanaaĝ-iimdix** [or **qawanaaĝiiĝdix** for older **qawanaaĝiiĝin**] **Kudugnam hadan txidix huyaqalizas** 'when it is nice weather they go to K. to hunt sea lion'.

An anaphoric complement of the intentional is marked by an infix in Eastern, by a suffix in old Atkan but is left unmarked in modern Atkan. It may be coreferential with the anaphoric complement of the following verb, e.g. Ea 1952- **amchigu-ukagan ilan sakaaĝ(a)ku-u** 'he went down there (to the beach) to meet him (the landing baidarka man)'; En 1910 **Uniiĝun kungiin anĝaĝinam ugix̂taakagan adan waaĝaqadaagiim asx̂ataku-u** 'a woman from the Islands of Four Mountains having come to him to marry him has killed him' (J 69:56); E 1870 **asx̂as-akagin kayux taamanulugaan ilgaagusaqaliqa-ngin** 'they sought the more to kill him' (John 5.18); A 1860 **Pilaatam igni-iĝanka igim haanguusaqa-a** 'Pilate sought to release Him' (John 19.12); **ukux̂taaza-angankis hadangin huyaku-ning** 'I go to them to prove them' (Luke 14.19); A 1952 **ilan aĝii(ĝan) aĝnaan hix̂taaĝan anuxtalakaĝ-a** 'he did not want to tell where he was going to put it'.

As in the case of the conjunctive (3.9.2.3.), if the verb following an anaphoric intentional has no complement or a specified one the intentional has in Eastern and in old Atkan an additional enclitic or separate dative **+(ng)aan, ngaan**. pl. **+(ng)iin, ngiin**, e.g. En 1934 **uku-ukangan-aan itxa-ng** 'I went out to look for him'; Ea 1952 **ayagan qachx̂i-ikig(i)n-iin** [En 1982 **qachx̂iikigin ngiin**] **sakaaĝ(a)qa-ngin** 'the women came down to feed them'; Ea 1909 ... **qaaĝan ngaan agikuu awa** '(the animal) opened its mouth to eat him' (J 3:81); En 1909 **asanaqagan ludaaĝigan uyaaĝan-aan** [for **uyaakaganaan**] **Aglagax̂ nuqaa** 'her older sister-in-law came to A. to invite her' (J 50:40); Ea 1909 **anaadagan anqachx̂ii[x̂]kin-aan ulamdix kugan akaaĝakukix awa** 'his parents got up on their house to send him out (to see him go out)' (J 3:13); En 1910 **ngaan itx̂ayginaaĝiikagan-aan anqakuu awa** 'she set out to hunt caribou for him' (J 26:16); E 1870 **hamayangin taĝaakinginiin [h]amaanukuning** 'I go there to prove them' (Luke 14.19); A 1860 **hamayaa umlasanganka-ngaan aygagiku-ng** 'I [will] go and (lit. in order to) wake him up' (John 11.11).

3.10.1.2. Active verbs in the optative

The subject of an active verb in the optative with no complement or a specified one may be coreferential with a complement (rather than the subject) of a following active verb, e.g. Ea 1909 **aman Miichim Aliiĝuu umla-ax̂tax̂ amgiqalikux̂** 'he began to watch for M.A. to wake up' (J 8:28); A 1952 **hit-lagaax̂tax̂ amgiĝiingan ax̂takung** 'I watched it so it should not go out'; **txin huuĝuzuuzas-ax̂tax̂ tumsakuu** 'she put it (soaked piece of skin) away for it to become soft'; En 1909 **dux̂taasax̂ asxinuun asix saĝa-ax̂tax̂ uyaaĝan aqanaan iisakux̂ nawa** 'she said she was coming to bring over the guest to sleep with her daughter' (J 41:29); A 1973 **anĝaĝinaning qa-ax̂tas ngiin unaqalizaq** '(at dinner time) I cook for my people to eat'; A 1952 **maaĝning ngus hix̂ta-ax̂t txin hayakuq** 'I ask you to tell me how to do'.

Also a first or second person subject of an anaphoric optative may be coreferential with a complement of the following verb (note that the optative has no special anaphoric forms with a 1.p.sg. subject), e.g. A 1950 **su-lagaaqaan imis hix̂taa(ngan) ax̂takung** 'I told you not to take it'; A 1952 **hadan huya-aqaan imis hix̂taangan ax̂takung** 'I told you to go to him'; **ma-aq ngus kyax̂taasaqaa** 'he forced me to do it'; En 1983 **amaya sux̂tanaaĝi-l(a)gaaqing kayux nung iistaqaa** 'he also told me not to try to hold at it'.

With a third person subject (inner subject) of the anaphoric optative the anaphoric referent (complement) is coreferential with that of the following verb, that is, the clauses have a common outer subject, e.g. A 1952 **aniqdu-m su-lagaaqaa ngaan hix̂taangan ax̂taku-ng** 'I told the child not to take it'; **anĝaĝina-m tutalagaaqaa alaazax̂sil tutusing ilan hix̂taqa-a** 'he whispered it (lit. said it quietly) into my ear so that nobody should hear it'; Au 1909 **Qalgaaĝi-m uku-uqaa qungas tamang uqayaam** 'having put it there ready (lit. making ready) for Raven to find it' (J 81:5).

In a participial clause the optative may have a 3R subject coreferential with the subject of the participle, e.g. A 1952 **ma-aqat iim hix̂taqa-ning maza-x̂** 'he does what I tell him to do'; A 1971 **aniqdus adamdix ma-aqadig hix̂tana-ngis mana-s** 'the children did what their father told them to do'; Eu 1910 **amigan agachan asax̂ ayaĝix̂ta-aqaan ngaan txin amqix̂si-iĝ-a ngaan asaasadaqaa** 'it was his maternal uncle who named him by a name he would be ashamed of and become angry [by]' (J 36:32; the first **ngaan** is used because the following verb, a gerundive, is not by itself anaphoric, cf. 3.10.1.1.); cf. the first person in Eu 1910 **amakun angdax̂sx̂i-iqing imasuĝaadaasin liidan nung ax̂qatxin** [= **aqatxin**] 'the questions about riddles you gave me to answer', lit. 'those for me to answer like riddles you gave me' (J 39:10).

3.10.1.3. Passive verbs

In combinations of an active and a passive clause the optative is used, the subjects being different, e.g.

active - passive En 1983 **inasxax̂taguun, qa-aqing uyalgad(a)qa-qing** 'whenever it (the dish) was ready I was invited to eat'; A 1860 **txin asix tunux̂ta-aq haqachx̂iqa-q** 'I was sent for to talk with you' (Luke 1.19; likewise E 1870); A 1952 **hamaanu-lagaax̂tax̂ ngaan hiĝaqax̂** 'he was told not to go there'; Eu 1910 **anqax̂talix tugaadida-lagaax̂tax̂ ngaan aĝlix̂taaladaqalikux̂ awa** 'he was now forbidden to urinate in standing position', lit. 'for him not to urinate in standing position, it was now forbidden to him' (J 35:10); A 1952 **ma-aqat imis kyax̂taalaqazulax** 'you were not forced to do it', lit. 'for you to do them, they were not forced upon you'; - participial clauses: En 1909 **qichax̂ sux̂ta-aqaan igiim atxax̂sxax̂tanaa** '(he examined) the knife that had been prepared for him to use' (J 45:19); Ea 1909 **amaan yaĝim awaaĝigan aĝa-lagaaqaan iĝaqagan awaaĝigan** '(he got) beyond the cape he had been told not to go beyond' (J 8:7); Eu 1909 **ma-aqatxin-iin qagaanuchx̂isxaqatxin ax̂takun malix** 'doing what he had been sent eastwards to do' (J 34:135);

passive - active En 1949 (**amakun unignan taxsachx̂iqatxin ilaam aĝasix**) **ilangin aqa-ala-ax̂tan aalax ayagam tahlaĝanakix qaqadgasim adan uyachx̂inax̂** '(remembering those blueberries he had had gathered) in order to have some of them brought, he sent two slave women to the storehouse'; A 1979 **qilam qilaax̂ umlasxaax̂t(ax̂) alakuq** 'I want to be waked up early in the morning'.

In the sense of 'we', however, a passive may be used in the intentional with a following active verb: En 1910 **isuĝim uluu qa-lga-aĝan isuĝnaaĝiix̂tan** 'let us go sealing in order to eat seal meat' (J 68:10); En 1952 **ulax̂ nu-lga-aĝan amaatxaqadakuĝaan** 'when we were no more far from reaching the house'. The use of the intentional in A 1952 **txin kidu-lga-lagaaĝan anuxtazax̂** (translated from 'he does not want anybody to help him') lit. 'he wants himself not to be helped' is unclear, perhaps induced by the coreference in English.

In combinations of two passive clauses the intentional is used, a common subject having been removed by the passive, e.g. E 1870 **Hamaya su-lga-aĝan ilga-lga-qax̂**, A 1860 **Haman sulgaaĝan ilgaqax̂** 'they sought to take Him', lit. 'He was sought to be taken' (John 7.30); A 1952 **hadangin huya-lga-l alitxu-ula-aĝan ilga-**

lga-lakaĝis 'one did not go to them and seek to make war on them' (N.M. 3:52); En 1910 **aman asxinuun qa-lga-aĝan maayu-ula-x̂takux̂ ukux̂taqaliigiim** 'seeing people prepared to eat his daughter', lit. 'his daughter to be eaten was prepared' (J 60:16); En 1983 **kamxam ulagan adan uya-ala-anga(n) maay(u)qaqing** 'I was [made] ready to be taken to church'.

Preceding the passive of an intransitive verb the passive intentional has in Eastern an enclitic -**(ng)aan** (cf. 3.9.2.6.1.): E 1870 **aniqdux̂ iqidgu-lga-aĝan-aan waaĝa-lga-qax̂** 'one came to circumcise the child' (Luke 1.59); **Ngaan tuman kanax̂**(t)**-sxa-aĝan-aan waaĝa-lga-kux̂** 'we came to worship (lit. bow ourselves to) Him' (Matthew 2.2). In this case Salamatov did not use the enclitic: A 1860 **aniqdux̂ qigax-sxa-aĝan waaĝaqax̂** (Netsvetov 1838 **waaĝalgaqax̂**) 'one came to circumcise the child'; likewise A 1909 **manangis ma-lga-ma-aĝ(an)** [or (**in**)] **haqa-lga-kus hagumalal ax̂takus hawa** 'they too have apparently come to do what they intended', lit. 'what they do to be done, too, are come ...' (J 77:127). But he used it aberrantly before a transitive verb in A 1860 (accepted 1971) **asx̂a**(t)**-sxa-aĝan-aan ilgaqax̂** 'one sought to kill Him' (John 5.16); cf. above.

3.10.1.4. Use of **qul(ag)aan, quliin, kungiin** 'in order (to)'

The purpose is found specified by these terms in cases where the semantic cohesion with the following verb is week (cf. 3.10.2.3), e.g. A 1952 **haaga-lagaaĝin qulagaan huzugaan qanaaĝzakus** 'in order not to starve we go fishing all the time'; Ea 1909 **amaaĝaalaagusalix x̂aayax̂ ngikin, uĝaya-ala-aĝan quliin x̂aayax̂ ikin aniqax** 'as soon as they (two) were brought there, a steam bath to treat them (lit. for it to be treated by/in) was lit for them' (J 4:35); A 1860 **Haman ilamaax aga-lagaax̂ta kungiin, Haman sulax̂tanas** 'in order for Him not to depart from them they held Him back' (Luke 4.42).

In the biblical translations clauses of purpose marked in this way usually come last, translating Russian clauses introduced by *shtoby* or *daby* 'in order to/that', e.g. A 1860 ... **kamgatukuugamagis hadangin txin aygaxtnax̂, hamakuziin Haman maguliisa-aĝan kungiin**, E 1870 **itaangin-kamgatukungin hadangin huyanax̂, hamakun-ngiin Haman agas-aĝan quliin** '(Judas) went (A walked off) to the chief priests to betray (E sell) Him to them' (Mark 14.10); A 1860 **aniqdus Hadan waaĝax̂taalaqas, ngiin Txin hadaĝasa-aqangis kungiin**, E 1870 **aniqdun Hadan hingaaĝaasadaqax̂, ngiin Txin hadĝaasa-aqangin quliin** 'children were brought to Him, in order that He should touch them (lit. touch them with himself)' (Mark 10.13).

3.10.2. Semantic relations

3.10.2.1. Clauses of purpose as a complement

Some of the verbs which follow clauses of purpose demand a complement.

Semantically a few of them recall the temporal auxiliaries (3.8.1.3.), especially E **maayu-** 'to prepare to, to be about to, to begin to', but this verb takes suffixes of valence (3.4.) like full verbs, cf. Eu 1909 **tigiiĝan maayu-qalinas** 'we began to prepare to land' (J 40:40) and Ep 1941 **amaya algax̂taaĝan maayu-usa-qaa; algaĝaaĝan maayu-ula-kuĝaan ...** 'he was going to cut him up; as he was going to be cut up ...'. Other such verbs (with derivatives) are **hax̂sa-** 'to get ready to' (e.g. Au J 81:2) and the reflexive verbs **atxax̂t-** 'to prepare oneself, get ready', Au **aagata-** 'to be ready to' (J 81:24), Au **ukuta-** 'to have gotten ready' (J 80:10), and the transitive **aslita-** 'to be fit to, worthy to'.

Another important group of verbs demanding a complement are **anuxta-** 'to want' (cf. 3.15.3.5.), **ala-** 'to want, wish, need', **ilga-** 'to look for, seek' (examples above), A **haangu-** vr. 'to strive, seek', E **qayunix̂ta-** vr. 'to endeavor', A **un'gix̂ta-** 'to hope to', also **ugunu-** 'to forget', e.g. A 1860 **xleebas su-uĝin ugununas** 'they forgot to take bread' (Mark 8.14), cf. E 1870 **x̂liiman ugunux̂talix sunanulux** (ibid.; 3.9.3.2.).

Further **hix̂ta-** 'to say, promise (with intentional); to tell, order (with optative)' (examples above; cf. 3.15.3.5.), **haya-** 'to ask, request', A **mangi-** 'to ask, beg, pray', E **higadaasa-** 'to promise'.

In the biblical translations also phrases with a noun were used with clauses of purpose, e.g. A 1860 **Haman ngiin maguliisa-aĝinkis awaagichxizax̂ ilgaqalinax̂** 'he began to look for a convenient time to hand Him over to them' (Luke 22.6); **aĝ-iinganka-ngaan angax maĝing**, E 1870 **aĝ-iikangan-aan aslitaqaĝiisix̂ hingaya matakung** 'I have power to give it up' (John 10.18).

3.10.2.2. Clauses of purpose as goal of movement

As illustrated in 3.10.1., clauses of purpose are very common with verbs of movement such as **anqa-** 'to set out, depart', **ayuxta-** 'to go out (in boat)', **had(a)-huya-** 'to go to, toward', **waaĝa-** 'to come back here', etc. So also with **atxita-** vr. 'to stop', e.g. A 1952 **qa-angan ting atxital** 'I stopped (working in order) to eat' (1959:79, 13 (3)).

3.10.2.3. Clauses of purpose as adjunct

As indicated above, a clause of purpose may also be a more independent adjunct of the following clause, e.g. E 1870 **alquusa-akamchi chilikuchi** 'why (lit. in order to do what to it) are you untying it ?' (Luke 19.31; A 1860 **alqumaan chilidix** 'for what do you untie it'); A 1978 **qanaanu-umis ting maxaayal angalix̂t** 'where were you going when you waved at me ?', lit. 'in order to go where did you wave at me'; A 1973 **tayaĝus aluĝis haqaalanangis uya-aĝdix** [for older **uyaaĝin**] **duuradix atxax̂tikus** 'the men made their dory ready for fetching the mail that was brought in'; A 1971 **ayx̂aasing agu-ung[an] asxus alakuq** 'I need some nails to repair (lit. make) my boat'; A 1952 **chix̂ti-lagaaĝan chix̂taliisiin chukux̂** 'he is putting on his raincoat in order not to get wet'.

3.10.2.4. Combinations with the same verb

The clause of purpose is followed by a clause with the same verb or verb stem in Ea 1910 **ayagax̂ anaagulmaan ayaya-aĝan ayaya-guun ...** 'when a woman menstruates (lit. menstruates in order to menstruate) for the first time' (J 11:3); A 1973 **... tanaagamagix̂ hnux̂ta-zax̂chi-ing[an], hnux̂ta-maayanaq** '(then) for the first time I came to the mainland', lit. 'in order to reach the mainland for the first time, I finally reached it'.

The following appears to be a somewhat similar type: A 1977- **haguma-ax̂** [= **hagumaaĝan**] **agach qiĝux̂silakax̂ mal hagumazakux̂** 'that's why he has no trouble gathering for food', lit. 'in order to do so, rather, he has good luck (with the game) so he usually does so'; **hingama-ax̂ anax̂ maakalakax̂ hingamazakux̂** lit. 'to do so he cannot do anything but usually does so', e.g. said about a poor hunter.

3.10.3. Intentional of **a-** 'be' as connective 'because'

A clause introduced by the intentional of **a-** comes last, giving the reason for the preceding. It is mostly marked as subordinate by a final conjunctive of **ma-** 'do(ing) so' or a derivative (cf. 3.11.4.), e.g. A 1952 **kamgam ulagan nagan tataam chixisxaqax̂, aaĝan kamgadax̂ ax̂takux̂ mal** 'he was married again in the church, because (lit. he to be) he is a Christian' (1959:81, 16 (12-13)); **anaĝix̂ taxsanazulax ax̂tagalikus, anaĝix̂ imax alatalakan ux̂tadakus, aaĝin tukukus mal** 'although they do not gather anything, they usually have plenty of things, because (lit. they to be) they are rich' (1959:80, 13 (19-21)); **Filiip kay qaĝax̂taaĝutamalakaĝa hawa, aaĝan aaliisiim naga chahmitikux̂ maasal** 'Philip, too, disliked it, because (lit. he to be) it blocked the interior of his harbor' (1959:81, 19 (5-6); Eu 1909 **aluqaning waya imin chimgux̂talakaqing, aangan kangchimatingin inax̂talakan** 'what I have written I am not sending you now, because (lit. I to be) the translations are not finished' (J 37:28).

3.11. Linked clauses

A final clause may be linked to a following clause with adjustment of the tense/mood and person relations. An adjusted non-final clause may be comparable with a subordinate clause in the anterior (3.12.) or conditional (3.13.) or have affinities with participial clauses (3.14.). Cf. also clauses with verbs of perception 3.15.1.1.2.

3.11.1. Tense/mood relations

The tense marker of a linked clause refers to the following clause rather than to the time of the speech act. The adjusted tense markers are the present -(**i**)**ku-**, neg. **-lakaĝ-** (2.9.1.), which represents also the conjunctive of a final interrogative clause (2.9.2.), the participial tenses (2.9.3.), and phrases (3.8.1.3-4.). The temporal and modal relation between the clauses may be specified also by derivational suffixes (2.2.6.8-9.).

3.11.1.1. Adjusted present

Like a final present in relation to the time of the speech (2.9.1.1.), a non-final present may indicate a state-of-affairs simultaneous with that of the following clause or preceding it more or less immediately. The possible marking of the difference depends upon the person relations to be discussed in more detail in 3.11.2.

If the clauses have different subjects (and no other person relations), succession or contrast is usually marked in the third person by an enclitic dative singular -(**ng**)**aan**, dual **-ikin**, or plural -(**ng**)**iin** (in later Atkan mostly replaced by the singular), e.g. A 1952

Alitxux̂ ina-na-x̂. + **Atx̂am hadan uqitiiĝuta-na-s.**
The war ended. We returned to Atka again.
> **Alitxux̂ ina-ku-ĝ-aan Atx̂am hadan uqitiiĝutanas.**
'When the war ended we returned to Atka again.'

(Beside **-kuĝaan**, attested in Eastern since 1838, old Eastern and Atkan also had **-kum-aan**, with the relative case before the enclitic, in V A 01:8 and B 2:1-2; A 1952 in N.M. 3:46.)

If the clauses have the same third person subject (and no other person relations), succession or contrast is marked by the relative case (distinct from the absolutive case only in the singular), e.g. A

Sax̂ uchigihli-na-x̂. + **Sax̂ txin iĝas iga-na-x̂.**
The duck was still swimming. The duck got scared and took off.
> **Sax̂ uchigihli-ku-m txin iĝas iganax̂.**
'The duck was swimming until (**-hli-**) it got scared and took off.'

Wan hyaagax̂ adu-lakax̂. + **Wan hyaagax̂ tumtatu-ku-x̂.**
This log is not long (is short). This log is thick.
> **Wan hyaagax̂ adu-lakaĝ-im tumtatukux̂.**
'This log is not long but thick (more thick than long).'

The corresponding simultaneity is unmarked, e.g. A 1952 **Kasakax̂ haman sux̂ta-ku-x̂, angaĝinas ... praviizam qaatagaan anaĝim liisnaa ukux̂tazanazulax ax̂tazakus.** 'When the Russian[s] were dominating that [place], the people did not get more than some groceries.' (N.M. 1:8); **Kasakam kampaanii, udan Atx̂ax̂ sux̂ta-ku-x̂, qankus sisax̂ chngatux̂ guudam ilan aguchx̂izanax̂ hiilax̂tazadax̂.** 'The Russian company, when it dominated Atka here, used to have three hundred sea otter caught a year, it is said.' (N.M. 2:20).

A non-final clause with an enclitic 1. p. sg., 2. p., or 3R p. subject is mostly marked by the singular enclitic -(**ng**)**aan** (1.p.sg. E **-qingaan**, A 1860 **-qaan**, 1950- **-qaang**), e.g. A 1950 **taanasxaada-ku-qaang igax̂tax̂ waaĝanax̂** 'while I was camping the airplane came here; I was out camping when the airplane came in'; A 1952 **huzuĝil ukaaĝa-ku-x̂txichig-aan hitikux̂ hama** 'when all of you came in he had gone out'. The use without the enclitic appears to be modern Atkan. A non-singular 1.p. is expressed by the 3.p.pl. (3.1.1.2.), e.g. A 1952 **tanadgusix̂ hnu-ku-z-aan** [for older **-iin**] **qaxchikdax̂ masxaa-ax̂takux̂** 'when we came back to the village it was getting dark'.

An interrogative conjunctive or general is adjusted as a present, e.g. A 1950 **alqul tunux̂tadunaaĝi-ku-x̂t-aan hix̂tanat tutalakaq** 'why do you try to talk so fast, [so that] I don't hear what you say ?' < **alqul tunux̂tadunaax̂-si-t + hix̂tanat tutalakaq.** In the following cases, where the interrogative clause indicates a circumstance of the following clause, the latter gets the interrogative form: A 1977 **alqux̂ asax̂ta-ku-x̂t-aan unanahlix̂ hiilax̂tada-x̂-t** [general] 'what is your name, being called just cook ?' < **alqux̂ asax̂ta-x̂-t** 'what is your name (lit. what do you have as name)?' + **unanahlix̂ hiilax̂tada-ku-x̂t** 'you are called just cook'; A 1978 **alqus ma-ku-x̂t[aan] kikagnal hingama-x̂-t** 'what are you doing that you get so dirty?' < **alqus ma-x̂-t + kikagnal hingama-ku-x̂t**; A 1950 **alqus madusa-ku-un** [pl. **-kuchix**] **atxaza-ka-t** [pl. **-txichix**] 'how did you get it?', lit. 'what did you do to it [that] you got it' < **alqus madusa-ka-t** (pl. **-txichix**) + **atxaza-qa-an** (pl. **-chix**).

A yes-no question may be treated likewise, e.g. A 1987 **Piitrax̂ sabaakax̂ nat-ikux̂ ii? sabaaka-m kigi-qa-a** 'did Peter hurt the dog when the dog bit him ?' (older speaker with embedding of the second clause: **Piitrax̂ sabaakax̂ txin kigikux̂ natnax̂ ii?** 'did Peter, when the dog bit him, hurt it ?', see 3.11.2. 5.2.1.).

3.11.1.2. Conjunctive with **a-ku-**

With no apparent semantic difference from the simple present, the conjunctive with the present of the auxiliary **a-ku-** 'be' may serve to adjust a clause to the following one (for the person relations see 3.11.2.). In Atkan this use is known from the oldest texts on, e.g. 1840 **hawan aguuĝux̂ ... mangi-lix akum, hamaan aguuĝum ngaan tunux̂taqaa** 'when she asked that god (to do so and so) that god talked to her' (V B 3:3); 1909 ... **nagaan aĝaasa-l akuun ilan alitxuum ilagaan tayaĝux̂ tugaalal asx̂al akuĝaan ...** 'when he brought it (his crew) in there, when one man of his crew was beaten and killed ...' (J 76:230); 1952 **uchiitilas Unalaaskam sudiiyagan hadan tunux̂ huyax̂tachx̂i**(t)**-s akuziin, sudiiyax̂ maazalakan ax̂takuĝaan maalal, ...** 'the teachers sent a word to the commissioner of Unalaska but as the commissioner was not in attendance ...' (1959:80, 16 (7-8)); 1978 **tayaĝux̂ inglaakut chaamiida-l akux̂ txin isinax̂** 'the man was shaving his beard but cut himself'.

3.11.1.3. Participial tenses

The participial tenses (2.1.9.3.) are used in non-final clauses less frequently than the present. The remote is also combined with the present of the copula (cf. 3.8.1.1.).

An example of the general, referring to a general condition, is A 1952 **inax̂tahli-ĝ-ulagaan qan'gix̂ ikaaĝa-za-qaa hiilax̂tadax̂** 'it (the food) did not end before the winter was over, it is said' (N.M. 1:19), cf. 3.11.2.1.2.

Recent past: En 1910 **Malix Qatxaykusax̂ laan agachiidaa tanasaĝan maayu-laaĝana-m, asxinuun ama ilguun ama laan tanasaĝan maayuqalinax̂.** 'So Q., having prepared to bury his son only, now prepared to bury his daughter and his grandson and his son.' (J 73:48).

Remote: Eu 1910 **Amamatalix amangun anĝaĝilida-na-m, angalikinga aqaangan, ayagakin asix txin quyuugiim, ikin tunux̂taqalikux̂ awa.** 'After he had been living there like that for some time, one evening (lit. when evening came) after he had gone to bed with his two wives, he said to them.' (J 35:36); A 1950 **haqaax̂t hix̂ta-na-qaang alqul haqanaĝulax̂t** 'I told you to come, so why didn't you come?'; A 1973 **aslagaan kay ayangix̂ malgaaĝuta-qa-ĝaan, ayangix̂ kumsaqalikuĝaan ...** 'at that time there had been fog again too but when the fog started to go up ...'; Au 1909 ... **aglu-na-taan agluyiganax̂ uuyax̂tanaan anuxtal ...** 'thinking that when he was jealous he had been too much jealous' (J 84:10).

Remote with copula: A 1952 **angalix̂ agnagan huzuu ukaaĝaza-na-x̂ akum, wayaam ukan hnudaqadakux̂** 'he used to come in here (visiting) every day but now he never comes in here anymore' (1959:81, 20 (4-5)); **nuuznikaan aqis ayuxchx̂is hadaakutal aalux̂ta-qa-a akum, prusaayilka slaĝuĝulax aguux̂tax̂ hix̂tal ayuxchx̂i-qa-a akum, wan qilax̂ tataam haqal Filiip aaliisigan ilan chalaaĝutal qilax̂six̂** 'he had removed his privy and sent it out (to sea) and looking in that direction had laughed, had said good-bye to it and sent it out wishing (lit. saying) it to be calm weather, but this morning it came again and landed in Philip's landing place' (1959:81, 19 (1-3)).

3.11.1.4. Phrasal predicates

Also temporal auxiliaries (3.8.1.3.) are used in non-final clauses, without or with a copula, e.g. A 1973 **hita-angan aĝ-ikuqaang uqitiiĝutaangan aĝikuq** 'I'm going out but will be back soon'; A 1971 **qilagan aygax-s saĝa-na-x̂ akuqaang namigikuq** 'yesterday I was walking so I feel stiff (now)'; A 1909 **inaqaam txin ayx̂a**(t)**-s angali-m, aaxchigaadax̂ agux̂talix, ayx̂al akum ...** 'having started traveling by himself, making fairly good speed he traveled but ... ' (J 77:63 f.); A 1952 **udang ax̂-s angali-ng akum ukuĝalakax̂** 'I put it here (earlier today) but it is gone (lit. is not seen)'; Au 1952 **kachikali-l siinax̂ uk[um] avim chimikaa kachixs** 'it started blowing yesterday and has been blowing all night'.

Likewise inferential phrases (3.8.1.4.), e.g. Eu 1909 **Kayux amakun Sanaĝagim kugan txidin aĝiisanan Iluulax̂ nuqada-na-n ax̂takun-ngiin, Iluulax̂ nunaqing.** 'And those who had remained behind on Sanak had already reached Unalaska Village when I arrived there.' (J 40:76); Ea 1910 ... **qaliiĝalikum, kdax̂ txin agaasa-laaĝana-x̂ ax̂takuĝ-aan, kangaan aĝitikux̂ awa** 'she was busy eating (the seal entrails) but the ice had drifted away with her when she raised her head' (J 27:1); A 1973 ... **kuris taxsax̂ta-qa-t ax̂takum ngus aĝnax̂** 'the cigarettes he had kept (gathered) he gave me'; A **alix̂ saĝa-l ax̂takuĝaan hital angaliq** 'the old man was apparently sleeping so I went out'.

3.11.1.5. Suffixal specification

The temporal relation to the following clause may be specified by the suffixes (2.2.6-7.) **-hli-** (E **-li-**) | **-smi-** (± **-hli-**) 'still, while; until'; E **-liiĝ(a)li-** | **-smiliiĝli-** 'while; (in vain) until'; E **-iigusa-** (A **-iiguza-**) 'as soon as'; E **-iigusali-** (A **-iiguzahli-**) 'while': E **-saaĝu-** (A **-zaaĝu-**) 'have recently -ed'; e.g. A 1950 **iklax̂ quxsu-hli-kuqaang ting hnukux̂t** 'I was chopping wood until you came to me'; En 1910 **aman iqyamixtix̂ inga**(t)**-smiliiĝli-kum, igiqaĝiqadaqalinax̂ nawa** 'he threw spears at that fleet until he ran out of spears' (J 68:16); E 1909 **qaqada-agusa-kux̂ uyalgakux̂** 'as soon as he had finished eating he was fetched'; E 1870 **hamayangin akalux̂chi aygag-iigusali-kuniin, amaagan Ngaan hiisanam aqaa** 'while they were walking along their road somebody said to Him' (Luke 9.57); Eb 1984 **i**(t)**-saaĝu-kuĝaa(n) sakaaltak(a)n ingamaas(a)kuun ama** 'shortly after he had gone out, you went down there (to look for him)' (cf.3.11.2.1.2.).

A contrastive or concessive clause is marked by E ***-iaĝ*****(a)li-** 'in vain; but; although' (also 'while (until)'); **-iiĝdagali-** 'in vain; but; although'; -(**x̂**)**tagali-** 'although, even though, even if; but'; e.g. En 1909 **ingasxan uĝulux̂ta-aĝali-kuun, asx̂alakan** 'he threw and hit him but did not kill him' (J 45:9); A 1860 **hamayangis ukuqaĝi-iĝdagali-kus ukuqaĝilakaĝis** 'they may look but not see' (Luke 8.10, likewise E 1870); A 1840 **uĝalu-x̂tagali-kung, uĝalux̂ ilan changatlakanka akung** 'I speared him but did not make the spear penetrate him' (V B 1:6); Au 1909 **ugigan anagan tamaanulaguut hix̂ta-x̂tagali-kuu, tamaanul uku, ...** 'even though her husband's mother told her not to go there, she went there' (J 84:3). In Atkan, especially in the modern language, the auxiliary **ax̂tagali-ku-** is used with the conjunctive and also with a remote, e.g. 1952 **qichitix̂ ngus akix̂taasa-l ax̂tagalikux̂ ilagaan sulakan angaling** 'he offered me money for it but I refused (lit. did not take it from him)'; **anaĝix̂ taxsa-na-zulax ax̂tagalikus, anaĝix̂ imax alatalakan ux̂tadakus** 'although they (rich people) haven't gathered anything they have things in plenty' (1959:80, 13 (19-20)); **atxaĝizulax maasa-qa-ng ax̂tagalikum ting an'gaagasanaĝulax** 'I had done wrong to him but he forgave me'.

3.11.2. Person relations

The person marking in linked clauses depends both on the interrelation of the arguments (including adjuncts) of the clauses themselves and on the specified or anaphoric nature of the non-final clause. The choice between specified and anaphoric arguments concerns of course only nominal (3.p.) arguments, while the 1. and 2. persons are inherently specified.

3.11.2.1. Independent arguments

3.11.2.1.1. Specified non-final clause

As illustrated in 3.11.1.1., a specified non-final clause with no person relation to the following clause in the case of succession or contrast is marked by the enclitic sg. **+(ng)aan**, du. **+ikin**, pl. **+(ng)iin**, but in the case of simultaneity is left unmarked in the 3.p.

A meteorological clause may be marked by **-ku-m,** as if having a subject coreferential with that of the following clause (cf. 3.9.2.7.), e.g. A 1952 **slax̂ hamaax liidanaan liidal ax̂tagali-ku-m ayugzax̂ hama** 'no matter how the weather is (lit. although the weather is like whatever it is like) he goes out (in his boat)', cf. **slaĝux̂ malgal ax̂tagali-ku-x̂ ayugzax̂** 'although it is blowing hard he would go out'. A purely temporal clause, however, has the ordinary form, e.g. **angalix̂ haqa-ku-ĝ-aan** 'when daylight came' (e.g. N.M. 3:68).

3.11.2.1.2. Anaphoric non-final clause

If the non-final clause has an anaphoric subject there is a suffixal reference to it also in the following clause, e.g. A 1952-1971

txin quyuqalikux̂ 'he went to bed' + **hitiku-q** 'I went out'
> txin quyuqalikuĝaan hitiku-ng 'when he went to bed I went out'
tunumkaqada-na-s + **ting saĝani-na-q**
they stopped talking I went to sleep
> tunumkaqada-ku-z-iin ting saĝani-qa-ning (**-ning** pl. 1.sg.)
'when they stopped talking I went to sleep'
vs. **hlas tunumkaqadakuziin ting saĝaninaq**
'when the boys stopped talking I went to sleep';

Eb 1984 **amaya it-iku-ĝ-aan sakaalta-kan amamaas(a)ku-chix ama** 'he had gone out when you (pl.) went down there (to look for him)' (**ama** refers to the anaphoric outer subject). Likewise A 1952 **anaĝis maaq ngus hix̂tal ax̂tagalikux̂ anax̂ malagaa-ax̂taku-ng** 'he asked me to do something but I did not do anything' (**-ng** 'him I' refers to the anaphoric subject of the initial clause).

The final predicate agrees in number with its inner nominal subject in En 1909 **Niiĝuĝin tanangin nu-ku-ĝ-aan Niiĝuĝin unglum kangan txichi taxsaqangin** 'when he reached the island of the Atkans, the Atkans gathered on a pinnacle' (J 57:11); A 1996 (oldest speaker) **tunumkaqada-ku-z-iin Piitra-m txin saĝaniqa-a** 'when they stopped talking Peter went to sleep' (the plural **txin saĝaniqa-ngis** not accepted) vs. **hlas tunumkaqadakuzin Piitrax̂ txin saĝaninax̂** 'when the boys stopped talking Peter went to sleep'. This could be an innovation like the one in simple anaphoric clauses (see 3.2.2.1.). In 1996 younger Atkan speakers did not accept this type of anaphoric reference at all.

The indefinite nominal subject of the final clause is in the absolutive case in En 1910 **aygaxsix amaxsix, Chalukam anii nu-ku-ĝ-aan, angali-x̂ aqaqa-a ax̂takux̂** 'walking the whole night, when she reached Chaluka lake, daylight came' (J 69:23); A 1952 **inax̂tahli-ĝ-ulagaan qan'gi-x̂ ikaaĝazaqa-a hiilax̂tadax̂** 'it (the stored food) did not end before the winter was over, it is said' (N.M. 1:19); Ep 1941 **algaĝaaĝan maayuula-ku-ĝ-aan ingaligaagan aniqdu-x̂ qaatuu aqaqaliqaa** 'as he was going to be cut up, all of a sudden a baby got hungry'. Cf. 3.3.2.2.

The suffixal reference to an anaphoric complement in the non-final clause is continued in the following clause, being marked by an additional enclitic +(**ng**)**aan** (cf. 3.9.2.3.), e.g. A 1973 **agul inat-iku-ng-aan Piitra-m ukaaĝaku-u** 'when I had finished making it Peter came in'. Likewise A 1952 **hingaan tayaĝum ngus ukux̂tachx̂i-ku-u-ngaan aalux̂taqa-ng** 'that man showed it to me and I laughed'. See further 3.11.2.2.

3.11.2.1.3. Referential remarks

The following referential remarks appear to be minor clauses: A 1952 **hamakus hix̂ta-ku-ning** 'as I said before', lit. 'those that I said' (N.M. 1:52); **wayaam uku-ĝa-x̂** 'as we (passive) see now' (N.M. 2.444), cf. 3.14.2.3.3.3.

3.11.2.2. Shared subject

3.11.2.2.1. Shared inner subject

As illustrated in 3.11.1.1-4., a clause with the same 3.p. subject as the following clause and no anaphoric complements has the predicate in the absolutive case or, in the case of succession or contrast, in the relative case, while a clause with an enclitic 1. or 2.p. subject marker has the enclitic -(**ng**)**aan**. Some more examples: A 1973 **haqa-ku-m hamamatakux̂** 'he is on his way (unseen)', lit. 'he is coming but is like that (unseen)'; Eu 1910 **amaagan aqa-ku-n, aqa-yukach-aasaada-nan ax̂takun** 'it is very long ago that they came from there', lit. 'they came from there but they had come a very long time ago, it seems' (J 39:32); A 1971 **buchuunuka(m) qala ilgahli-ku-m qax̂ ukunax̂** 'he searched the bottom of the barrel until he found a fish'; A 1978 **aangsus ... agiichigaan hasina-ku-s agiichigaan maaĝutazaĝulas** (older **-za-z-ulax**) 'berries are sometimes numerous, at other time they are not'; A 1973 **alax braatax uhlii mata-laka(ĝ)-q-aang alax sistrax ilax̂taa mataaĝutakuq** 'I have not only two brothers but I have also two sisters'; En 1949 **ulam ilan qangu-ku-qaan agilĝing aĝatalix qangul(a)gaaqing** 'when I'm entering into the house I should not enter with open mouth (lit. keeping my mouth open)'. In reported speech the first person is represented by the reflexive third person, which is treated likewise, e.g. A 1952 ... **txidix aĝ-iku-x̂txidig-aan hamaax txidix sulgal txidix hidulaqadaangan ... hiisax̂tanas hiilax̂tazas** 'when they gave themselves up and were taken out from there ... they said, it is said' (N.M. 3:77).

A specified clause may be followed by an anaphoric one, e.g. A 1952 **hlax̂ a-ku-q-aang hiilax̂takus tutaza-qa-ning** 'when I was a boy I heard people telling about it' (N.M. 2:25). In the following sentence the two actants of the final anaphoric clause are coreferential with the dual subject of the preceding clause: Ea 1910 **iqaĝili-ku-x, tanadgusim adaan liqali-ku-x, amaan aya-gan ngaan tunuku-u** 'they paddled until they came in sight of the village and his friend said to him ' (J 33:10).

The anaphoric reference of a non-final clause is continued in the following clause, being marked by the enclitic +(**ng**)**aan** (cf. 3.11.2.1.2. and 3.9.2.3.), e.g. A 1952 **as tunux̂tal ina-ku-ng-aan hitiku-ng** 'when I had finished talking with him I went out'. In later Atkan, however, the enclitic is left out (cf. 3.9.2.3.), e.g. 1979 **tutahli-ku-ng ting saĝani-qa-ng ax̂takux̂** 'I must have (**ax̂taku-**) listened to him until I fell asleep'; **Piitra-m atxax̂ti-ku-un txin ayx̂atii-ax̂taku-u** 'Peter fixed it and went out'. Cf. 3.11.2.3.

The subject (underlying complement) of a passive non-final verb is treated like the subject of an active verb, e.g. A 1952 **ilga-lga-lakaĝ-is, hadangin huya-lga-l alitxu-ula-aĝan ilga-lga-lakaĝ-is, agatingis ayx̂al txidix hagumaasachx̂iza-na-s hiilax̂tadas** 'they were not provoked (lit. searched), were not approached and provoked to be induced to war, but sailing on their own initiative they had that happen to them (were killed)' (N.M. 3:52); En 1910 **aman ulax̂ chidaĝan aĝa-lga-ku-m, qignam kugan anax̂ liidax̂ta-ku-x̂** (**ukux̂taqalikun nawa**) '(they saw that) when one got close to that house, it looked as if it were standing on fire' (J 48:32).

3.11.2.2.2. Clefting with **a-ku-**

Interrogative sentences like A 1950 **kiin a-ku-x̂ hawan agi-x̂** 'who is (the one) passing by there?' and **kiinkus a-ku-s haqa-l haguma-s** 'who are (those) coming there?' may be understood according to 3.11.1.1. as interrogative clauses adjusted to declarative ones: **kiin a-x̂** 'who is (s)he?' + **hawan ag-iku-x̂** '(s)he is passing by there'; **kiinkus a-s** 'who are they?' + **haqa-l haguma-ku-s** 'they are coming there'. The following declarative sentences may be understood correspondingly: A 1950 **haman agitaadang a-ku-m haqa-ku-x̂** 'it is that friend of mine who is coming', A 1973 **Piitrax̂ a-ku-x̂** (or **akum**) **haqa-ku-x̂** 'it is Peter who is coming' (a possible answer to the question **kiin akux̂ haqal** 'who is (the one) coming?'). But the copula serves also to bring the subject into focus, e.g. A 1952 **asagaduda-x a-ku-x aasanax ax̂takux** 'it was the cousins who did' (N.M. 3:81); **anĝaĝinam saĝatungis akus txidix quyuutuzalakaĝis** 'it is the people who sleep late who never want to go to bed'; A 1909 **uhngiin akux̂ gumal ax̂takux̂ nagmiim txin aĝasix ...** 'it now apparently was his sister who came in to him (he said)' (J 77:118); A 1973 **ting aku-x̂** (or **aku-q**) **hital anagali-q** 'it was me who went out (earlier today)'.

In late Atkan the copula is used more freely to bring a term into focus, e.g. 1973 **kiin ilagaan akux̂ aluĝix̂ atxazanax̂t** 'from whom (is it that) you got a letter?' (= **kiin akux̂ ilagaan aluĝix̂ atxazanax̂t**, cf. 3.11.2.4.); **laavkim ngaan anaĝis akus, qan'gim ngaan akux̂, anaĝis chugaax̂tas akus Atx̂am ngaan waaĝaasazas** 'they bring goods to the store on Atka, so there are sufficient goods for the winter', lit. 'goods for the store, for the winter for the goods to be sufficient, they bring to Atka'.

3.11.2.2.3. Shared outer/inner subject

The 3.p. subject of a non-final clause is marked as coreferential with the adjunct of the subject of the following clause by the relative case of the tense marker but also the absolutive case is possible (in the du. and pl. no case difference), e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝu-x̂ uqit-iku-m hla-a ayugna-x̂** 'when the man came back his son went out'; A 1973 **uchiitila-x̂ imgaĝiiĝan ayuxta-ku-m ayx̂aasi-i kidugna-x̂** 'the teacher went out in order to fish but his boat sank'; **tayaĝu-x̂ haqa-lakax̂ hla-a agach haqaku-x̂** 'the man did not come but his son did come'; Au 1952 **Chuning iqiyuu tin angunati-lakaĝ-im, ana-a ilagaa ax̂saku-x̂** 'Chuning's child was not grown up when his mother died away from him' (1959:126, 33 (56-57)); En 1910 **Luung Chungsun tanax̂ta-ku-m, ayaga-a asx̂alix, asxinuun agachiidaa asix ulaam ilan anĝaĝiqalina-x̂** 'Luung lived in Chungsun, but his wife died and he began to live in his house with only his daughter' (J 72:1); En 1909 **txin alix̂si-ku-m, tana-a tayaĝuĝi-lakaĝ-im, ayagaagusalin tayaĝux̂talix ...** 'when he had become an old man and his settlement had no men, he used only women as crew' (J 45:22).

The adjunct of the subject of the non-final clause is marked in the same way as coreferential with the subject or the adjunct of the subject of the following clause in A 1971 **hla-a uqiti-ku-m ayugna-x̂** 'when his son came back he went out'; **hla-a uqit-iku-m ayaga-a ayugna-x̂** 'when his son came back his wife went out'; En 1910 **ugi-i ayug-iku-m, aniqduun saĝaniqadaagiim ... txin aygaxna-x̂** 'when her husband had left, she put her child to sleep and ... set out' (J 74:6); En 1909 **ixchxingin nu-lga-qali-ku-m, tanam adan ukux̂talix aan'gilakaadaqalina-x̂** 'when her neck was reached (by the sea) she looked toward the shore and began to think' (J 49:32).

In the older language, however, in the cases where different persons are involved (cf. 3.1.1.6.2.), the subject of the non-final clause may also have a reflexive suffix in reference to the subject of the following clause, the subjects being then marked as different by the enclitic +(**ng**)**aan**, pl. +(**ng**)**iin** : Ea 1910 **wakun dux̂taasitxin qalikun-iin, tunuku-x̂ awa** 'while his guests were eating, he said' (J 17:10); A 1909 **ami-kin iqyadix husil a-ku-ĝ-aan** [sg. for du.], **iqyaan husimal angali-kux̂t-aan, ...** 'when his uncles had loaded their baidarka, he too loaded his baidarka ...' (J 79:294 f.); Au 1909 **luya-t qaqayal tamaax sig-iku-ĝ-aa** [sg. for pl.], **kay manangin mal tamaax sixs, ...** 'when his older siblings had finished eating and went up from the shore, he did as they did and went up from there' (J 81:22). This pattern is like constructions with the first or second person, e.g. A 1971 **hla-ng uqit-iku-ĝ-aan ayugna-q** 'when my son came back I went out'; **hla-ng uqit-iku-ĝ-aan ayaga-ng ayugna-x̂** 'when my son came back my wife went out'. Cf. 3.12. Anterior.

3.11.2.3. Shared subject and complement

A shared nominal complement is specified only in the non-final clause, with zero anaphora in the following clause. The sharing of the subject and the specified nominal complement is marked in the non-final verb by a two-place person suffix, reflexive in the case of a third person subject, while an anaphoric complement is marked according to the general rule by a two-place person suffix in the following verb. A 1. or 2. p. pronominal object is specified in each clause, with no suffixal reference in the verb, e.g. A 1979 **sabaakax̂ txin kig-iku-m txin natna-x̂ ii?** 'when the dog bit you, did it hurt you ?' (**-ku-m** as in 3.11.2.2.1.).

3.11.2.3.1. Shared object

The suffixal adjustment to the following clause of a clause with a specified object versus an anaphoric one may be illustrated as follows: A 1973

hla-s ilga-na-q + **hla-s uku-na-ĝ-ulaq**
I looked for the boys I did not find the boys
> hla-s ilga-ku-ning uku-na-ĝ-ulaq
'I looked for the boys but did not find them'
ilga-qa-ning + **uku-qa-ning-ulax**
I looked for them I did not find them
> ilga-ku-ning uku-qa-ning-ulax
'I looked for them but did not find them'

The coreference of the subjects and objects of the two clauses is marked by a two-place suffix (**-ning** pl.1.sg.) in the verb of the initial clause also when the object is specified (**hla-s** pl.), but in the verb of the final clause only if the object is anaphoric.

Some other examples: A 1973 **Piitrax̂ kiiĝuusi-x̂ hangahli-ku-un** (sg.3Rsg) **kangal angalix̂** 'Peter ascended the mountain until he reached the top of it'; A 1909 **iĝilaam qagnaa agul ukut-iku-un inasix** 'he worked on the frame of his baidar for a while and finished it' (J 77:43); Ea 1909 **ayagaan isix u-ku-un udalakan** 'he almost reached his wife but never reached her' (J 10:53); A 1952 **aniqdudix yaxtanax̂ liida-ku-dix tataam sihmizaku-s** 'they seem to love their children but still spank them'; **yaxtahli-ku-ng kay hagumaasahliku-ng** 'I love him but still do so to him (scold him) also' (1959:81, 17); A 1950 **aniqdu-m su-ku-un uqidusaduukalakaĝ-a** 'the child took it and will not return it'; A 1909 **ngaan aĝiiĝuta-ku-kin tatahliim suuĝutal-ka hinga** 'what (dual) he had given her he took again' (J 77:197; sg. **-ka** in reference to **ngaan** 'to her').

With identical verbs the present is used like a participle (no anaphoric referent, see 3.14.2.3.): Ea 1910 **u-ku-ng u-l-ting** 'I have reached my limit', lit. 'I now reach what I reach(ed) (**u- = hu-, hnu-**)' (J 17:154); A 1952 **sana-ku-un sanal** 'doing his utmost', lit. 'equaling what he equaled' (N.M. 3:92).

3.11.2.3.2. Coreferential object and oblique

According to the general rule of zero anaphora, the specified object of the non-final verb may be the referent also of an oblique term (positional noun) of the following clause, e.g. Ea 1909 **nix̂ ukux̂taaka-ku-un ukux̂tadax̂ta-l(a)kaĝ-iin, adan uyalix** 'he saw a baidar he had never seen before and went over to it', lit. 'he could see the baidar but had never seen it [and] went toward it' (J 10:86); **aman ayagax̂ uulngiiĝitxin isxanax̂ta-ku-txin, ngiin matadalaaĝanatxin matalix slaaĝaasakux̂** '(he saw) that woman come out with another set of squirrels and treat them in the same way as before', lit. 'that woman changed her squirrels and doing to them as she had done each time before came out with them' (J 10:25). The enclitic **-aan** in the following sentence seems to be conditioned by the next following clauses: Ea 1910 **aygagasaliiĝali-ku-un-aan, txin uyqix̂sii aqalix, kayux aman la-a** [3A] **txin suganĝix̂sii aqalix akum, aygaxsuqadanaan tutaa aqalix, amaan la-am** [3R] **-aan tunux̂taqalikux̂ awa** 'she walked with him [her son] until she became an old woman and her son a young man, and feeling it difficult to walk any longer said to her son' (J 15:19).

Conversely, the oblique term of the non-final clause may serve as the object referent of the following verb, e.g. A 1987 (older speaker) **tayaĝux̂ yaasika-m kugan txin ungut-iku-un** [younger speaker **-kum** or **-kux̂**] **chaxtina-x̂** 'when the man sat down upon the box he cracked it'; A 1971 **tayaĝu-m ku-gan txin ungut-iku-un chaxtiqa-a** 'when the man sat down upon it he cracked it'; Eu 1910 **yaagam anatuugisaa** [absol. for rel.] **ilaan txin aĝaasa-ku-un, angtaan an'guqalix chagayaku-x̂ ukux̂taqalikuu awa** 'he (a) saw that when he (b) had brought him (a) to the thickest log, he (b) tried to split it in the end with his wedges' (J 35:16).

The oblique term of the non-final clause may also be coreferential with that of the following clause, marked in the same way as in the other cases, e.g. A 1909 ... (**iqyaan ...**) **nagan hanganaax̂hli-ku-un nagan hangal aqadaam ...** 'she tried to enter into (her baidarka) until she got in and then ...' (J 78:96); A 1973 **hamakus qas ngaan waaĝaasanat ngaan aĝ-iku-un ilagaan hitiqa-a** 'he gave him those fish he had brought to him and went out (from him)'.

3.11.2.3.3. Adjunct relations

In Atkan, if the complement (or its adjunct) of the non-final clause is coreferential with the adjunct of the complement of the following clause, the suffixal adjustment of the non-final clause seems to be the same as in the case of coreferential complements, both in the case of a specified complement and in the case of an anaphoric one: 1971 **tayaĝux̂ ilga-ku-ng hlahli-i ukunaq** 'I looked for the man but found only his son'; **tayaĝux̂ uku-lakaĝ-ing hlahli-i as tunux̂tanaq** 'I did not find the man but talked with his son only'; 1909 **Saaqudam tanaa hnulix, uda-a ulĝi-ku-un angadan hakuuĝal** 'reaching Parsnip's island, he entered his bay and came ashore in front of his place (lit. him)' (J 76:19 f.); 1952 **ukux̂ta-lakaĝ-ing amilg-a tutaangan ax̂taku-ng** 'I did not see him but heard his voice'; 1950 **hix̂tanangin agiitingis tuta-ku-ng, agiitingis maasa-lakaĝ-ing** 'some of what (pl.) he says I understand (lit. hear) but some I don't make out'. The lack of adjustment in the following sentence seems to be innovative: 1971 **tayaĝux̂ uku-lakaq hlahligan hadan huyanaq** 'when I did not find the man I went to his son (only)'. Here the complement of the final clause is oblique rather than an object but so it is in 1909 above. Or there could perhaps be Eastern influence.

In Eastern, the complements (when the first one is specified) appear to be treated as non-coreferential (cf. 3.11.2.2.1.): En 1910 **amakux lax sadaligan saquchaadam angunaadanginulux amnaĝungin ukux̂ta-ku-x, asangin aqatalakan, anamag-aan ahmayaax̂taqalina-x** 'while outside the two boys saw a lot of small birds, but, not knowing their names, they began to ask their mother' (J 67:10); Eu 1910 **ayagax̂ ugiĝiqadaqaam agalaan aniqduun asix saĝaaĝali-ku-m, adaa ukux̂talix kugan anĝida-ĝ-ulux** 'after the loss of her husband a woman may sleep with her child but, while looking at it (lit. in its direction), never breathes at it' (J 36:15).

3.11.2.4. Subject coreferential with following complement

According to the general rules of reference, the constructions depend on the nature of the initial subject (pronominal or nominal, specified or anaphoric, or having an adjunct) and on that of the following subject (nominal or suffixal only).

3.11.2.4.1. Pronominal subject

The enclitic first or second person subject marker, followed by the enclitic +(**ng**)**aan**, is repeated as an object pronoun in the next clause, e.g. A 1952 **iklax̂ quxsuhli-ku-q-aang ting hnukux̂t** 'I was chopping wood when you came to me'; A 1971 **qa-ku-q-aang ting hnukux̂** 'he came to me while I was eating'. So also the reflexive third person subject marker (in fictionally reported speech): A 1909 (**anaan**) **hitag-iku-x̂t-aa(n) txin ukul ax̂takux̂** '(his mother) saw him showing up (when he showed up)' (J 77:247; cf. 3.15.3.). Correspondingly in the case of an oblique complement, e.g. A 1971 **Piitrax̂ qa-ku-q(aang) nagming qangunax̂** 'Peter came in to me while I was eating'.

Also the suffixal subject (inner subject) of an anaphoric clause is repeated as an object pronoun in the following clause, while the anaphoric reference (outer subject) is continued by an enclitic **+(ng)aan** (cf. 3.11.2.1.2.), e,g. A 1950 **su-ku-ng-aan ting sihmiimis ax̂taku-un** 'when I took it you spanked me'. (In later Atkan the enclitic is left out.)

3.11.2.4.2. Nominal subject

By zero-anaphora a specified nominal subject constitutes the complement of a following verb with a suffixal subject, e.g. A 1952 **aniqdu-x̂ hitnaaĝ-iku-x̂ hitichx̂inaĝulaq** 'the child tried to go out but I didn't let it go out'; En 1909 **amaan ulam anĝaĝingin saĝax̂ta-ku-n umlatxadaagiim ...** 'after waking up the people of that house [who] were sleeping' (J 41:41); Ea 1909 **ayaga-x̂ amangun ax̂ta-ku-x̂, il-a-n akaaĝanaqing** 'there was a woman there (I had heard), so I went up to her' (J 4:4); A 1971 **Piitra-x̂ qa-ku-x̂ nag-a-n qanganaq** 'while Peter was eating I went in to him'. Beside **-ku-x̂**, pl. E **-n**, A **-s,** the initial clause in modern Atkan also has **-ku-ĝ-aan**, with a difference illustrated in 1977 as follows: **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasiin sayu-ku-x̂ hadan huyaa-ax̂takuq** 'when the man was pulling up his boat I went over to him' vs. **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasiin sayu-ku-ĝ-aan hadan huyaa-ax̂takuq** 'when the man had pulled up his boat I went over to him'; cf. 3.11.1.1.

A nominal subject of the following verb, in the relative case, turns the anaphoric complement into an outer subject coreferential with the initial subject, as possibly marked by **-ku-m** in the initial clause, e.g. A 1971- **tayaĝu-x̂ uqit-iku-m hla-m hnuqa-a** 'when the man came back the boy went to him'; **ayaga-x̂ qangu-ku-m uchiitila-m ungutichx̂iqa-a** 'when the woman came in the teacher had her sit down'; **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasiin sayu-ku-m Piitra-m had-a-n huyaqa-a** 'when the man had pulled up his boat Peter went towards him'; **Piitra-x̂ qa-ku-x̂ tayaĝu-m nag-a-n qanguqa-a** 'while Peter was eating a man came in to him'; **aniqdu-x̂ hitnaaĝ-iku-x̂ Piitra-m (ana-gan) hitichx̂iqaĝula-a** (= **-qaaulax**) 'the child tried to go out but Peter (its mother) did not let it go out'. When the subject of the following verb is suffixal only, the initial subject is by zero-anaphora the direct object of the following verb: **aniqdux̂ hitnaaĝikux̂ hitichx̂inaĝulax** 'the child tried to go out but (s)he did not let it go out'.

An anaphoric subject of the initial clause naturally entails suffixal reference in the following clause, being the outer subject of the sentence, e.g. A 1973 **igal amaanu-ku-x̂ ilgaqa-ng** 'when it flew away I looked for it'; A 1951 **qalgadaan inat-iku-m tataam liidax̂ ngaan aĝiqa-ng** 'when he had finished his food, I gave him another piece'; En 1909 **igichim an'gaĝanangin agux̂ta-ku-x̂ il-a-n ukaaĝaqa-a** 'she came in on her while she was making sinew ropes' (J 49:14). A nominal subject of the following clause is in the relative case or, if the complement is oblique, in the absolutive case, depending on definiteness (cf. 3.3.2.2.2.): En 1909

isuĝitxin inanaan ix̂ta-ku-m, Kanaagutu-m nix̂alaan ingulix, agachiida-a aĝiisakan, il-a-an ayuka-a 'when he said that he was through with his seals, Kanaagutux̂ pushed out his baidar and, leaving him alone, sailed away from him' (J 43:22) vs. En 1910 **chuyukin taangam ilan ax̂taaĝli-ku-m, chigda-gan alugan ilingiin taanga-x̂ iluuĝaqa-a-yulux** 'he kept his arms in the water, but no water came in through the seams of his gut parka' (J 72:14).

An anaphoric complement (object) in the initial clause, entailing anaphoric reference also in the following clause, is marked by the enclitic **+(ng)aan**, while a nominal subject in the relative case is automatically also the complement of the following verb: A 1977 **hla-m su-ku-u-ngaan sihmiingan ax̂taku-ng** 'when the boy took it, I spanked him' (**-ng** sg.1.sg. 'it I' refers to the anaphoric object of the initial clause rather than to its subject **hla-m**, the "real" object of **sihmi-** 'spank'); cf. 3.11.2.4.1.

3.11.2.4.3. Adjunct of subject coreferential with following subject

If the adjunct of the subject of the initial clause is coreferential with the subject of the following clause, the complement of the latter, by zero-anaphora coreferential with the subject of the initial clause, has a covert reflexive relation to its subject, e.g. A 1973 **hla-m ada-a waaĝal hiĝa-qa-x̂** 'the boy's father was said to have come back' + **hla-x̂ ada-am had-a-n huya-na-x̂** 'the boy went to his father' > **hla-m ada-a waaĝal hiĝa-ku-ĝ-aan had-a-n huyana-x̂** 'when the boy's father was said to have come back, he (the boy) went to him (his father)'.

If the adjunct (and with it the subject of the following clause) is anaphoric, there are two types of construction, the one attested in Atkan and western Eastern (Nikolski), the other one in western and eastern Eastern:

(a) The anaphoric adjunct, marked by a 3A suffix, is the outer subject (possibly specified in the absolutive case), possibly marked by **-ku-m** as coreferential with the subject of the following clause, e.g. A 1971 (**Piitram**) **ada-a qa-na-x̂** 'his (Peter's) father was eating' + (**Piitrax̂**) **ada-am nag-a-n qanguna-x̂** 'he (Peter) went in to his father' > (**Piitrax̂**) **ada-a qa-ku-x̂ nag-a-n qanguna-x̂** 'while his (Peter's) father was eating he (Peter) went in to him', cf. **ada-a qa-ku-x̂** (**Piitra-m**) **nag-a-n qanguqa-a** 'when his (another one's) father was eating, he (Peter) went in to him'; En 1910 **angalikingan ugi-i waaĝa-ku-m, igiim aqayax̂talakan, angamilina-x̂** 'in the evening when her husband came back, she paid no attention to him and remained lying' (J 74:13); En 1909 **Tayaĝux̂-Kayulinax̂ malgakum, ami-i Aglagax̂ tanaadaaĝan maayu-ku-m, agiitaaĝan anuxta-ku-m, ami-in iĝayuusaqalina-x̂** 'there was a man called Man-Weakener; when his maternal uncle got ready to visit Aglagax̂, he wanted to accompany him but felt shy before his uncle' (J 50:1).

(b) The subject of the initial clause has a reflexive suffix in reference to the subject of the following clause and represents only the complement of the following clause, e.g. En 1910 **tanaaĝaqadaagiim, aniqdu-un saĝalix̂ta-ku-x̂ chidaĝ-a-n txin quyuna-x̂** 'having come back home, while her child was still sleeping, she lay down alongside it' (J 74:11) (A 1973 type (a): **aniqdu-u saĝahlil ax̂takux̂ angan**

txin quyunax̂); Ea 1909 **aman ayaga-an qakuunu-ku-x̂ agal-a-an qakuunulix** 'when his wife went to the rear of the house, he went in after her' (J 10:73); **amakun tuumliida-txin chx̂ax̂ta-ku-n, il-i-in aĝakux̂ awa** 'those snares of his were full when he got to them' (J 10:4).

In Atkan, type (a) is used also when the initial clause has an anaphoric oblique term that entails a two-place predicate (cf. 3.3.2.3.2.), e.g. 1971-73 (**igakum**) **ayx̂aasi-i** (or **ayx̂aasi-gan**) **ila-ga-an agaqaliqa-a** '(when he went out) his boat began to drift away from him' + **ayx̂aasi-in suna-x̂** 'he grabbed his boat' > **ayx̂aasi-i ila-ga-an agaqali-ku-u suna-x̂** 'his boat began to drift away from him but he grabbed it'. By zero-anaphora the initial inner subject **ayx̂aasi-** represents the object of the final **su-na-x̂**, as a covert reflexive **ayx̂aasiin** 'his own boat' with no reference in the final verb, while a final two-place **su-qa-a** would refer to the anaphoric adjunct (the outer subject) and mean that he grabbed another one's boat.

3.11.2.5. Complement coreferential with following subject

These constructions depend on the nature of the complement (pronominal or nominal, specified or anaphoric). In general, a nominal complement is marked by a verbal two-place suffix as the subject of the following verb, but clauses with a specified nominal oblique term and a nominal subject are treated differently.

3.11.2.5.1. Pronominal complement

A 1. or 2.p. object pronoun is represented by the person marker of the following clause, e.g. A 1973 **uging asx̂al ... ting hix̂tachx̂ikux̂ hamaaĝaku-q-aang ...** 'my husband was dying and sent for me (lit. had me called), and when I came there ...'. An anaphoric subject is naturally marked in the final verb, e.g. En 1983 **ting ulig(i)kuĝaan, umlaqa-ng** (sg.1.sg.) 'when he rubbed (massaged) me I woke up'.

3.11.2.5.2. Nominal complement

A specified nominal object, which by itself entails no suffixal reference, may be marked by a two-place suffix in the verb as the subject of the following clause, e.g. A 1971 **Piitrax̂ hla-x̂ tuga-na-x̂** 'Peter hit the boy' + **hla-x̂ qidaqali-na-x̂** 'the boy started to cry' > **Piitrax̂ hla-x̂ tugaku-u qidaqali-na-x̂** 'Peter hit the boy and he (the boy) started to cry'; **-ku-x̂** or **-ku-m** instead of **-ku-u** would imply that Peter started to cry (see 3.11.2.2.1.). The construction is a chain, as seen most clearly by the fact that the object may have a reflexive suffix in reference to the nominal subject: A 1971 **Piitra-x̂ ayx̂aasi-in sakaaĝati-na-x̂** 'Peter pushed out his boat' + **Piitra-m ayx̂aasi-i kidug-na-x̂** 'Peter's boat sank' > **Piitra-x̂ ayx̂aasi-in sakaaĝatiku-u kidug-na-x̂** 'Peter pushed out his boat but it sank'. The subject of the following clause, covert in the Atkan sentence, is overt in Ea 1910 **Ulax̂ Qanax̂ asxinu-un ayalgakux̂ maasalix ax̂tagaliku-u, aman asxinu-u txin aĝdaliiĝali-lakaĝ-im,..** 'Bearberry Eater wanted to (lit. would) give away his daughter who (lit. because she) was wooed, but his daughter did not give herself over,..' (J 20:1).

If, in a more complex sentence, the subject of the final clause is introduced as a subject in the initial clause, it may be represented by a reflexive pronoun (sg. **txin**) as an object in a following non-final clause, e.g. Ea 1910 **Iguĝnam tukugan asxinuu isuĝim iliiĝingin,.. kdam kugan ungudusaqadaagiim,,.. qalliĝalikum, kdax̂ txin agaasalaaĝanax̂ ax̂takuĝ-aan, kangaan aĝitikux̂ awa** 'the daughter of the chief of Eider Point, having sit down on the ice with the seal entrails, was eating them but the ice had drifted away with her (**txin**) when she raised her head' (J 27:1). Cf. 3.11.2.6.2.3.

If the subject of the initial clause is suffixal only, the object is turned into a subject of the following clause by the two-place verb, e.g. A 1973 **wan chahmang imdahli-ku-ng hizax angtaan ag-iku-x̂** 'I filled this cup of mine until it was almost half full (lit. passed its half)'; **sabaaka-m had-a-n huyal iĝamanaasa-ku-u** (**-ng**) **txin iĝatal amaanuu-ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'he (I) went towards the dog and was friendly to it, but it got scared and ran away'; A 1909 **asagaam hlaa aniqdux̂talix haxchx̂iza(l) ahli-ku-un, txin hagzigasaĝutal a-ku-x̂ ...** 'he raised his cousin's son as his own child until he came of age (he said)' (J 76:130); Au 1952 **chaali(m) chiiyaa chaayuusi(m) chiiyaa chiiyax̂ta-ku-kin tiyix as avĝi-ku-x ukux̂tal** 'she looked at a young sea gull [and] a young female eider duck she had for pets fighting together' (1959:125, 33 (25-27)).

A specified oblique term in a clause with a specified nominal subject recurs in the absolutive case as the subject of the following clause, without suffixal adjustment of the verb, e.g. A 1971 (elicited) **tayaĝu-x̂ yaasika-m** (**yaasika-am**) **ku-ga-n unguchi-ku-x̂, yaasika-x̂** (**yaasika-a**) **chag-na-x̂** 'when the man was sitting on the box (his box), the box (his box) cracked'; **Piitrax̂ hamaan tayaĝum hadan huyakux̂ tayaĝux̂ ayuxtal ax̂taaĝan ax̂takux̂** 'when Peter went towards that man['s house] the man had gone out (in his boat)'. Likewise in the case of a specified adjunct of the oblique term, e.g. **Piitrax̂ tayaĝu-m ula-gan hadan huyakux̂ tayaĝux̂ ula-am ilaan hitnax̂** 'when Peter went towards the man's house, the man had gone out of his house'; **uchiitilax̂ hlam anagan hadan huyakux̂ hlaa qidanax̂** 'when the teacher went to the boy's mother the (lit. her) boy cried'.

If the subject of the initial clause is suffixal only, the construction is more like an object construction. The adjunct of the positional noun may remain in the relative case or it may be put in the absolutive case as the outer subject of the whole sentence (cf. 3.3.2.1.2.), e.g. A 1978 **tayaĝu-m** (or **tayaĝu-x̂**) **ngaan tunux̂ta-ku-ng aaluhlix̂ manax̂** 'when I talked to the man, he just laughed'; A 1909 **Tumgam Hlaadaĝanagan sadan anqal a-ku-dix, kamgiin alax hadakiin sulix hiing txin qidaqalil a-ku-x̂ ...** 'when they (3R) stood on the floor before Tusk-Boy, he grabbed his head from both sides and started crying (they said)' (J 76:312-314); A 1973 **haman tayaĝu-x̂ had-a-n huya-ku-ng ayuxtal ax̂taaĝan ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'I went to that man but he had gone out in his boat'; **haman tayaĝu-x̂ ula-gan had-a-n huya-ku-un ting hnux̂tal saĝanax̂** 'yesterday, when you went to that man's house, he visited me'.

An anaphoric object or oblique complement, entailing a two-place verb, is automatically the outer subject of the whole sentence, e.g. A 1971 **Piitra-m tuga-qa-a** 'Peter hit him' + **qidaqali-na-x̂** 'he started to cry' > **Piitram tuga-ku-u**

qidaqalinax̂ 'Peter hit him and he started to cry'; En 1909 **aniqdu-m ukuuĝu-kanaan qanagi-ku-u, waaĝalaaĝanax̂ akum ...** 'the child had waited for her all winter, so now that she had come back ...' (J 50:44); A 1971 **tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n txin unguti-ku-u chag-na-x̂** 'when the man sat down upon it it cracked'; A 1987 **tayaĝu-m ngaan tunux̂taku-u qasxahlix̂ manax̂** 'when the man talked to him he just laughed'; A 1971 **tayaĝu-m ayx̂aasi-i ngaan sayuku-u txin aygaxtnax̂** 'the man pulled his boat up for him and he walked off'; A 1952 **haman uĝaluun ngaan tugaasaku-u, txin ikus hitxiqadaam ...** 'he (a) thrust his spear into him (b) and, turning around, he (b) rushed out ...' (N.M. 3:74); En 1909 ... **aman asx̂aanam chaduu ngaan chimx̂aasa-ku-un, txin atxiingan** (anterior 3A sg.)**, qusaa ixisix ...** 'he splashed it with the dead-man's fat, it stopped, and he jumped over it' (J 41:7); A 1971 **ukux̂tahli-ku-ng txin saĝaninax̂** 'I looked at him until he fell asleep'; **ngaan hix̂ta-ku-ng hamaagan aganax̂** 'I said it to him and he went away'. A clause in the passive is treated similarly in A 1909 **chalasxaaĝan adangan hadan u**(t)**-sxal angali-ku-u, chalaqalil al chalaaĝan matikux̂ ..** 'when they (passive) came down to the beach to meet him, he started landing but when he was about to land ...' (J 78:105 f.).

In a clause with an anaphoric oblique term an indefinite nominal subject may be in the absolutive case (cf. 3.3.3.2.), e.g. A 1973 **tani-gan kugan aaĝumikaadgi-x̂ tagax̂ta-ku-u umlanax̂** (or **txin umlatnax̂**) 'when a fly landed on his forehead he woke up'.

The referent of the oblique term may be included in the following subject: Eu 1909 ..**agitaasaning nuuming, ukux̂tananing ngiin ix̂ta-ku-ning, tixtalakan ingaagan tataam tuman aygaxsix ...** 'having reached my companions I told them what I had seen, and without landing we started out from there again' (J 40:61).

The referent may also be the meteorological zero: A 1952 **slaĝuqadal imyax̂chx̂iikax̂ anuxtaasa-ku-ng umamakux̂ uma** 'what I want now (**umama-**) is that it would stop storming and become possible (**-chx̂i-ika-**) to fish' (1959:80, 15); A 1987 **slaĝuqadal ayuxtachx̂iikax̂ anuxtaasakung slaĝux̂ uhlii makux̂** 'I want it to stop storming and become possible to go out (in a boat) but it is (lit. makes) only storming'.

3.11.2.5.3. Adjunct relations

Following the general rules of reference, an anaphoric adjunct functions in respect of verbal suffixes basically like a simple anaphoric term.

Thus the complement of the initial clause may be coreferential with the adjunct of the subject of the following clause, e.g. A 1973 **tayaĝu-x̂ hnu-ku-ng ayaga-a hitnax̂** 'when I came to the man, his wife went out'; En 1910 ... **qugax̂ ... anulix utxi-ku-un chuyu-gan agiicha iqiingan** (anterior 3A sg.) (**ingaagan iqyaam adan txin idgiĝnax̂**) 'when he threw at the demon and hit him, and one of his arms came off (he ran away from there toward his baidarka)' (J 52:15; the 3R **-ku-un** refers to the subject of the final clause, the man); En 1909 **ngaan iista-ku-u, kita-a txin ayugni-ku-x̂** (**ukukuu nawa**) 'when she had said that to him, (she saw that) his foot began to move' (J 42:14). In addition, the complement of the initial clause may be coreferential with an oblique term in the following clause (cf. 3.3.2.3.1.): A 1971 **tayaĝu-x̂ as tunux̂taqada-ku-ng ayaga-gan had-a-n huyaqa-a** 'when I was through talking with the man, his wife went to him'.

Or the adjunct of the complement may be coreferential with the following subject, e.g. A 1952 **agal-a ag-iku-ng txin ikuti-ku-x̂** 'when I passed behind him, he turned around'; Eu 1909 ... **utxi-ngin tuglax̂ta-ku-ning, uĝnaasax̂ta-angin** (anterior 3A pl.) **...** 'I touched the ashes (of the fireplace), and as they were warm ...' (J 49:61). The indefinite nominal subject of the initial clause is in the absolutive case (cf. 3.3.3.2.) in En 1910 **aman lax̂, iqya-gan chidaĝan uux̂luuda-x̂ achigi-ku-u, ahmalalix uhnax̂** 'that boy, when a dart fell next to his baidarka, was frightened and overturned' (J 73:38).

In addition to the coreference of the complement or its anaphoric adjunct with the following subject, the subject of the initial clause may have an anaphoric adjunct coreferential with the following subject, e.g. A 1971 **hla-gan umlati-ku-u hax̂tna-x̂** 'when his son woke him up, he got up'; En 1910 **ada-gan kayux ana-gan qaĝaasa-lakaĝ-a, ugix̂taaĝiin ilgaaĝan, tanam kugan txin aygax-na-x̂** 'her father and mother did not like it (her attitude), so to look for a husband for herself she set out walking across the country' (J 62:3); A 1971- **ayaga-gan hadan huya-ku-u chugiqada-na-x̂** 'when his wife went toward him, he got silent'; **hla-ngin ayx̂aasi-i atxax̂ti-ku-u txin ayx̂ati-ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'his sons fixed his boat and he set out'; **brata-gan saygi-ngis ngaan aĝi-ku-u txin aygaxt-na-x̂** 'his (a's) brother gave him (a) his (a's) gun and he (a) walked off'. Between the object and the following subject there is a partitive relation, and the subject is coreferential with the adjunct of the following subject in A 1950 (**Piitram masinangis maqaĝihlilakaĝim hamamanax̂ ax̂tal**) **taaman masinat atxax̂s ax̂ta-ku-ngis, duura-a ayx̂al txin waaĝati-ku-x̂** '(Peter's motor had apparently not been damaged and) then when he had fixed his motor his dory was running and he came back here (today)' (1959:78, 9 (10-12)).

In addition to the coreference of the complement with the following subject also the complement may have an anaphoric adjunct coreferential with an adjunct of the following subject: A 1971 **qugana-x̂ hla-gan ku-ga-n iti-ku-u hla-a asx̂a-na-x̂** '(when they ascended the mountain) a rock fell on his son and his son died'.

3.11.2.5.4. Additional shared object

The suffixal marking in the verb of the coreference of an anaphoric oblique term with the following subject is not affected by a specified object shared by the clauses through zero-anaphora, e.g. En 1910 **amakun ngaan waĝaasanatxin ngaan aĝ-iku-un, su-unganulux,** (**tahlaam-aan ahmatxaa**) 'when he (a) did not take (**su-**) those things he (b) had brought for him (a) and gave him (a) (he (b) asked his (own) slave woman)' (J 74:44; 3R **-ku-un** refers to the subject (b) of the final clause); ... **tanaaĝakux̂, qaax̂tax̂ kalukax̂ ngaan aĝ-iku-ng, nung anuusalix ...** 'when he came back I gave him a dish to eat, but he threw it at me ...' (ibid. 47); A 1971 **hamakus qas ngaan waaĝaasanat ngaan aĝ-iku-u, sunax̂** 'he (a) took those fish he (b) brought him (a)' (suffixal reference to the anaphoric subject (b) of the initial clause is lacking: **sunax̂** for **suqaa**, cf. 3.14.2.5.1.1.1); **qichitix̂ ngaan akix̂taasal ax̂tagali-kung, sulagaa-ax̂ta-ku-x̂ hinga** 'although I offered him money he did not take it'; (± **aniqdus**) **anaĝis maax̂tas ngiin hix̂talakan ax̂tagali-ku-ning, inaqamax maza-s** 'although I don't tell them to do things they (the children) do them of themselves'. A 1.p. oblique term does not entail any suffixal reference: A 1971 **adang anaĝis maaq ngus hix̂talakan aaĝdagali-ku-x̂ inaqating maza-na-q** 'although my father did not tell me to do things I used to do them of myself'.

With the corresponding passive two different constructions are found, the one Eastern and the other Atkan. In the Eastern sentence the verb is marked only for the outer subject (**-ku-m** in reference to the preceding **ngaan**): En 1910 ... **tayaĝuun igiim aqaalaax̂tax̂ ix̂takux̂, maalalix** [see 3.11.4.] **ngaan nuula-ku-m, qugaĝiisalix anĝaĝihnax̂ Idmaaxtun** 'Idmaaxtun ordered his man to be brought to him, so when he was brought to him he used his magic on him and revived him' (J 48:61). The Atkan construction is like the one with shared subject and complement (3R pl. **-ku-dix**, cf. 3.11.2.3.): A 1952 **Kasakam kampaanigan hadagaan qaqax̂, ilagan angunaayulax ngiin sismitaalal ax̂tagali-ku-dix haqatalakan ...** 'from the Russian Company they were given food, some little, for support, but they were foreign to it (lit. did not know it) ...' (N.M. 3:111). The nature of the difference is unclear.

3.11.2.6. Cross-reference

The combination of the coreference of the subject with a following complement (3.11.2.3.) and vice versa (3.11.2.4.) naturally entails different constructions according to the nature of the arguments (pronominal or nominal, specified or anaphoric).

3.11.2.6.1. Pronominal arguments

If the one argument is a first person and the other one a second person pronoun or oblique positional noun, they are treated like independent specified arguments (3.11.2.1.1.), e.g. A 1970's **ting tuga-ku-x̂t-aan txin kita-na-q** 'when you hit me I kicked you'; **ting hix̂ta-ku-x̂t-aan hadamis huyaangan ax̂ta-ku-q** 'when you called me I went to you'.

If the subject of the initial clause is a specified noun, it is the complement of the following clause by zero-anaphora (cf. 3.11.2.4.2.), e.g. A 1971- **Piitra-x̂ ting tuga-ku-x̂ kita-na-q** 'when Peter hit me I kicked him'; **Piitra-x̂ ting hix̂ta-ku-x̂ had-a-n uqitiingan ax̂ta-ku-q** 'when Peter called me I returned towards him'; A 1950 **sabaaka-x̂ txin kig-iku-x̂ nat-na-x̂t ii?** 'when the dog bit you did you hurt it ?'. An anaphoric initial subject entails a suffixal reference in the following clause, being the outer subject of the sentence: **ting tuga-ku-m kita-qa-ng** 'when he hit me I kicked him'; A 1952 **ngus tunux̂tal ax̂tagali-ku-m hix̂tanangis haqata-qaĝula-ng** (= **-qa-ng-ulax**) 'he talked to me but I did not understand (lit. know) what he was saying'.

If the complement of the initial clause is a specified noun, a two-place verb turns it into the subject of the following clause (cf. 3.11.2.5.2.), e.g. A 1971- **Paavila-x̂ tuga-ku-ng ting kita-na-x̂** 'when I hit Paul he kicked me'; **qawa-x̂ kalu-ku-ngin**

tingin mayaax̂ta-na-x̂ 'when we shot at the sea lion it attacked us'. The referent of a positional noun is put in the absolutive case, as the outer subject of the sentence: A 1987 **Piitra-x̂ nag-a-n qangu-ku-ng kanfiixtax̂ ngus aĝ-na-x̂** 'when I went in to Peter he gave me candy'. An anaphoric initial complement, being already an outer subject, is treated in the same way: **nag-a-n qangu-ku-ng kanfiixtax̂ ngus aĝ-na-x̂** 'when I went in to him he gave me candy'; En 1983 **ad-a-n ala-ku-ng ting umchu-ku-ĝ-aan** (**chinglix̂ kugang aginax̂**) 'when I turned to her she kissed me (and heat passed over me)'; A 1951 **ngaan aĝ-iku-ng ting qaĝaasa-ku-x̂** 'I gave it to him and he thanked me'; A 1952 **agal-a ag-iku-ng hadaming halax̂taa-ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'when I passed behind him he turned towards me'; **amaatxataqada-ku-ngin ilangiin xaadagnaaĝii-ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'when we got close to it it ran away from us'.

The two types of relation are combined in En 1909 **aman laan kayux umniin ting su-ku-x amx̂iisaangan maayu-ku-king, ting chiiluchx̂iiĝan aĝnax̂txidix nung iista-na-x** 'when your son and nephew seized me, I was ready to fight them, but they told me that they would let me go home later' (J 46:27).

3.11.2.6.2. Both arguments nominal

3.11.2.6.2.1. Both arguments specified

A nominal subject differs from a pronominal one by preceding rather than following the verb. Thus, representing the specified complement of the initial clause, the second noun, repeated in the relative case as the inner subject of the following clause, separates the initial noun from the final verb and turns it into an outer subject of the two-place verb: A 1971- **Piitra-x̂ Paavila-x̂ tuga-na-x̂** 'Peter hit Paul' + **Paavila-x̂ Piitra-x̂ kita-na-x̂** 'Paul kicked Peter' > **Piitra-x̂ Paavila-x̂ tuga-ku-x̂ Paavila-m kita-qa-a** 'when Peter hit Paul Paul kicked him'; **Piitra-x̂ qawa-x̂ kalu-ku-x̂ qawa-m mayaax̂ta-qa-a** 'when Peter shot at the sea lion, the sea lion attacked him'; **tayaĝu-x̂ Piitra-x̂ hix̂ta-ku-x̂ Piitra-m had-a-n huyaa-ax̂ta-ku-u** 'when the man called Peter Peter went towards him'; En 1910 **isux̂ quga-x̂ kumsilix anuusa-ku-x̂, amaan quga-m takachx̂ilaka-kan, asix chugaamin ilin achika-a** 'when the seal lifted and threw the demon, the demon did not let go of him and fell with him into the bone spikes' (J 48:59). A reflexive suffix of the second noun, referring to the initial noun as the subject of the initial clause, is represented in the following clause by the anaphoric suffix of the inner subject, referring to the outer subject of the sentence: En 1910 **amakux la-x ana-dix ahmayaax̂ta-ku-x, ana-gan ikin tunux̂taqa-a, ...** 'when the two boys asked their mother, their mother talked to them (and said ...)' (J 67:29; **-qa-a** for older **-qa-kix**, see 3.2.2.1., 3.3.2.1.2.).

The notional object of the initial clause may also come first, as the outer subject of the sentence (cf. 3.2.2.3.), the inner subject being repeated as the specified complement of the following clause : A 1840 **Ulĝusix̂ hiilax̂tam tayaĝuu, Qawalangis hlali-l-ka aku-u, hamakus Qawalangis agalim hadagaan atx̂is aaĝalix, hlaan ukulakaĝim ...** 'a man of the (village) called U., when the Q. (people of western Unalaska or Umnak) had kidnapped his son (lit. deprived him of his son), pursued those Q. but did not find his son ...' (V B 2:1).

In Atkan constructions elicited since 1950 the second noun is the subject of an embedded clause, while the subject of the initial clause is represented by a reflexive complement: **Piitra-x̂ sabaaka-x̂ txin kigi-ku-x̂ nat-na-x̂ ii?** 'did Peter hurt the dog when it bit him (**txin**) ?'; **Piitra-x̂ hlakucha-x̂ nagiim qangu-ku-ĝ-aan kanfiixtax̂ ngaan aĝ-na-x̂** 'Peter gave the little boy candy when he came in to him (Peter)'. Without the initial noun (**Piitrax̂**), these constructions match the constructions with a 1. or 2. p. complement in the initial clause (3.11.2.5.1.). In texts they are found in wider contexts suggestive of reported speech (see 3.11.2.6.2.3.). The alternative to the interrogative sentence was mentioned in 3.11.1.1.: **Piitra-x̂ sabaaka-x̂ nati-ku-x̂ ii? sabaaka-m kigi-qa-a**.

3.11.2.6.2.2. Anaphoric initial subject

According to the general rules of reference, an anaphoric subject of the initial clause is marked as the anaphoric complement of the following clause, being the outer subject of the sentence, while the specified complement of the initial clause may be represented as the inner subject of the following clause by the noun in the relative case, possibly with an anaphoric adjunct representing the reflexive suffix of the complement of the initial clause, e.g. En 1910 **chikiida-an nu-ku-x̂, chikiidagan asix qawanaaĝ-iikagan maayu-qa-a** 'when he got to his brother-in-law, his brother-in-law prepared to hunt sea lion with him' (J 59:3); En 1909 **anaada-am ilan ukaaĝalix tunux̂taaĝli-ku-m** [corrected by consultant 1984 from ms. **-kuu**], **ana-gan il-a-n tunuqali-qa-a-yulux** 'he went in to his mother and talked to her, but at first she did not say anything (to him/it)' (J 43:30); En 1910 **aman tayaĝux̂ ukux̂tanaan** [for **-naam**] **adan uyalix nukux̂, amaan tayaĝum ahmatxaa ...** 'when she went over to that man she saw, that man asked her ...' (J 62:15); **laaqudan algax̂silgagungin, ami-txin axtalix qayuugiiĝli-ku-x̂, anaĝilix ngaan aĝda-qangin-ulux** 'whenever the fur seals were being cut up, he would go around to his (maternal) uncles and ask for food, but they never gave him anything' (J 66:5); A 1987 **Piitra-m nag-a-n qangu-ku-ĝ-aan kanfiixtax̂ achux̂ta-qa-a** 'when he went in to Peter he (Peter) gave him candy'.

An anaphoric complement or an anaphoric adjunct of the complement in the initial clause entails as usual a suffixal reference in the verb: Ea 1909 **kanga-a aĝiyaaĝali-ku-un aĝismili-lakaĝ-a, amaan ayaga-gan il-a-an iti-ku-u awa** 'he tried to get her to raise her head but could (lit. did) not get her to raise it until his wife left (lit. went out from) him' (J 10:48).

3.11.2.6.2.3. Anaphoric initial complement

There are two different constructions with a specified subject and an anaphoric complement in the initial clause, schematically:

(a) **Piitra-m tuga-ku-u kita-na-x̂**
(b) **Piitra-x̂ txin tuga-ku-x̂ kita-na-x̂**
'when Peter (a) hit him (b), he (b) kicked him (a)'.

Construction (a) is a simple anaphoric version of the construction with two specified arguments (3.11.2.6.2.1.): the second argument being anaphoric, there is no nominal subject separating the final verb from its complement, viz. by zero-anaphora the specified initial argument (**Piitra-**), which entails no anaphoric reference in the final verb. Construction (b) has a reflexive complement (**txin**) comparable with a first or second person (cf. 3.11.2.6.1.), but differently from the latter an anaphoric subject entails a suffixal reference in the final verb, being the outer subject of the sentence: A 1981 **txin tuga-ku-m** [better than **-ku-x̂**] **kita-qa-a (hinga)** 'when he (a) hit him (b), he (b) kicked him (a)'.

Some examples of construction (a): A 1987 **tayaĝu-m kagnanaaĝasa-ku-u ulugax̂si-na-x̂** 'when the man teased her she slapped him (on the cheek)'; **tayaĝu-m had-a-n huya-ku-u, ilagaan aga-na-x̂** 'when the man went towards her she left him (lit. departed from him)'; En 1910 **amakux sakita-x nux̂ta-ku-u, ada-kin uyalakan, iingun unguchiqali-na-x̂** 'when the two murres came to her, she did not go with (lit. to) them but continued to sit' (J 69:44); Ea 1909 **amaan tala-m analux̂ ngaan aglidusa-kan silan anqa-ku-u, ingaagan su-lix isxa-gan ilan anux̂ta-lix, isxa-a ax-six sadaadan aĝa-ku-x̂ awa** 'the slave, preventing him from reaching the ladder, stood up in front of it, but he took her from there and, throwing her into her bed, passed the place where she had been standing and got outdoors' (J 10:102).

The initial subject may have an anaphoric adjunct coreferential with the final subject: En 1909 ... **asan(a)qa-gan kinguuĝigan uya-ku-u, asix Aglagam kugaan Uukim adan uya-na-x̂ nawa** 'when her younger sister-in-law invited her, she went with her from Aglagax̂ to Uukix̂' (J 50:41). Also the complement may have an anaphoric adjunct, with an indefinite subject in the absolutive case: A 1973- (some uncertainty) **ayx̂aasi-gan kadagaan isuĝi-x̂ kuuĝa-ku-u kalu-na-x̂** 'when a seal appeared in front of his boat, he shot it'. An anaphoric initial subject entails a suffixal reference in the final verb, e.g. A 1952 **tuta-ku-ngis ayuxtaasaqat ngiin tunumkaasa-qa-ngis** 'while they were listening to him, he told them about his travel'; En 1909 **... "..." ngaan iistax̂tagali-ku-u, tagalakan igax̂taaqaltakum, Ngam unglugan kangan tagaasa-qa-a nawa** '... although she said "..." to him, without alighting he flew on for a while but then alighted with her on top of South Pinnacle' (J 49:37).

Construction (b), with or without a specified subject, is found in the texts in larger sentences where the referent of the reflexive term is the principal topic, in a way suggestive of reported speech (where the reflexive third person represents the first person of direct speech), e.g. Ea 1909 (**malix qayax̂ ayux̂six kangakum**), **aman ayagaan aaykaaĝux̂ txin itakum, chixtiim achan txin achaĝix̂ta-ku-x̂, ilaan aĝa-ku-x̂ awa** '(and when he got to the top of the hill), his wife had turned into a fox and was waiting for him at the entrance of her den, [so] he approached her' (J 10:54); En 1910 **asix txin sukuun, isix txin kumsida-ku-x̂ tutaaĝlikuun, ngaan txin awaaĝatachx̂ilakakan, anĝ-a inakux̂ tutaqaliigiim, ... ku-ga-n tada-qa-a Idmaaxtun** 'when he (a) grappled (**txin su-**) with him (b), he (a) felt that [cf. 3.15.1.1.] he (b) was almost lifting him (a **txin**) up, but he (a) did not let himself (**txin**) be thrown over by him (b **ngaan**), and having heard that his (b's **-a**)) breath was giving out, he (a) ... trampled on him (b), Idmaaxtun (a) [did]' (J 48;63); A 1952 ... (**asagaan hamang iquĝim ilan ax̂s ngaan aĝutichx̂iqadaam**), **tayaĝu-x̂ qakaax angalim silagaan qangux̂tagali-ku-x̂, txin ukux̂ta-lakax̂, qakangudaĝan agach ukux̂ta-ku-un hada-am qanguhli-gu-u, ... uĝaluun ngaan tugaasa-ku-u, ... haang ayul haang asx̂a-na-x̂ hiilax̂tazax̂** '... (having had his (a's) cousin hide himself in the corner [of the shelf in the cave]), [when] a man (b) came in from the daylight and did not see him (a **txin**), but he (a), looking out, saw him (b) (**-ku-un** sg.3Rsg = b a), and when he (b) was on his way towards him (a **-am** 3R), ... he (a) thrust his spear into him (b **ngaan**), ... and he (b) dropped there and died, it is said' (N.M. 3:74; for the complement (b) turned into a simple subject, as at the end, see 3.11.2.5.2.); Au 1909 (principal character (a) Tree-Twister, (b) Raven) ... **hakaax kivs tin chisax̂ hax̂saqali-ku, naa skaqaan aaĝaasa-k(a), tula-a sixsik tamang(u) itkiqaya-am, ...** 'when he (b) came down ready to grab him (a **tin**), he (a) raised his hand against him (b **naa**) and missed him (his head) but fractured his (b's **-a**) upper arm and knocked him (b) down, whereupon he (a **-am** 3R) ...' (J 81:28).

3.11.2.7. Coreferential nominal complements, different subjects

If the complement is specified, the construction depends on the nature of the second subject, nominal or pronominal, e.g. A 1973- **Piitra-x̂ itx̂aygi-x̂ algax̂taqada-ku-x̂, Viira-m una-qa-a** 'when Peter had butchered the reindeer, Vera cooked it', **itx̂aygi-x̂ algax̂taqada-ku-q Viira-m una-qa-a** 'when I had butchered the reindeer, Vera cooked it' (the nominal second subject separates the verb from the preceding object and entails the suffixal reference in the final verb); **chixtim ilaan aga-ku-q-aang, uuquchiingi-m nagagaan hiti-qa-a** 'when I went away from the den, the fox went out of it', but **Piitra-x̂ itx̂aygi-x̂ algax̂taqada-ku-x̂ una-na-q** 'when Peter had butchered the reindeer, I cooked it' (simple zero-anaphora). However, the second subject may also be put first, with embedding of the clause with the pronominal subject: En 1936 **A.C. isuĝim chaduĝnaa iqit-iku-ng usuu chadux̂si-ku-x̂** 'A(lex) C. made oil of all the blubber I took off', lit. 'A.C., [when] I took off the seal blubber, made oil of all of it'. The complement may also be repeated, making the clauses formally independent: A 1971 **Aaqanaĝim sadan tingin haaĝanix̂tal akuzaan Daniilax̂ Aaqanaĝix̂ hnuu-ax̂takux̂** 'when we stopped outside (the bay) A., Dan reached A.'

An anaphoric complement entails of course a suffixal reference in both clauses, e.g. A **Piitra-m algax̂taqada-ku-u Viira-m una-qa-a** 'when Peter had butchered it, Vera cooked it'; En 1909 **amaan ulam anĝaĝigan usu-gan chunglun ngaan amnixtaasa-ku-ngin, inaqaam kahlumixta-kan asx̂ati-ku-u nawa** 'all the people of the house threw flag stones at her, but he himself shot her several times and killed her' (J 41:46).

In addition to the shared complement, the subject of the initial clause may be coreferential with another complement in the final clause, e.g. A 1950 **tayaĝu-x̂ waaĝa-ku-m anaĝiin hamang ayx̂aasim nagan aĝiisal ax̂ta-ku-u, ngaan kum sigusa-t ii?** 'the man came in and left his stuff there in the boat, would you (**-t**) take it up (from the beach) for him (**ngaan**)?'; A 1952 **inati-ku-u tatahliim liidax̂ ngaan aĝiiĝutaa-ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'when he had finished (eating) it, I again gave him another piece'.

The one subject may have an adjunct coreferential with the other subject, e.g. A 1971- **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasiin sakaaĝati-ku-m, hla-gan ilan hanga-qa-a** 'when the man pushed out his boat, his son entered it' (**-ku-m** because **tayaĝux̂** is also the outer subject of the whole sentence); A 1971 **hla-gan ayx̂aasi-i atxax̂ti-ku-u sakaaĝati-na-x̂** 'when his son had fixed his boat, he put it out (to sea)' (the object of the final verb is a covert reflexive **ayx̂aasiin**, cf. 3.11.2.4.3.); A 1952 **algax̂taqada-ku-u ayaga-gan una-qa-a** 'when he had butchered it his wife cooked it' (two outer subjects: the man and the reindeer).

By passive derivation one of the coreferential complements (an object) may be turned into a subject (cf. 3.4.3.), simplifying the possible two-place verbal reference, e.g. En 1909 **aman kalukaan kadaam sitximudaĝan chiyaagusa-ku-x̂, ilaan su-lga-agiim** (anterior 3R sg.), **agalaan qangu-ku-m ...** 'as soon as she reached her dish down before her, it was taken from her, whereupon she entered and ...' (J 49:13); En 1910 **malix chaayax ikin aĝ-agali-ku-x, chaayax sulakan unuukali-na-x** 'and a drum was given them (**i-kin** 3A du.) but they did not take it and sang' (J 67:36); Eu 1910 **ix̂tanangin ma-ala-lix kuuĝachx̂i**(t)**-sxaku[x̂]**, **itxaan ulalĝi-kan, asxinuum-ikin ugiisa-ku-u awa** 'it being done as he (a) ordered, he (b) was brought out, and he (a) gave him (b) a separate house and married him (b) to his two daughters' (J 35:35); **akaan amtim kangan aliĝim aniqdux̂ aĝux̂taa uku-lga-lix, aqa-ala-ax̂tax̂ tayaĝux̂ ngaan uyachx̂i**(t)**-sxa-kum waaĝaasa-ku-u, ...** 'on the top of the hill by the shore there an old man (a) was seen carrying a child, so to have him (a) brought, a man (b) was sent to him (a **ngaan**), and when he (b) brought him (a) there ...' (J 85:52).

3.11.2.8. Connective **aku-**

As mentioned in 3.11.1.3., a clause with a participial tense may be linked to a following clause by the copula **a-ku-**, e.g. En 1949 **akux̂ Uyum tuku-gan ukuugiim adan uya-kan asix sngaluqali-qa-a, aku-u** [person agreement with the preceding **-qa-a**] **Uyum tukugan ngaan tunux̂taqalinax̂** 'but when the chief of Uyux̂ saw him, went to him and conversed with him (observed the weather and chatted), he said to the chief of Uyux̂'; Eu 1910 **nung waaĝaasa-akigin** [intentional pl.3A] **unugulux ix̂ta-qa-txin aku-ngin, taĝa aqaguum ugunux̂tada-kin ...** 'he said long ago that he would bring them to me but when he comes he always forget them ...' (J 39:27).

The copula may also serve to contrast a clause in the present with a following clause, e.g. A 1978 **tanĝix̂ iĝamana-ku-x̂ aku-x̂ aaliisiziga-lakax̂** 'the island is good but it has no good landing place' (**-kux̂ akux̂** equivalent of **-kum**, cf. 3.11.1.1.); **karandaasix̂ mata-ku-ng aku-x̂ sisax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'I have a pencil but it is broken' (cf. 3.11.2.5.). By its suffix the copula may also, for example, turn the object in an formally independent clause into the subject of a following clause, e.g. A 1950 **slumaan**

ataqadim sunam *North Star* **asax̂taa anaĝis laavkimaan waaĝaasaza-ku-x̂, akungis sanalakan inahlix̂ maza-ku-s** 'once a year the ship called North Star brings goods to the store but they (**akungis**) are insufficient and just take an end' (1959:78, 7 (37-38)); En 1978 **rayviilax̂ mata-ku-qing aku-ng chiikdakix atxax̂lakan** 'I have a rifle but its sight (lit. bullets) is not right'. For the use of the copula as a connective of sentences see 3.16 (4).

3.11.2.9. Anaphoric demonstratives

The demonstratives **hinga-**, **hawa-**, **hama-** (2.1.7.1., 11.) are frequently used anaphorically, referring to a preceding term of the context. Used as determiners (3.6.2.4.), they serve to make a term explicitly definite but have no further syntactical consequences; many examples in the preceding sections.

In their pronominal use, however, they have the syntactic function of specified nouns (2.1.7.3.) and so may serve as a syntactic alternative to suffixal anaphoric reference, e.g. A 1952 **sil-a-n txin gi-hli-ku-un ayagalĝu-um aduu anuusa-l hama-n su-na-x̂** [rather than **su-qa-a**] 'as he took a fancy (**txin gi-**) to her, he rejected his tall big woman and (**-l**) took her (that one, the former)' (1959:81, 20 (1)).

The adverbial forms may serve likewise as an alternative to anaphoric positional nouns, e.g. A 1973 ... **ulax̂tanangin kuuxnii sakaatxal traapaĝikux̂, plitax̂ hamaaĝaasaqangin hamang ax̂tal plitax̂tazanas** '[as] the kitchen of the house we lived in was a floor (lit. staircase) down, we put (**ax̂-ta-l**) the stove we had brought there in it and used it as stove' (**hama-ng** 'there' rather than **il-a-n**).

3.11.3. Chaining and embedding

As seen from the preceding sections, the typical order of linked clauses is iconic, for example in the last examples in 3.11.2.6.2.3. Since the final clause of a complex sentence is regularly marked for tense and mood in relation to the time of speech as the "main clause", there is no clear-cut formal difference between coordination and subordination. In some cases the person relations demonstrate the chaining rather than embedding of the clauses (see especially 3.11.2.5.2.), while embedding implied by a reflexive pronoun or oblique term is more or less clearly associated with reported speech, see 3.11.2.6.2.1., 3., and 3.15.3.

In connected speech, a clause may be inserted as a parenthesis, possibly marked as such by speed and intonation, for example within a nominal phrase: A 1952 **... Unalĝan (tanĝikuchax̂ al angunalakan hingamatakux̂) sadan tanĝim isax̂tangis ...** 'the islets with channels between them [lit. the cut islands] outside Unalga (it is [itself] an islet and a small one) ...' (N.M. 3:32).

3.11.4. Causal connective ma- and derivatives in the conjunctive

The conjunctive **ma-lix**, A, Au **ma-l** 'doing so' and the transitive **ma-asa-lix**, **ma-asa-l** 'doing so to', passive **ma-ala-lix**, A **ma-ala-l**, Au **ma-alu-l**, present a non-final clause as the reason for the following clause, frequently translatable as 'because'.

The basic form is used when the clauses have no coreferential complements. The clauses may have the same subject, including adjunct relations (cf. 3.11.2.2.3.), e.g. Ea 1909 **aman ayagaan kaduuĝidalaaĝa-na-m malix kaduuĝilix ...** 'his (3R) wife had been [walking] first before so she was first ...' (J 10:105); A 1952 ... **saĝaatumasu-ku-s mal txidix saĝanila-na-s ax̂takus** 'as they were probably sleepy, they went to sleep' (N.M. 3:37); A 1973 **anĝaĝinachxizax̂ a-ku-x̂ mal chagiin achxulax̂taasal angali-x̂** 'because he is a nice person, he distributed his halibut'; A 1950 **ting asx̂anil angali-q-aang mal uyminalakan guma-ku-q** 'because I got tired today I do not feel quite well now' (1959:78, 8 (5-6)); Au 1909 **Qaglaax̂ ... sinuya-m mal maaĝ[a] tin aygaxs angali-x̂ ...** 'Raven ... used to go beachcombing, so one day he started out to do so' (J 82:1); A 1950 **umna-ku-m mal naga qaka-ku-x̂** 'it (the boat) is tight so its inside is dry'. The subject of the final clause may also be coreferential with the object of the preceding clause (cf. 3.11.2.5.), e.g. A 1950 **anangin haqayax̂ta-lakaĝ-is qaatuchx̂i-ku-ngis mal haguma-ku-s hawa** 'because their mother doesn't take care of them and let them be hungry, they behave like that' (1959:79, 12 (5-6)); A 1952 **aasal ting qanguusa-ku-x̂t mal wang unguchi-ku-q** 'and then you took me in(to the house), so here I am sitting' (1959:79, 13 (7-8)). Or the clauses have no argument in common, e.g. A 1950 **ayagam wahligan anangis qaatul haagal aza-ku-z-iin mal, qan'gim ilan tayaĝus haaĝatalakan qalgadax̂ ilgaaguzahlizakus** 'because the women who are here are hungry and starving, in winter the men are constantly looking for food' (1959:77, 7 (10-11)).

The transitive form is used when coreferential complements are involved, e.g. A 1971 **anĝaĝinax̂ stuukakux̂ tuta-ku-ng maasal had-a-n hitanaq** 'I heard a person knocking so I went out to him/her'. If the complement is anaphoric, it is marked in the connective in Eastern, old Atkan and Attuan, e.g. Eu 1910 **Amilaayum muukmagan ilan aluĝaĝiisanangin maasakan, uyqiiĝiim-ngaan ukux̂tachx̂i-ikagan ilakiiming aya-ku-u, maasa-kan ngaan ayaquliisa-qa-ng** 'because it (the letter) was written with American letters, for him to show it to his wife he asked (to borrow) it from me, so I lent it to him' (J 39:53). The marking is due to the following two-place verb (the object turned into a following subject) in En 1910 **aaykaaĝux̂ ukux̂taagiim, ilan tixsix, iĝatu-lakax̂ maasa-kan sunaaĝi-ku-u, aman aaykaaĝux̂ angamadan ixidalix ahliingan ...** 'having seen a fox, he landed near it and because it was not shy he tried to grab it, but the fox kept jumping aside ...' (J 64:28; likewise Au 87:28). In modern Atkan the unmarked form is used, e.g. **qaatu-ku-x̂ maasal** [older **maasalka**] **qachx̂i-ku-ng** 'he was hungry so I fed him, I fed him because he was hungry'.

The passive form is used when the following verb is passive, e.g. A **qaatu-ku-x̂ maalal qachx̂i**(t)**-sxa-qax̂** 'he was hungry so he was fed, we fed him because he was hungry'; Au 1952 **iĝa**(t)**-su-utulakax̂** [= A **iĝasxaatulakax̂**] **maalul hyaagagan axtaa naa qagnaqu-lga-l ...**'because they (passive) did not want to frighten her, they (passive) [just] touched the end of her log (she was sitting on) ...' (1959:125, 33 (47-48)); A 1952 **al hawan Rafayiilax̂ agacha Amrikaanchim ilan chixtanax̂ mal, bumaagiim atxaĝis huzungis matanax̂ ax̂ta-ku-m maalal,**

kamgam ulagan nagan tataam chixi(t)**-sxa-qax̂, aaĝan kamgadax̂ ax̂takux̂ mal.** 'but Ralph had been married in the American way, so because he had all his papers right, he was married again in the church, because he is a Christian.' (1959:81, 16 (10-13).

As in the last example, with an initial intentional of **a-** the clause with the final connective conjunctive comes at the end of the sentence; see 3.10.3.

For the use of the present and the gerundive as adjunct of positional nouns see 3.14.4.4. For the use in report clauses see 3.15.1.1., 3.15.2.1.1., 3.15.2.3.

3.12. Anterior

The anterior (2.1.9.8.) indicates an action completed before the completed action represented by the final predicate. It may come close to a linkage in the present (3.11.) but rather than indicating a contrast the anterior may have a causal implication. It has frequently, in modern Atkan and Attuan almost exclusively, a preceding suffix **-qada-**, Au **-qaya-** 'to have already' (2.2.6.6.). The anterior of the copula with this suffix is common in phrases with the conjunctive. In modern Atkan such phrases tend to replace the simple anterior forms, yielding in late Atkan a shortened **aqadaa** 'and then'.

The negation in Eastern is the enclitic **+ulux**, in old Atkan the suffixal **-laga-**. In modern Eastern and Eastern-influenced Atkan the enclitic negation is sometimes used redundantly, possibly induced by the meaning 'no more' of the postbase **-qada-**.

The subject is marked by possessive suffixes in the locative case (1.p.sg. **-ming**, for the rest like the relative case, see 2.1.9.8.), on the one hand for the first, second and reflexive third person, all of which are coreferential with the subject of the following clause, and on the other hand for the non-reflexive third person (in old Atkan **+ax̂**, du. **+ax**, pl. **+as**).

3.12.1. Subject coreferential with the following subject

3.12.1.1. Specified or no complements

E.g. A 1973 **chalaqada-am ayx̂aasiin sayu-ku-x̂** 'having landed, he pulled up his boat'; A 1860 **Haman uku-lagaamax ... txidix aygaxt-na-x** 'when they did not find Him (lit. that one), they walked (back)' (Luke 2.45; E 1870 **Hamaya uku-umang-ulug-ikin**, cf. 3.12.1.2.); En 1909 **malix txin aygaxs-agiim ala-ku-m, iqyax̂ uku-ugiim, kum aaliisix̂taakakan anuxtaasanaam ilan aĝaqada-agiim, kuun qahngun ngaan chachiisa-ku-x̂ nawa** 'and having walked on he turned his head and having seen a baidarka [and] having gotten to where he thought it would land, he covered himself with seaweed' (J 41:9); Au 1952 **qagaayagaa iyĝan tamaaĝaqaya-amang, angayuuchaĝil anĝaĝinan tamang ax̂sas inas** 'baidarkas came there from the east and, making war, killed all the people there' (1959:124, 33 (4-5)); A 1952 **qilam hax̂s aqada-aming aniqduning uqlax̂s inat-iku-q-aa[ng]**,

unax̂tal qachx̂il aqada-aming, aangsutiing[an] anqal angali-q 'when I had gotten up this morning and finished bathing my children, having made the cooking and fed them I went out to pick berries'; A 1973 ...**saygis suzaqada-angin-ulax, alax ayx̂aasix̂ al tingin ulĝiqali-na-s** 'having taken the guns we started to go in (to the village) in two boats'; Ea 1982 **Piitrax̂ sunaan atxax̂talix aqada-agiim-ulux ayuxsaaĝa-na-x̂** 'Peter, after having fixed his boat, went out some time ago'.

The number of the subject may differ from that of the following clause, e.g. A 1909 **alitxuun agi[iital] chalal aqada-am hamaax hangal hakaaĝa-ku-x̂txidigaan mal ...** 'after he had landed with his crew, they went up there and ...' (J 76:227); Eu 1909 (translated from Attuan) **aqada-agiim aĝulix, sisuxsix, Hayan-Axtim tanadgusii nuqada-agiim, ulagan adan alitxuun asix aĝuchi iqitxada-amang, Hayan-Axtim ulagan ilan qanguqada-agiim, qasiqatxin ngaan aqaasanaan ix̂tana-x̂ ax̂takux̂** 'then (lit. having been/done) he carried [them] across the isthmus and having reached H.'s village he and (lit. with) his crew removed their loads near his house, whereupon he entered into H.'s house and said that he was bringing him fish he had stored' (J 85:4).

As seen from examples above, a specified complement may by zero-anaphora serve as the complement of a following verb. The same is true of the nominal base of a derived verb (cf. 3.9.2.1.), e.g. A 1973 **qa-txaĝi-qada-am una-na-x̂** 'having caught fish he cooked them'; **chagi-txaĝi-qada-am ila-a ngus achxux̂ta-na-x̂** 'having caught a halibut he gave me a piece of it'; **ulasu-x̂si-qada-aming nag-a-n saĝa-na-q** 'having built a hut I slept in it'; **hamang ulakucha-x̂si-l aqada-angin ulax̂tazaqali-na-s** 'after having built a small house there we began to live in it (lit. have it as house)'.

3.12.1.2. Anaphoric complement

In older Eastern an anaphoric complement is marked by an infix, sg. **-ka-**, pl. **-ki-**, e.g. 1870 **achigaqa-n hamaya amgaan suqada-ki-imang, anguĝuchx̂um nagan kingtim akangaan kimt-xa-ngin** 'the disciples having taken him in the night, lowered him in a basket through the wall' (Acts 9.25; pl. in reference to the subject, cf. 3.2.2.1.); En 1934 **qiigam qagnaĝiidanginulux ... ngiin kixchx̂iqada-ki-iming, atix̂ fuutax̂ aakam ilan asix ixichx̂inaax̂chx̂iqali-qa-ning** 'after having made them chew (keep between the teeth) soft grass, I had them try to jump about ten feet with it'. In old Atkan it was marked by an enclitic +(**ng**)**aan**, pl. +(**ng**)**iin**, e.g. 1860 **Iisuusa-m hiqada-am-iin ngiin tunux̂ta-ku-ngis** 'Jesus called them and said to them' (Mark 10.42). In modern Atkan it is left unmarked, e.g. 1952 **chaduqada-aming ayugasaa-ax̂ta-ku-ning** 'having oiled [them] I took them out (in my boat)'.

If the following clause has no complement or a specified one, the anaphoric reference is continued by an enclitic dative (cf. 3.9.2.3.), in old Eastern also with the infix, e.g. E 1870 **wakun ngiin hiqada-agiim-iin, Galiliiyam ilan ilgu-qa-ngin** 'having said this to them, he remained in Galilee' (John 7.9); **amaagan tayaĝu-n hadan aĝaqada-ki-imang-iin mangiyu-qa-ngin** 'some men joined him and believed' (Acts 17.34); Ea 1909 **ukux̂taqada-agiim-aan ulaam ilan qangu-ku-u awa** 'having seen it, he went into his house' (J 8:6); En 1952 **aqada-agiim+ngaan tanaam**

adan chiilu-qa-a 'after (having done) that (to him) he returned to his land'; A 1840 **... asx̂asxa aqada-am-aan ixchi-l-ka ...** 'he killed him and then went home' (V B 2:3); A 1860 **Iisuusa-m hadan halaqada-am-aan hiisa-qa-a** 'Jesus turned to him and said' (Luke 7.40). In later Eastern and in Atkan the enclitic may also be left out, e.g. Ep 1941 **amaan adaa agacha ukux̂tanangin ukux̂ta-agiim, amakun saygin amayux asxun adangin ixisix sulix amaan ulam nagaan it-xa-ngin** 'when he saw that they were looking in that direction only, he jumped to those spears and nails, took them and went outside of that house'; A 1860 **tayaĝunaaĝis ... hunalĝitux̂-sxa** [conjunctive 3A sg.] **aqada-amax amaanu-qa-a** 'brigands wounded him and went away' (Luke 10.30); A 1952 **ukux̂taqada-aming ting saĝaniingan ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'having looked at it I went to sleep'. In the Eastern texts the reference is not always followed up, even after the enclitic, e.g. En 1909 **suqada-agiim-aan, "Taĝa" iisalix imahnax̂** 'having grabbed him, he shouted "Now!"' (J 44:17).

In 1952 the oldest Atkan consultant changed the anterior **inas-aming-aan** into **inat-iku-ng-aan** in the following sentence, probably because the subjects are not coreferential: **agul inatikungaan uging waaĝa-ku-u** 'when I had finished making it, my husband came back' (cf. 3.11.2.1.2.).

3.12.1.3. Adjunct relations

In modern Atkan the subject may be coreferential with the adjunct of the following subject or vice versa, e.g. **chalaqada-am hla-a ayx̂aasim ilagaan igana-x̂** 'when he had landed, his son got out of the boat'; **hla-a waaĝaqada-am txin quyu-na-x̂** 'when his son came back he went to bed'; cf. 3.11.2.2.3.

Of the latter relation there are a couple of instances in Jochelson's Eastern texts as well: Ea 1910 **tugida-ngin amaatxaqada-agiim, chiklaxchx̂isxaagusalida-x̂** 'when her months (time of delivery) approach, one (passive) makes her be active all the time' (J 12:5); En 1910 **ada-kix qanguugusa-amdix ... txidix iqyaĝiti-ku-x** 'as soon as their father had gone in, they (du.) paddled off ...' (J 68:89); **ada-a ayugiiĝuta-agiim, tanadgusiim angadan uux̂luudaqaliiĝuta-na-x̂ aman lax̂** 'once when his father had gone out (in his boat), he was again playing with his dart in the village, that boy [did]' (J 74:26). In Eastern the person relation usually goes the other way round, see 3.12.2.

In Jochelson's texts there is also an instance of the coreference of the adjunct of an object (an outer subject) with the following subject: En 1909 **ingamataliiĝliku-m, simsi-ngin taanga-m nuqali-igiim, aman aniqduun qusaam kumsix̂taaĝlilix alaĝum ilan aqada-agiim, kugan anqa-ku-x̂ nawa** 'she remained that way until the water began (3R) to reach her (3A) chest, whereupon she held her child above her for a while and then put it into the sea and stood on it' (J 49:31). This recalls the linkage in the present (3.11.2.5.2.).

3.12.2. Non-reflexive third person

The clauses may have no coreference, e.g. En 1910 **angali-x̂ aqa-angan, txin aygax-na-x̂** 'when day came she set out walking' (J 64:4). The expression **angali-x̂**

(h)aqa-angan alternates with no apparent difference with **angali-x̂ haqa-ku-ĝ-aan** (e.g. Eu 1909, J 40:50, 55), in Atkan the usual construction (3.11.2.1.1.). The coreference of the adjunct of the subject with the following subject does not seem to count syntactically in En 1910 (and 1984) **adax̂tana-a kayux anax̂tana-a txidix saĝani-ingkin** [3A du.]**, amgaan ulaam ilaan isix txin aygax-na-x̂** 'after her foster-father and foster-mother had fallen asleep, at night she left the house and walked off' (J 69:13).

The subject may by zero-anaphora represent the complement in the following clause (cf. 3.11.2.4.), e.g. A 1909 **alaĝuĝinas ayuxs a-anganas agiital hamaax ayuxsix** 'when the hunters set out (when the men set out to hunt on sea) she set out together with them' (J 78:195). The anaphoric subject entails the enclitic **+(ng)aan** in Ea 1909 **"..." iisa-angan-aan, saxtanalilakan chang ngaan ayugni-qa-ng** '"..." she said, whereupon without delay I moved my hand to her' (J 4:13).

The anterior may also have a reflexive object or other reflexive complement in reference to the subject of the following verb, e.g. En 1909 **txin mikaasaqadalix il-kiigiim isaĝan txin aygaxs-angan, igaan ngaan tugaasa-kan itachx̂i-qa-a** 'after he had played with her (**txin**) and was starting to go out of her place, she thrust her knife in him from behind and sent him out' (J 42:6); En 1910 **aman Qatxaykusax̂, iqyan tana-an nu-ungin, Tanax̂ Angunam tayaĝungin uyachx̂i-na-x̂** 'when the baidarkas arrived in his (3R) village, Q. sent for the men of T.A.' (J 73:9); A 1952 ... **ulĝihlikux̂ uman qudgi-in akalil a-angan haman[g] adum akangan hakang anqaasal ...** 'he (a) was on his way inside until he (a) was passing right above him (b 3R **-in**), whereupon he (b) stood up with him (a) against the ceiling of the cave' (N.M. 3:76). With cross-reference Ea 1910 **wan yaagax̂ igiim tunux̂taqada-angan, il-a-an ayugi-ku-x̂ awa** 'when the (lit. this) tree had finished talking to him (**igiim** 3R), he set forth from it' (J 17:39).

In Eastern also the subject of the anterior has frequently a reflexive suffix in reference to the subject of the following verb, e.g. Ea 1910 **ana-an asx̂a-angan, ingaagan txin aygaxsix ...** 'when his mother died, he walked off from there and ...' (J 15:41); Ea 1909 **amakun ungi-ngin, uyu-din ayug-iingan, asanqamdin adan uya-ku-n awa** 'those sisters of his (3A), when their (3R) brother had gone off, went to their (3R) sister-in-law' (J 10:38); **ayaga-an ugduĝiin igiim aĝ-iingan, ilaan sulix, chngayux̂taam ilan aĝ-iku-x̂ awa** 'when his wife gave him her magic guise, he took it from her and put it in his quiver' (J 10:33). This is the converse of the construction mentioned above, rare in Eastern (3.12.1.3.), and the converse of the linkage usual in Atkan (3.11.2.4.3.).

3.12.3. Constructions with the passive

An anterior in the passive followed by a clause in the active may have a 3A or a 3R subject suffix.

The 3A suffix is found in sentences with independent arguments, with a subject (underlying object) coreferential with a following complement, or with a 3R complement in reference to the subject of the following verb, e.g. En 1909 **iqya-n**

ax̂sa(t)**-sxa-angin, aman Uĝdusxiin ukudaqali-na-x̂** 'when the baidarkas had been made ready, U. kept watching' (J 44:15); Ea 1910 **Ukalax̂ asaa i-lga-angan-ulux, ad-a-n txin aygaxti-ku-x̂ nawa** 'when Bark['s] name was not mentioned, he (Reed Grass) went over to him (J 32:17); A 1952 **... anaĝix̂ ukuduukaĝulax hi**(t)**-sxa-l a-angan, hamaax huzungin ili-ngiin ayuxtux̂s, ...** 'after they (a) had been made unable to find anything, all of them (b) went out away from them (a)' (N.M. 3:39); En 1909 **asxu-un igiim ax̂-sxa-angan, suqada-agiim, Aglagam adan txin ayx̂ah-na-x̂** 'when his spear thrower was given (reached) him, he took it and then departed for A.' (J 50:5). The passive in the sense of 'we' has an enclitic, not followed up in the following clause, in E 1870 **hamaya su-lga-qada-angan-aan, Mitiliinam hadan waaĝa-na-n** 'having taken him, we came to Mitylene' (Acts 20:14).

The 3R suffix is found in sentences with a 3A complement coreferential with the following subject (the converse of the construction above), e.g. En 1909 **tayaĝu-txin asix qaaĝa ngaan ax̂-sxa-agiim, tayaĝu-um-iin udigasalix iingun txin ukuni-na-x̂** 'when he (3A **ngaan**) was given food to eat with his (3R) men, he distributed it to his (3R) men and put up for the night' (J 44:9); Eu 1910 **Usila-m ngaan i-lga-agiim, ukux̂taaĝan**[+]**ngaan amaanu-ku-u awa** 'Usilax̂, when it was told him (about him (b)), went over to see (him (b))' (J 35:4). The 3R complement is perhaps irregular in En 1909 **aman lax̂ ila-kiigiim iĝu-lga-agiim** [A 1973 3A **ilagaan agalgaqadaam**], **... amaagan iga-ku-x̂** 'that boy, when he was left alone (lit. had been gone away from), ... escaped from there' (J 43:11). In the following sentence the passive is a switch from an active with a nominal subject in the relative case: En 1909 (confirmed Eu 1987) **... ami-gan ingan ayagax̂ maasaatuguum suux̂tax̂ i-ila-agiim, aman ayagax̂ usilix ...** 'when his (maternal) uncle told him (when he was told by his uncle) to take that woman if he wanted her, he took her on board ...' (J 50:30).

A clause in the passive followed by a clause in the passive may likewise have a 3A or a 3R subject suffix.

The 3A suffix is found in sentences with coreferential subjects (underlying objects) or one of them a 3A complement or adjunct, e.g. A 1952 **... ayx̂aasi-ngin suun'gimax huzuu angax̂tangis alaĝum hadagaan udaga-ala-l sadim hadan kitxi**(t)**-sxa-qada-angan, hakungudaĝan imachx̂i-ĝa-qali-ku-s ...** 'when their boats with all their equipment had been taken away out to sea, people (passive) started hollering up to them from the sea side' (N.M. 3:39); Ea 1910 ... **ikin sakaanu-lga-l aqada-angkin akuunu-ula-lix ..** 'people (passive) came down to the shore to them and carried them up the beach' (J 17:56); E 1870 **maalalix hunam amnaĝungin ngikin ax̂-sxa-qada-angkin, qiqutam ulagan nagan anu-ula-lix** 'and having been given many wounds, they were thrown in jail' (Acts 16.23). In reported speech the passive may have a reflexive object pronoun, e.g. A 1952 **... txidix aĝikux̂txidigaan hamaax txidix su-lga-l txidix hid-ula-qada-angan, ... Amuux̂tam hadan txidix akayu-ula-qaliqax̂ akux̂txidigaan ...** 'when they had surrendered (lit. given themselves up), they were taken out from there ... and when they were transported across the strait towards Amukta ...' (N.M. 3:77).

The 3R suffix is found in Atkan and Attuan in similar sentences, e.g. A 1952 **... hamahliim asx̂a**(t)**-sxa-qada-am, alaĝum achidan anu-ula-qa-x̂ ax̂takux̂** 'having been killed previously, he had been thrown onto the beach' (N.M. 3:47); **Amuux̂tax̂ ngiin hnu-ula-qada-amax, asx̂asxahli-qa-z-ulax ax̂takus** ... 'when they had been brought to Amukta, they were not killed ...' (N.M. 3:78); Au 1909 ... **amulu-qaya-am imax ux̂-su-kux̂ ...** 'when she had been clothed she was given to them (and they took her ...)' (J 82:25). The Eastern version has the 3A suffix: **chula-lga-qada-angan, imdix ax̂sxakux̂ ...,** so there seems to be a dialectal difference with respect to the passive (cf. 3.4.3.3.).

In the Eastern texts an active anterior with a 3R suffix is sometimes followed by a clause in the passive, the coreferential subject being removed, e.g. En 1910 **amakun aqana-n waaĝaqada-amchi, ikin tunu-lga-qa-x** 'when those who were coming arrived, it was said to the two (one or some of them said to the two)' (J 63:17).

3.13. Conditional

In contrast to the non-final present (3.11.) and the anterior (3.12.), the conditional (2.1.9.9.) indicates a non-completed action: future, habitual/recurrent, or hypothetical. Like the present of the copula (3.11.1.2-4.), the conditional of the copula is used frequently with a preceding conjunctive (especially in modern Atkan) or a participial tense. As in the case of the present (3.11.1.5.) and the anterior (3.12.), the temporal relation to the following clause may be specified by derivational suffixes.

The negation is enclitic, E +(**y**)**ulux**, A **+ulax**, in earlier Atkan with a special variant **-sxu-** of the mood marker, in later Atkan replaced by the negative conjunctive (**-lakan**) with the conditional of the copula **a-gu-**.

The subject is marked mostly (exception in 3.13.2.8.) by possessive suffixes in the absolutive or relative case. In the second and reflexive third persons there is (or was) a case distinction like the one in the non-final present (3.11.1.1.), while the first person has no case distinction (cf. 2.1.1.3.). The non-reflexive third person suffixes in Atkan are in the absolutive case, while in Eastern the singular was replaced by the third reflexive already by the 1830's and the plural has no case distinction (cf. 2.1.1.2.). An anaphoric complement, with a nominal subject, is marked in a couple of cases by the replacement of a singular 3A suffix by the plural (3.13.2.5.). In several other cases (3.13.2.1-5.) it is marked by the enclitic +(**ng**)**aan**, pl. +(**ng**)**iin**, but especially in the later language it is also left unmarked in the conditional clause.

3.13.1. Tense/mood relations

3.13.1.1. Future

A clause in the conditional may be followed by a clause in the imperative (2.9.6.), prohibitive (2.9.7. Attuan example), optative (2.9.4.1.), or an expression of future (3.8.1.3.), e.g. A 1952 **kim-igu-un** [absol.] **haqaya-da** 'when you go down be careful !'; En 1982 **maasaat(u)-gu-m(i)n-ulux** [rel. neg.] **aĝiisa-da** 'if you don't want to do it, leave it'; A 1950 **suutu-gu-mis su-uqa-an** 'if you want to take it, take it'; **wakus uyux̂ta-gu-un su-umis ?** 'if you like these, will you take them ?'; A 1952 **chix̂taliisiin chux̂ta-sxu-un-ulax** [absol. neg.] **chix̂s-amis aĝ-iku-x̂t** 'if you do not put on your raincoat, you will get wet'; **sis a-gu-mis** [rel.] **txin kahnulugni-imis aĝ-na-x̂t** 'if you sweat you will (later) catch a cold'; **haqa-gu-ung imis hix̂ta-angan a**(ĝ)**-qa-ning** 'when I come back I'll tell it (pl.) to you'; **ixchil chala-gu-mas timas quyuu-aĝ-iku-s** 'when we return and land we'll go to bed'; A 1950 (young speaker) **ting angunati-gu-ung idax̂tazuuka-ĝulang** (= **-zuuka-ng-ulax**) 'if I get big I will know it'.

Participial tense with the conditional of the copula, e.g. A 1860 **ngaan hasinax̂ luula-qa-x̂ a-gu-u, hasinax̂ ilagaan ilgalgaaĝan aqax̂** 'to whom much has been committed (lit. if much has been committed to him), of him much shall be asked (lit. sought)' (Luke 12.48); **ilan ulam il qangu-qa-chi a-gu-u, il txichi aĝix̂taasaatxichi** 'wherever (lit. if there) you have entered into a house, remain there ...' (Mark 6.10).

Conjunctive with **ax̂ta-gu-** 'if eventually', e.g. A 1950 **chix̂ta-lakan ax̂tagu-un, qilagan waaĝaaĝan saĝakux̂** 'if it doesn't rain, he'll come back tomorrow'; A 1952 **kalul asx̂as ax̂tagu-un imis ayugniisal hagyayada** 'when you have shot it/them start cleaning it/them'.

3.13.1.2. Habitual/recurrent

A clause in the conditional is frequently followed by a clause indicating a habitual or recurrent (repeated) action, mostly marked by the suffix **-da-**, A **-za-**, Au **-ya-**. **-yaaya-**, e.g. A 1950 **qanikinga haqa-gu-u, qaniix hawaax takaqali-gu-u** [absol.]**, tayaĝu-s tanadix imax hagyayaqali-za-ku-s** 'when spring comes, when the snow begins to go away, the men begin to clean up their places' (1959:77 f., 7 (22-24)); **qalgadas ilgal la-gu-max** [rel.] **haqaasa-za-ku-s** 'they look for food and when they get it they bring it back' (ibid. (6)); A 1952 **txin saĝaniqada-gu-um txin qungtukali-za-x̂** 'when he has fallen asleep he starts snoring'; Eu 1910 **ungiin tayaĝum laĝanaa agu-gu-un, asx̂a**(t)**-da-qalinax̂ ax̂takux̂ awa** 'whenever his sister bore a male child, he would kill it' (J 35:2); A 1952 **iqyaan aygagiiĝan txin aygax-s a-gu-u, himlagan kadan higit-za-hlix̂ maqalinax̂ hiisax̂tanax̂** 'when his baidarka started to go, it began to just hop along the waves, he said' (N.M. 3:92).

Phrasal future in the conditional, e.g. A 1937 **qax̂talakan ataqan chaduĝnam ukdugan ilaa alitxuuĝin aĝ-igu-max qadana-s** 'they did not eat but [only] when they were about to attack they ate a piece of blubber'.

Participial tense with the conditional of the copula, e.g. En 1909 **anqalaaĝana-x̂ a-gu-um, maayum amnaĝungin waaĝaasa-da-na-x̂** 'having been away for a while he would come back home with many things' (J 57:4); A 1952 ... **haman qalgadax̂ taxsa-qa-x̂ a-gu-un, taxsa-qa-x̂ ax̂ta-gu-un, qan'gim silan ... anĝaĝinam qaatunanginiin chisilgaqali-za-qa-x̂** 'when that food was stored, had been stored, towards winter it began to be distributed to the hungry people' (N.M. 1:18).

3.13.1.3. Hypothetical

With the particle **kum**, A also **kam**, old A **kuma**, a synonym of the Russian *by*, the conditional indicates a hypothetical or unreal condition, e.g. A 1950 **wan angalix̂ slachxiza-gu-u kum ayuxtal imyaĝikuq** 'if it were nice weather today I would go out fishing'; A 1952 **aniqdum su-qa-a-ulax a-gu-un kum imis ukux̂tachx̂i-ku-ng** 'if the child had not taken it I would show it to you (now)'; A 1973 **nam-hadaa lital aguu, kam nam-hadalix̂ta-lakaĝ-is** 'if there had been wind from the south, they would not have gone to the south side'; Eu 1909 **aslaan-ngaan txin uduukanaa aqata-gu-ung-kum, imin liidax̂ chimgux̂taangan anuxtagalikan, aĝiisa-ku-ng** 'if I had known when it (meat) could reach you, I would have liked to send you some, but I didn't (lit. left it)' (J 38:23); A 1860 **wangus anax̂ alix Aguun, kuma huyung asx̂anaĝulax**, E 1870 **waligan Agumin kum, huyung tanaadaqadanaĝulux** 'if You had been here, my brother would not have died' (John 11.21).

3.13.1.4. Conditional with preceding present

A clause in the present indicating the initial part of the condition may precede the clause in the conditional, e.g. A 1937 **aniqdux̂ aĝa-ku-m kaangu-gu-un-ulax hingahligaagan kamgax̂silga-za-ku-x̂** 'when a child is born but is not healthy, it is baptized at once'; En 1909 **ingasaĝan qasx̂i-ku-m, chuyuu ax̂ta-gu-um, iglag-a amaatxan achig-da-x̂** 'when he raises the arm to throw and his arm is extended, his spear will fall far away' (J 56:6); **iqyaĝiliiĝli-ku-n chngatux̂ uku-gu-mang, adamchi uyalix, txichi qimadgusix, qasaaĝuqali-da-n** 'they paddle until they see a sea otter and go towards it, form a circle and wait for it to come up' (ibid. 9); A 1840 ... **aygaxsmi-ku-m qichituqdataĝan ilagaan aĝa-gu-um, nagan qanguuĝan aĝnax̂** (**ngaan hiisax̂talka ...**) '(telling her) to walk until she got to a revolving circle and then enter it' (V B 3:6).

3.13.1.5. Suffixal specification of time

As with the present in expressions of completed action (3.11.1.5.), the suffix **-hli-** | **-smi-** is used with the conditional in the sense of 'until', e.g. A 1950 **laavkim imdaa taya-hli-gu-dix tukuĝulax hit-za-ku-s** 'they buy the content of the store until they exhaust it (lit. make it poor)' (1959:78, 7 (33-34).

-qali- 'to begin', sometimes translatable as 'as soon as', is equally common, e.g. Au 1952 **hlan igax̂tax̂ tuta-qali-gu-chix sugal qayax̂ hanga-ya-l** 'as soon as the boys hear the airplane, they run up the hill'; A 1980 **haaga-qali-gu-max txidix tuuhyuta-za-na-s** 'when they began to starve, they used to feel lonesome'.

-qada- 'to have already V-ed' is used with the conditional in the same way as with the anterior (3.12.), e.g. En 1909 **yaalusax̂ umx̂ii tagulga-qada-gu-un, yaxutaa alaĝum ilan anuula-da-x̂** 'when the bait has been tied onto the yarus, the float is thrown into the sea' (J 56:18); En 1910 **chu-qada-gu-min, qanang qidaqada-da** 'put it on now and (then) stop crying !' (J 55:22); A 1950 **igax̂tax̂ waaĝax̂ta-qada-gu-u, tataam tanamis hadan huyaamis aĝnax̂t ii?** 'when the airplane comes back (after having gone west), will you be going to your place again ?'; A 1952 **Atxalax̂ yaatax̂ hnux̂ta-qada-gu-mis uqich-ada** 'go as far as A. and then come back'.

3.13.2. Person relations

3.13.2.1. Independent arguments

A third person subject independent of the following clause was in older Atkan marked as non-reflexive by a 3A suffix, e.g. 1950 **waan tanadgusim tayaĝugan huzuu qan'gim ilan ayuxta-gu-u, ayagam wahligan anangis qaatul haagal aza-ku-z-iin mal ...** 'when all the men (sg.) of this village are out in the winter, the women that are here are hungry and starve, so ...' (1959:77, 7 (9-10)); **saalu-gu-u tataam ayugiimchix aĝnax̂txichix ii?** 'if it is dry weather, will you (pl.) be going out again later ?'. In Eastern the 3A sg. was replaced by the 3R sg. already by the 1830's. This usage spread also to later Atkan.

Clauses about the weather, however, tended to have the reflexive suffix also in older Atkan (cf. 3.11.2.1.1.), e.g. 1950 **slaa txin isxana-gu-un saalus hulaaĝan amasukux̂** 'if the wind changes direction, perhaps it will bring dry weather tomorrow'.

An anaphoric subject entails a suffixal reference in the following clause (cf. 3.11.2.1.2.): A 1980's **tunumkaqada-gu-ngis ting saĝaniingan aqa-ning** 'when they stop talking, I'll go to sleep'. The older language may have had here an enclitic **+(ng)aan**, pl. **+(ng)iin** (cf. 3.11.2.1.2.). It is found with a following passive in A 1950 **qilam waaĝa-gu-u-ngaan kamga-lga-aĝan aqax̂ amasukux̂** 'if he (the church elder) comes back in the morning, we (passive) may perhaps have service' (1959:79, 11 (10-11)); Ea 1910 **kayux alaĝum kugan anĝiin agukux̂ tuta-lga-agusa-gu-un-aan, tix-sxa-da-qa-x̂** 'also just as soon as one heard it (the monster) raising its voice at sea, one put ashore' (J 22:7 with erroneous present in the translation).

3.13.2.2. Shared subject

As seen from the examples in 3.13.1., the subject of the conditional clause, coreferential with the subject of the following clause, is marked in the 2.p. and the 3R by suffixes in the absolutive or the relative case, with the difference noted there, while the 1.p. suffixes have no case distinction.

The reference to an anaphoric complement of the conditional clause is continued by the enclitic **+(ng)aan** into the following clause, e.g. A 1952 **qa-gu-ung-aan sadmudaĝan hitaangan aĝ-iku-ng** 'when I have eaten it I will go outside'; Ea 1909 **kamakun latux̂txin kugan uĝasaĝiiĝan ix̂taqada-gu-m(a)ng-aan, waaĝa-da-qa-ngin-ulux awaya** 'whenever (one of) your grandfathers said that they were (he was) going to have a sweetheart there, they never came back' (J 3:6); Ea 1910 ... **kugaan kim-sxan-aan, txin aygaxt-xu-min-aan, kalukan aamax itangin u-uqalaqa-an** 'when you descend from it and walk on, you will reach some bowls containing blood' (J 15:24).

As in the case of the non-final present (3.11.2.2.3.), the subject may have an 3A adjunct coreferential with the following subject, the conditional having a reflexive subject suffix, e.g. A 1950 **ada-ngis wahligan a-gu-dix kum haguma-lakaĝ-is** 'if their father had been here they would not behave like that' (1959:79, 12 (3-4)); **hingaan aslaan anĝaĝina-s qalgadas ukul qal kimla-ngis txidix chx̂as a-gu-max, inix̂sil ... a-za-kus** 'at that time, when the people find food to eat and their stomachs get full, they are happy ...' (1959:77, 7 (14-15)); En 1949 **laa Anax̂ Uyux̂ tanax̂talix Uyum tukuu alix, tayaĝu-ngin chngatunaaĝiiĝan qagaanu-gu-um, ayagangin Uyagax̂ ngiin nuusaqada-gu-um, ngiin imgax̂six qasichx̂i-da-na-x̂** 'his son Surf lived at Uyux̂ and was the chief of Uyux̂, and while his men went northeast to hunt sea otter, he would take their wives to Vsevidof Island and have them fish with lines for supply'.

3.13.2.3. Shared subject and complement

Differently from the non-final present (3.11.2.3.), the conditional has in the modern Atkan and the Eastern material no special two-place suffix marking a shared complement, e.g. A 1952 **idax̂talakan a-gu-ung imis hix̂taangan aqa-ng** 'when I know it I will tell it to you'; **wan angalix̂ haqaasalakan a-gu-un, qilagan haqaasaaĝan saĝa-qa-a / saĝa-qa-ngis** 'if he does not bring it / them today, he will bring it / them tomorrow'. In old Atkan an anaphoric object was marked by the enclitic **+(ng)aan**: 1860 **taĝa uku-gu-un-aan** [E 1870 **uku-gu-um**], **txin inix̂sitalix qangliim kugan suuĝan aqa-a** 'but when he finds it, he will be happy and put it on his shoulder' (Luke 15.5).

Subject coreferential with the adjunct of the subject of the following clause: A 1952 **aniqdum sul a-gu-u ana-gan uqidusa-za-a** 'if (whenever) the child takes it its mother brings it back'.

3.13.2.4. Subject coreferential with following complement

These constructions correspond to constructions with the non-final present (3.11.2.4.), e.g. A 1952 **haman tayaĝux̂ uqis a-gu-u, ahmayaax̂taangan aĝna-q** 'when that man comes back, I'll ask him'; **uqis a-gu-u, ahmayaax̂taangan aqa-ng** 'when he comes back, I'll ask him'; En 1910 **amingin laaqudanaax̂six angalilix, laaqudan waaĝaasa-gu-ngin, ilingin aygaxsix qayuugiiĝli-ku-x̂, (achxudaqaĝulux)** 'when his uncles had been out all day hunting fur seals and brought fur seals back, he would go to them and ask for food (but would never get a share)' (J 66:4); En 1909 **chngatux̂ mayaax̂taaĝan maayunax̂, itaangasix agux̂ kitxuun, ilan sakaaĝalix, igiim agux̂taasa-gu-um, chngatu-m iĝax̂ta-da-a-yulux** 'if a man who prepares to hunt sea otter goes first down to the beach at low tide (lit. when the beach drains) and rubs himself with it (kelp or sea food), the sea otter does not shun him' (J 56:37); A 1952 **mayaaqadal hingaaĝal a-gu-mchix, kampaanim ilagaan Kasakam taangagan akiĝiiyulax ... hiing ngiin ax̂-sxa-za-qa-s** 'when(ever) they came back from hunting, they were given Russian liquor free from the company' (N.M, 2:13); **hingaan tayaĝu-m hagyayal a-gu-u, ngaan kiduusal as haĝuungan aĝ-iku-ng** 'when that man has cleaned it, I'll help him packing it (lit. helping him with it I'll pack it with him)'.

The reference to an anaphoric complement of the conditional clause is continued by the enclitic **+(ng)aan** into the following clause: A 1952 **su-gu-miz-aan txin sihmiingan aĝ-iku-ng** 'if you take it I'll spank you' (younger speaker 1950 **sugumis ngaan txin sihmii-aĝikuq**).

The subject may at the same time be coreferential with a 3A adjunct of the following subject, e.g. A 1952 **hingaax his a-gu-u, braata-gan agitaaĝan aĝ-iku-u** 'when he goes out from there, his brother will go with him'. Likewise with a following passive in En 1909 **anaada-a alam ilaa suuĝan aqu-un, cha-kix tugamig-a-lix, ingaagan iĝuchx̂i**(t)**-sxa-da-ku-x̂** (**ukux̂taliigiim ...**) '(seeing that) whenever his mother was about to take the piece of whale blubber, her hands were beaten and kept away from it' (J 43:41; for **anaada-a** one might expect the reflexive **anaada-an**, the suffix referring to the subject of the next following clause '(he) seeing that').

On the other hand, the subject may have a reflexive suffix in reference to the following subject, so at least in Eastern, e.g. Eu 1910 **ungi-in tayaĝum laĝanaa agu-gu-un, asx̂adaqali-na-x̂ ax̂takux̂** 'whenever his sister bore a male child, he would kill it' (J 35:2); Ea 1910 ... **ugi-txin alaĝuĝiiĝin ayu**(g)**-ku-ngin, agiitalix ayukada-gu-um, tanaanu-gu-ngin kayux asix tanaanudalix ...** 'whenever her husbands set out to go to sea, she would set out together with them, and when they came back home, she too would come back with them' (J 27:4).

3.13.2.5. Complement coreferential with following subject

The anaphoric plural object, coreferential with the following subject, is marked by a 3A plural suffix in the two-place way (the plural **-gu-ngis** replaces the singular **-gu-u**, the subject being singular) in A 1950 **uknaax Simpuula(m) kugaan suna-m haqal uya-gu-ngis, hamaanul hamang awal sluza-ku-s** 'when a ship comes from St. Paul and fetches them, they go there and pass the summer working there' (1959:78, 7 (29-30).

In the absolutive sg. there is no difference between the two-place and the one-place marking, e.g. A 1952 **... igiim ayugnilax̂taasa-gu-un sinigim hadagaan qagalazakux̂ tutal** ... 'when he made movements with him (man jammed up against the ceiling of the cave) he heard cracking sounds within him (he said)' (N.M. 3:76; the 3R **-gu-un** in reference to the final 'he said'). The relative case in the following sentence leaves the anaphoric reference unmarked: En 1983 **ayaga-m sux̂tax̂ta-gu-um, tayaĝum ingangun unguchina-gan uku-gu-un-ulux, achi-gan kugaan ngaan tuga-ala-ku-x̂** 'if a woman is holding it (stick in game) and the man sitting there does not find it, he is beaten with it on his back'. Likewise Eu 1910 **sanĝu-u aalax adakiin aalax chax ngaan su-ula-lix a-gu-um, saxtanalakan kuuĝatxaĝi-ku-x̂** 'one (passive) holds her belly on both sides with the hands, and then she has her delivery without delay' (J 36:7). The same is apparently true of the 1. p., e.g. A 1952 **anaĝis ngaan hix̂ta-gu-ung tutaqaĝi-za-ĝ-ulax** 'when I tell him something he never listens (does not behave)'.

The reference to the additional shared anaphoric object is marked when the subject of the conditional clause is nominal: A 1952 **tayaĝu-m ngus aĝil** [for older

ax̂s] a-gu-ngis suungan aĝ-iku-ning 'if the man gives them to me, I'll take them'. With a 1.p. subject there is apparently no such marking, e.g. A 1952 **imis hix̂tal a-gu-ung idax̂tazuuka-an-ulax** 'when I tell it to you you will know it'.

In addition to the object coreferential with the following subject, the subject of the conditional clause may have a 3A adjunct coreferential with the following subject or vice versa: En 1983 **ugi-gan nu-gu-um txin aygaxt-iku-x̂** 'when her male (eider) comes to her (to take over the sitting on the eggs) she walks off'; Eu 1910 **ugilam qalgaax̂tax̂ chaasaqaa qa-gu-um-aan, qana-ngin guudg-a-n chitaatuduuka-lakaĝ-a** 'if one eats what a widow has touched in preparation, what he eats will tend not to remain within him' (J 36:24; **-aan** for continuation of the reference to the anaphoric subject).

3.13.2.6. Cross-reference

A pronominal argument is treated in the same way as with the non-final present (3.11.2.6.1.), e.g. A 1952 **txin kixs a-gu-u asx̂ach-ada** 'if it bites you, kill it'.

A 3.p. object coreferential with the subject of the final clause is expressed in Eastern by the reflexive pronoun (cf. 3.11.2.6.2.): En 1910 **kinguuĝix̂ ami-gan, txin nu-gu-un, qachx̂iqada-gu-um, itachx̂i-da-qa-a** 'his (a's) youngest uncle (b), when he (a) went to him (b), he (b) would feed him (a) and send him out' (J 66:11); En 1909 **kayux txin anulix txin agliisa-gu-un, aman igiim anuusanaa suqada-gu-um, ngaan anuusa-kan ngaan utxida-gu-um, alimaa iqi(t)-da-qali-qa-a** 'whenever she (a) threw at her (b) and missed her (b), she (b) would take the one (the rock) thrown at her (b) and whenever she (b) threw it at her (a) and hit her (a), she (b) would knock off a limb of hers (a's)' (J 49:17).

3.13.2.7. Shared complement, different subjects

A shared anaphoric object is marked only in the final clause in A 1952 **tumsalakan a-gu-ung aniqdu-s suuĝan amasu-ku-u** 'if I don't put it away the kids may take it'; **hiing aĝiisal a-gu-un qanglaaĝ-im suuĝan aĝ-iku-u** 'if you leave it there the raven will take it'; **inaqamis aqitiika-lakan a-gu-mis, txin kidul imis aqitii-aqa-ng** 'if you can't take it off yourself, I'll help you and take it off for you'.

3.13.2.8. Simple plural

Atkan Salamatov 1860 in his translation of John (not elsewhere) used five times plural conditional forms in **-gús** (twice without the accent), probably to be read as **-guus**, four of them the copula **agúus** with a preceding negative conjunctive or participial form, and once a negative **-sxúus** (without the enclitic negative), while Eastern Shayashnikov 1870 used the pl. 3A forms (or some different translation), e.g. **kanguuhmaxsitalgalix kungiin alux̂-sxa-guus, kuma aluĝim aluĝaĝingis slum-imugan il itlakan anuxtakuqing** 'if they (all the things which Jesus did) should be expounded and written about, I think that the written books would not have room in the whole world' (John 21.25; E 1870 **aluĝ-ala-gu-ngin-iin**); **alix**

wakus sanahli-lakan aguus, maqax̂taaguzadananing Ngus luusaax̂txichi 'but if this (pl.) is not sufficient, believe Me for what I am really doing' (John 14.11; E 1870 **hingamata-gu-ngin-ulug-iin**); **alix hingamata-sxúus, kuma imchi Tununaq** 'but if it (pl.) were not so, I would have told you' (John 14.2; E 1870 **taĝa hingamata-gu-ngin-ulug-iin, kum Ting imchi hikuning** '... I would have said it (lit. them) to you').

In the Eastern material from Nikolski there are two examples of a plural conditional in **-gun**: 1983 **... usqiĝaadan txichin asix tunux̂ta-gun, ix̂tanangin aqat(a)dan(a)ĝulting** 'when old women were talking together, I did not know what they were saying'; 1936 **tuman quyuqada-gun isxam ilan agacha qungtuxsix ax̂anax̂** [?] **liidax̂ agux̂taaĝin aĝikun** 'when we have gone to bed, we will be just snoring in the bed and be like dancers [?]', but Eu 1984 **tum(an) quyuqad(a)-gu-ngin ...**

These exceptional forms were perhaps contracted from respectively A **-gu-ngis**, **-sxu-ngiz-ulax**, and E **-gu-ngin**.

For the use of the conditional with positional nouns see 3.14.4.4.

3.14. Participial clauses

3.14.0. Introduction

Clauses of most types may have a participial predicate and have nominal functions in the matrix sentence, being used as a subject (3.1.), nominal predicate (3.1.2.), object (3.2.), adjunct of positional nouns (3.3.) or of other nouns (3.6.1.), or as a temporal adverbial (3.7.). There are close affinities with certain noun phrases (3.6.1.4.) and verb phrases (3.8.2.).

Formally, a participial clause is treated as a whole. The participial predicate, rather than a nominal term, is marked for case, absolutive or relative, in the matrix sentence, and the clause may have a demonstrative determiner (3.6.2.4.). A nominal term of the participial clause may be the semantic head of the clause, serving, for example, as the subject or object of the matrix sentence, but it is not a formal head of the construction like the head of a relative clause in English. The semantic relation may be ambiguous (for example, both the subject and the object of certain participial clauses may serve as the subject or object in the matrix sentence), and a participial clause may also be treated as a semantic whole, as an expression of fact (3.14.4.; for the use in report clauses see 3.15.).

Formally, there are three versions of participial clauses. As an example of the simplest case, the Atkan sentence **hla-x̂ aygag-iku-x̂** 'a/the boy is walking', pl. **hla-s aygag-iku-s**, has the following participial versions:

(a) **hla-x̂ aygag-na-a anaĝix̂ uku-ku-x̂**
'the boy while walking (or who is/was walking) found something'
hla-s aygag-na-ngis anaĝix̂ uku-ku-s
'the boys while walking found something'

(b) **hla-m aygag-na-a anaĝix̂ uku-za-x̂**
'a walking boy usually finds something'
hla-m aygag-na-ngis anaĝix̂ uku-za-s
'walking boys usually find something'

(c) **aygag-na-x̂ anaĝix̂ uku-za-x̂**
'one who walks, a walker usually finds something'
aygag-na-s anaĝix̂ uku-za-s
'walkers usually find something'

In all three types the present -(**i**)**ku-** is replaced by the participial **-na-** (details in 3.14.1.). In version (a), the subject remains in the absolutive case, while the participle has a 3A suffix in number agreement with the subject (as, for example, in the conditional, see 3.13.); the subject may be anaphoric, marked only by the 3A suffix of the participle, while the use of a suffixal 1., 2., or 3R subject has strict limitations (3.14.2.). In version (b), the subject, often indefinite, is in the relative singular, and the number is marked in the participle (cf. 3.6.1.1.). In version (c), there is no nominal subject, the participle being a simple verbal noun (cf. 2.2.2.1.).

A complement may keep its preverbal position, or it may be extraposed as an outer subject (cf. 3.2.2.3., etc.), yielding an appositional subtype of (a) or (b) (3.14.2.3. ff.). Or it may be promoted to a subject by elimination of the underlying subject by a passive (cf. 3.4.3.).

A participial clause may also include one or more clauses of different types (3.14.3.).

The rules of anaphora and reflexivity apply as the case may be.

3.14.1. Participial predicates

As in the case of linked clauses (3.11.1.), the participial tense markers refer to the matrix sentence rather than to the time of speech.

The participial **-na-** (2.1.9.3.3.) in relation to the matrix sentence corresponds to the present -(**i**)**ku-** in relation to the time of speech, as in the example above (many more examples in 3.14.2.).

The participial -(**ĝ**)**ka-** corresponds to the remote **-na-** and -(**ĝ**)**ka-** (2.1.9.3.3.), e.g. A **hla-x̂ ayuxtal qawanaaĝi-qa-a isxaam ilan saĝa-ku-x̂** 'the boy who was out hunting sea lion (the other day) is now sleeping in his bed'; cf. **hla-x̂ ayuxtal qawanaaĝ-na-x̂** 'the boy was out hunting sea lion (in the past)'.

The participial recent past corresponds to the final one (2.1.9.3.2.), e.g. Ea 1909 **mada-laaĝana-din malix** 'doing what they did the last time' (J 10:98); Ea 1952 **tayaĝu-m i**(t)**-saaĝana-a** 'the man who went out a while ago'.

The participial general corresponds likewise to the final one (2.1.9.3.1.) or to the present, e.g. A 1950 **tugida-m chix̂taatu-da-ngis** 'the rainy months', lit. '[the] months that usually tend to [be] rain[y]'; En 1949 **qawam sanx̂u-gan udan itangin** 'sea lion stomachs containing dried fish'.

The gerundive (2.1.9.4.3.) corresponds to the optative (2.1.9.4.1.) or to the imperative (2.1.9.6.) but has a more limited use, e.g. A **qax̂ qa-aĝ-iin imis aĝikuq**

'I've given you a fish to eat'; cf. **qax̂ qaa-x̂t** (or **qada**) 'eat the fish !' Also the optative **-*ia*qa-** is attested as participial (examples in 3.14.2.4.2.4. and 3.14.4.4.).

Also verb phrases have participial versions:

future (3.8.1.3.1.1.), e.g. A **suna-m waaĝaaĝan aqa-a** 'the ship that will be coming in'; cf. **suna-x̂ waaĝaaĝan aĝ-iku-x̂ / aĝ-na-x̂** 'a ship will be coming in soon / later'.

near past (Atkan, 3.8.1.3.1.2.), e.g. **asxinu-x̂ aangsutiiĝan ax̂ta-na-a txin waaĝatiku-x̂** 'the girl who has been picking berries just came back'.

temporal auxiliaries with conjunctive (3.8.3.2.), e.g. A **tayaĝu-m ayuxtal saĝa-qa-a** 'the man who went out yesterday (or, in the past, the day before)'; A 1950 **haman suna-m waaĝax̂tal qilax̂si-i** 'that ship that came in in the morning (this morning)' (1959:79, 11 (23)). Cf. 3.14.3.2.1.

The negation of a participial clause is enclitic, e.g. A 1952 **chiĝana-m qax̂ ala-a-yulax** 'a creek abundant with fish', lit. 'creek not wanting (lacking) fish'.

3.14.2. Simple participial clauses.

The following paragraphs specify the participial versions of the simple sentences (final clauses) analyzed in 3.1-3., using the same labels.

3.14.2.1. Subject and predicate

3.14.2.1.1. Version (a)

The nominal subject is in the absolutive case irrespective of the case of the clause as a whole, or it is anaphoric.

The subject of the participial clause may be the semantic subject of the matrix sentence, the participle being in the absolutive case with a one-place verb, in the relative case with a two-place verb; example above and Ea 1909 **aman uyqiĝaada-x̂ agaluuĝida-laaĝana-a txin agaluuĝisix isaĝan maayu-ugiim** 'when the little old woman who before had been the last was about to go out as the last one' (J 10:99); A 1952 **qagaan tayaĝu-ngis hamaaĝa-qa-ngis hamang saĝal ax̂ta-ku-s** 'the Eastern men who had come there were apparently asleep there' (N.M. 3:39); A 1840 **haman asaga-a isux̂saaĝumaaĝan hamaanu-na-gan hamang haqa**(t)**-sxa ...** 'that cousin of his who also came there to hunt seals came upon him there ...' (V B 2:2.).

The subject, specified or anaphoric, may be a semantic term of the matrix sentence also when the clause is used as an object, with a passive verb, or, in the relative case, as the adjunct of a positional noun or of other nominal terms, e.g. A 1952 **maaslaĝi-i anuxta-lakaĝ-ing** 'I don't want it with (lit. having) butter on it' (**-ng** 'it I' with reference to the anaphoric subject of the participle, a general); **adaaĝahlingiz-ulax akayum ilan uĝalu-lga-l ina**(t)**-sxa-qa-s** 'before reaching the shore they were speared to death in the strait' (N.M. 3:25); A 1950 **a-na-ngis sla-m qagaanuusal ...** 'as they were [hunting], the wind holding them east ... '(1959:78, 10 (3)); A 1971 **Piitrax̂ aniqdu-x̂ qida-na-gan ngaan kanfiixtax̂ aĝnax̂** 'Peter gave candy to a child that was crying'; En 1909 **uyu-um il-a-n ukaaĝalix asx̂ax̂ta-gan-aan tunux̂taqalinax̂** 'she went in to her brother and began to talk to him, who was dead'

(J 42:12); A 1952 **slu-x̂ ag-na-gan huzu-u** ‘every summer’, lit. ‘all passing summer’ (N.M. 3:5).

A participial clause may also be used as a temporal adverbial in the absolutive case (cf. 3.7.1.), its subject having no specific relation to the matrix sentence, e.g. A 1952 ...**haang itikux̂ tayaĝu-x̂ uĝalux̂ta-ku-un his hit-za-l angali-i, haang ilan anuusanaam ilan txin haaĝaninax̂ hiisax̂taqaa** ‘he fell and whereas each of the men he had speared had gotten out [to the entrance of the cave], he stopped right there where he threw him, he said’ (N.M. 3:76); **haang a-na-a ... ataqan tanax̂ liidakux̂** ‘seen from there (lit. when one is there) ... it looks like continuous land’ (N.M. 3:57). Cf. 3.14.4.4.

Formally, the demonstrative is a subject in A 1952 **wan angali-m-aan atxax̂sangan aĝikung** ‘I’ll fix it for today’, lit. ‘for this one [being] day’; 1971 also **wa-an angali-m-aan** ‘for this day’.

The qualifier **chimika-** has a predicative use in Eu 1909 **yaasin ... usungin chimika-ngin waaĝa-na-n** ‘all the boxes have arrived whole (safely)’ (J 37:26).

3.14.2.1.2. First, second and reflexive third person subject

In report clauses the participle may have a first, second or reflexive third person subject suffix, see 3.15.

The following use is a special kind of report: A 1981 **hila-ng hnux̂taaĝan ax̂takux̂** ‘he came to (lit. reached) me while I was reading’; **asx̂aĝil quyuĝi-na-ng agiidanax̂** ‘he visited me while I was lying sick’. According to Moses Dirks these sentences could be used if, for example, the speaker was explaining a film: “there he came to me while I was reading”, etc. The straightforward way of putting it is a linkage of the clauses (3.11.2.): **hila-ku-q-aang ting hnux̂taaĝan ax̂takux̂** ‘I was reading when he came to me’; **asx̂aaĝil quyuĝi-ku-q-aang** (± **Piitrax̂**) **ting agiidanax̂** ‘when I was lying sick he (Peter) visited me’.

The following case seems dubious: Eu 1909 **amaaĝ(a)-qa-an angali-lix ludaĝ(i)qadasxaqax̂txin ngaan iistakan akuu** ‘the day he had arrived there he had lost (lit. been deprived of) his older brothers, he said to her’ (J 34:136). Cf. 3.14.3.

Another isolated case is the general of **hax̂sa-** ‘to make preparations, get ready’ in A 1952 **hax̂sa-max huzu-u alitxuuĝan** ‘(they came) to attack all prepared (with all their equipment)’ (N.M. 3:65).

3.14.2.1.3. Version (b)

Clauses of this type are more like descriptions of a person or object, especially with a predicate in the general, see 3.6.4.1. Some other examples are A 1952 **ayagalĝu-um adu-u** ‘his (3R) tall Big Woman [nickname]’ (1959:81, 20 (1)); **ikun slu-m haqaaĝan aĝ-na-a** ‘that coming year (= next year)’; **itx̂aygi-m xaadagnaaĝ-na-a tayaĝu-m xaadagnaaĝ-na-gan ilagaan axchigazax̂** ‘a reindeer runs faster than a man’, lit. ‘a running reindeer is faster than a running man’.

However, such clauses may also refer to a particular condition or event, e.g. Eu 1909 **maarsala-m waaĝa-qa-a** ‘the marshal who came (had come) here’ (J 38:8);

Eu 1910 **la-max anĝaĝi-i ukux̂taax̂kin ama** 'let them see their son alive' (J 35:12); A 1978 **suna-m haqa-na-a hachiĝikuq** 'I am waiting for the ship to come', lit. 'the coming ship'.

3.14.2.1.4. Version (c)

A subjectless participle is used like a noun, e.g. A 1909 **alaĝuĝi-na-s ayuxs a-angana-s** 'when the men went out to hunt at sea', lit. 'when the sea hunters went out' (J 78:195); A 1971 **ayuxta-na-s haqa-ku-s** 'those who went out are coming'; A 1952 **qichitiĝi-na-z-ulax maaĝdix alal** 'those who have no money are at the loss what to do' (1959:80, 13 (23)); En 1909 **qa-na-n ukux̂taqalikux̂** 'he saw people eating' (J 46:10); A 1952 **haaga-x̂ asx̂alaasakus** 'they died of hunger, starved to death' (N.M. 3:111); A 1979 **inaqating ugunuqatul guma-x̂ agux̂takuq** 'because of my forgetfulness I do thus to myself', lit. 'I myself, being forgetful, do being thus'; Eu 1909 *Mr. Gray* **waaĝa-da-m-ulux-ngaan ayugikux̂** 'Mr. Gray departed never to come back' (J 37:32).

3.14.2.2. Nominal predicate with copula

The following are examples of versions (a) and (b), respectively: A 1952 (a) **alax tayaĝu-x asagaduda-x a-kix** 'two men who were cousins' (N.M. 3:73); (b) **kadim hadagaan anĝaĝina-m kamgadax̂ a-qa-ngiz-ulax ilan txidix kamgadas ...**'the people who had not been Christian before were baptized in it (the church)' (N.M. 1:6).

The construction of indefiniteness (3.5.1.1.) has a participial version (b) in Ea 1910 **anqax̂ta-na-m a-na-ngin** 'people who went out' (J 13:3), cf. **anqax̂ta-na-n a-na-n** 'some went out'.

The exceptional 1.p. sg. subject suffix in A 1952 **ataqan a-ng awaaq ting aĝix̂taasanas** 'they left me to work alone' (likewise 1860, Luke 10:40), lit. 'being one' (3A sg. **ataqan a-a awaax̂tax̂ aĝix̂taasaqangis** 'they left him to work alone'), is comparable with the contrastive **uhli-ng** 'only I' (2.1.3.3.) as in A 1978 **uhling wang a-ku-q** 'I am the only one here', lit. 'only I am here'.

3.14.2.3. Object

There are participial versions (a), (b) and (c) both of the straightforward clauses S-O-V (3.2.1-2.) and of clauses with the object extraposed as an outer subject (3.2.2.3.), as well as of clauses with the subject removed by a passive (3.4.3.3.).

3.14.2.3.1. S-O-V

3.14.2.3.1.1. Version (a)

Having a specified object, the clause is like a clause with only a subject (3.14.2.2.), the subject being mostly the semantic head, e.g. En 1909 **chagi-x̂ aman yaalusax̂ inu-na-a txin klaxsix asx̂a-ku-x̂** 'the halibut that has taken the skate (hook) in its mouth is choked and dies' (J 56:20); A 1971 **hingan tayaĝu-x̂ ulax̂ agu-na-a ting as tanasxaĝi-za-x̂** 'that man who built the house camps with me'; **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasiin atxax̂ta-na-a kidu-na-q** 'I helped the man fixing his boat', with anaphoric subject **ayx̂aasiin atxax̂ta-na-a kidu-qa-ng** 'I helped him fixing his boat' (cf. **tayaĝu-x̂ ting kidu-l ayx̂aasing ting as atxax̂t-na-x̂** 'the man helped me fixing my boat', lit. 'the man, helping me, fixed my boat with me'); **tayaĝu-x̂ Amlagix̂ hnux̂ta-na-gan ilaga-an tutaqang** 'I heard it from the man who went to Amlia'; with an anaphoric subject Au 1909 ... **tin chinaaĝ-na-a tin aaĝaasal ...** 'trying to grab him with his claws he missed him' (J 81:28; 3R **tin** 'him' in reference to a following subject).

In the following clause the object (**alax̂** the whale) is the semantic head but in such cases the subject is normally in the relative case (version (b)): **tayaĝum uunĝimkaadax̂ ugdux̂ta-a** [for expected **-gan**] **alax̂ uĝulu-na-a qasa-lakax̂ nawa** 'the whale that the man with a blowfly as a magic guise speared did not come to the surface' (J 48:15). In constructions with the gerundive the subject may belong in the matrix sentence: A 1971 **hla-x̂ qax̂ / qas qaaĝi-i ngaan aĝ-na-q** 'I gave the boy fish (sg./pl.) to eat', **qas qaaĝi-i ngaan aĝi-qa-ng** 'I gave him fish to eat'; cf. 3.14.2.3.1.3.

However, version (a) may also express a fact, as an object or as an adjunct, e.g. A 1952 **Kasaka-x̂ txidix aĝiisa-na-a qidaasal qidal** 'they cried because the Russians were leaving them' (N.M. 2:33); Ep 1941 **aman lakaaya-an txin u-nagan-ulux amaxsmili-i ngaan txin ayx̂at-xa-a** (perhaps for older **-na-x̂** with zero-anaphora) 'when his son did not come back to him all night (lit. the very night of his son not coming back to him) he took off for him'.

There may be a nominal predicate in addition (3.2.7.), e.g. A 1909 **hingan suganĝix̂ Qiiĝliĝliiĝux̂ txin hiisax̂ta-a alaxsxaĝiiĝan ayuxs angalix̂ aguu** 'when she who called herself the young man Q. set out to hunt on land' (J 78:222).

3.14.2.3.1.2. Version (b)

The participial clause A 1971 **tayaĝu-m sa-x̂ kalul angali-i** corresponding to the sentence **tayaĝu-x̂ sa-x̂ kalul angali-x̂** 'the man shot a duck today' has three different meanings depending on the context:

(1) a specification of the subject, the man, as in **tayaĝum sax̂ kalul angalii aslixtaangan ax̂takuq** 'I met (a while ago) the man who had shot a duck earlier today';

(2) a specification of the object, the duck, as in **tayaĝum sax̂ kalul angalii ukuungan ax̂takuq** 'I found the duck that the man had shot earlier today';

(3) the fact, as in **tayaĝum sax̂ kalul angali-gan uda-a hnux̂taangan ax̂takuq** 'I came to the bay where the man had shot a/the duck earlier today', lit. 'I reached the bay of the man's having shot a/the duck earlier today'.

Some other examples:

(1) Eu 1909 **anĝaĝi-m miigux̂ agu-na-a** 'the man who made the beer (was sent to court)' (J 38:9); En 1949 **aman tayaĝu-m Qigaadtaaĝan asx̂at-xa-a** 'that man who had killed Q.' (**aman** in the absolutive case is a determiner of the whole clause); En 1909 **isuĝim angunagan qungan igluqa-gan ilaanulux iguta-a tamixtax̂takux̂** 'she apparently had as an anklet the skin of the back of a big seal with a different piece (lit. not its part) added' (J 41:42); Eu 1910 **amaagan uumlikaada-m txidin agux̂tagali-na-ngin aqatalagaaqaa quliin** 'in order that he would not be affected

by (lit. know) any epidemic that might occur (lit. make themselves)' (J 36:29); A 1952 **alitxu-um ila-kin txidix aĝiisa-na-a agiital** 'together with the few of his warriors that were left' (N.M. 3:28); A 1971 **anĝaĝina-m ting kiduuĝi-i** [gerundive] **ma-lga-lakax̂** 'there is not a person who could help me, I have nobody to help me'. (2) En 1910 **ada-am tanĝi-x̂ isuĝnaaĝ-da-qa-gan adangan sakaaĝakum ...** 'she came down to the shore inside the islet where her father used to hunt seal' (J 64:27); En 1910 **aman aniqdux̂ Kangax̂simaaĝ-im anĝaĝina-x̂ tahlax̂ta-na-gan aniqdux̂ta-kan agitxali-qa-a** 'a woman that K. had as his slave brought up that child as her own (lit. having it as child)' (J 74:21); Au 1909 **Qaglaaĝ-im quga-n ayuĝlix̂ta-qa-ng [< -ngin] hnul** 'reaching the spirits which Raven kept in a cave' (J 81:14); A 1971 **tayaĝu-m paltux̂ chux̂ta-na-a chaglimaĝaĝikux̂** 'the coat that the man has on is torn'.

The subject may be anaphoric, e.g. A 1952 **haman ayaga-x̂ ilaata-na-gan qulaan ahmayaax̂ta-ku-ng** 'when I asked him about that woman he is living with' (1959:80, 16 (22); **hiing adu-x̂ ulax̂ta-na-gan hachan** 'there outside the cave they (sg.) where living in' (N.M. 3:73); En 1910 **amakun maayu-n ix̂ta-qa-gan usungin** 'all those things he had said' (J 71:5).

Also the object may be anaphoric, coreferential with the anaphoric complement or the subject of the matrix sentence, e.g. Ep 1941 **ama-an tayaĝu-m uku-nagan qanglaĝu-kan ulaam adan uyaasa-qa-a** 'that man who found him carried him on his shoulder to his house'; Ea 1910 **ama-an ayaga-m ukaaĝaasa-na-gan amaan aliĝaadam chidaĝan ungutachx̂iqadaagiim ...** 'that woman who brought him in had him sit down beside the little old man (and went out)' (J 26:5); En 1909 **alaĝu-m nu-duuka-na-gan ilan aĝaqadaagiim, aguĝim yanaa achiĝiqalikux̂ nawa** 'having gotten to where the sea would reach him, he waited for the rising tide' (J 43:23); A 1952 **alitxu-gan angax̂ta-ngis la-lga-za-l ...**'each time he and his warriors were beaten', lit. 'his warriors being with him, he was beaten each time' (N.M. 3:30).

3.14.2.3.1.3. First, second and reflexive third person subject

These clauses are used mostly as a subject or object, having the object (never the subject) as the semantic head, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ sa-x̂ kalul angali-in ilgal aaĝakuun ukuukalakax̂** 'the man looked in vain for the duck he had shot (earlier in the day) and could not find it'; En 1910 **amakun isuĝ-in la-qa-txin qax̂talix** 'eating those seals he had killed' (J 70:10); En 1983 **lakaaya-n asix ting agu-qa-ning** 'the boys I had grown up with'; A 1909 **wa-kux asxux̂tal angali-kin** '(took) the two nails she had gotten', lit. 'those two she had gotten for nails' (J 78:68); Au 1952 **qa-x̂ qa-aĝ-ing nung ux̂s** 'he gave me a fish to eat'; Ep 1941 **aang, kum ayaga-x̂ aĝ-iin matanaan ngaan iisaqaa** 'yes. he could have a woman to give, he said to him'; A 1973 **anaĝim hasina-ngis hix̂taaĝ-it alanaĝulax** 'she had lots of (lit. did not lack) things to tell'.

Or they are used as an adjunct, e.g. A 1971 **ula-x̂ ulax̂taza-qa-ng il-a-n Piitrax̂ txin aqalikux̂** 'the house I used to live in Peter is living in now'; En 1910 **aman ayaga-x̂ uku-qa-am adan uyaaĝan maayunax̂** 'he prepared to go to the woman he had found' (J 67:6); En 1909 **aman isxax̂ta-laaĝana-am adan uyalix** 'going back to the place he had been lying at', lit. 'to that he had had as place' (J 41:21); A 1952 **umaax tanĝ-ix̂ hnu-qa-mag-ulax huzuugiza-a hnumixtal** 'reaching one islet after the other', lit. 'reaching repeatedly all of any islet[s] they had not reached' (N.M. 3:51); A 1971 **tana-x̂ hnux̂tal saĝa-qa-mis asa-a idax̂talakat ii?** 'do you know the name of the island you visited yesterday ?'; Ea 1910 **aalax ayaga-x wakux tanadgusix la-na-min tuku-kix** 'the two women, the chiefs of the two villages you have slain' (J 17:123); Ea 1909 **ama-kun qa-na-am qagna-ngin** '(he threw to the fox) the bones of those [squirrels] he was eating' (J 10:15).

Like other participial clauses, however, they may also express a fact, e.g. A 1952 **tingin [timas] tutaaĝan aqangin yaatal angalis** 'we were at hearing distance from each other', lit. 'we were at the distance of being about to hear each other (lit. us)'; used as an adverbial in A 1909 **wakus manadix (inaqahlimax txidix aĝiisaaĝin matnaĝulaxtxidigaan mal)** '(for they had decided not to leave each other) as they had done', lit. 'these they did' (J 76:341).

3.14.2.3.1.4. Version (c)

A subjectless clause has an inherent subject (like an agent noun) and may be used as a subject, predicate noun, object or adjunct, or express a fact, e.g. Ea 1910 ... **tutasigan quchxikix ag-na-x̂ txin ukudigadax̂** 'whoever passes between its (the monsters) ears will be safe' (J 22:6); A 1909 **ukalĝan tukugan asxinuu ayagax̂tanaaĝiiĝan haqadaaĝan amu-na-s** 'the ones who had come to court (lit. try to have as wife) the daughter of the village chief (were there)' (J 77:124); En 1909 **chngatum mayaaĝaa txin mayaax̂ta-na-m agiicha iĝax̂talakan, agiicha iĝax̂tadax̂** 'a hunted sea otter is not afraid of some of its hunters (lit. of some hunting it), of others it is' (J 56:34); En 1910 ... **dakix tugamixtalix, angalix̂ ukux̂ta-ĝ-ulux itxadaagiim ...** 'having beaten his eyes repeatedly and made him unable to see the daylight' (J 59:11); A 1909 **... tayaĝux̂ txidix malimax̂taaka-x̂ hax̂sachx̂isxalix angalikux̂taan ..** 'when a man had been prepared to fight with them (3R)' (J 76:294); Ea 1910 **txidix ukux̂ta-ĝ-ulux aygaxchx̂iqadaamdix, txidix uux̂tukux** 'after having gone along for a while without seeing each other (lit. having let go the not seeing each other) they came close to each other again' (J 28:6); A 1979 **kamgiin kinitahli-x̂ max̂ ii? aygagasazax̂t** 'do you always walk with your head down?', lit. 'do you usually walk with doing just bowing your head'.

The object may be anaphoric, coreferential with the anaphoric subject or object of the matrix sentence, e.g. En 1910 **ama-an sux̂ta-na-m takachx̂i-kan, ingaagan tanaam adan uyalix ...** 'the one holding him letting him go, he went from there towards his place ...' (J 52:21); En 1909 **ama-an itaangisix ukulaaĝana-m igiim ugiisa-kan, asix tanaam adan uya-qa-a** 'the one who first found him took him as her husband and went back with him to her settlement' (J 43:26).

3.14.2.3.2. Object extraposed as outer subject

3.14.2.3.2.1. Version (a)

The inner subject is a noun, animate or inanimate (cf. 3.2.2.3.), in the relative case. The relation between the outer subject and the predicate clause is appositional (like the relation between a nominal subject and the predicate in general), both terms being either in the absolutive case or in the relative case, e.g. A 1860 **hamayaa tunu-x̂ Iisuusa-m hi-qa-a, igim luniisaam, hamaanunax̂** 'he believed the word that Jesus had spoken and went away' (John 4.50; E 1870 **haman tunux̂ Iisuusam igiim hinaa luusalix ...**, cf. 3.14.2.5.1.2.1.); A 1971 **hingan tayaĝu-x̂ tanadgusi-m sismita-na-a ukux̂tanaq** 'I saw the man who is supported by the village (lit. whom the village is supporting)'; Ea 1910 **chaga-x̂ sla-m uduuka-a-yulux italix** 'making a ditch that the wind will not reach' (J 11:8); A 1973 **qiiga-x̂ alaĝu-m chimx̂amixta-qa-a** 'grass splashed by the sea (that the sea has splashed)'; En 1910 **asa-m adaam isuĝnaaĝda-qa-gan ad-a-n txin aygagnax̂** 'she went toward the reef where her father used to hunt seals' (J 55:36); A 1973 **uda-m Piitra-m hnux̂tal saĝa-qa-gan asa-a haqatalakaq** 'I don't know the name of the bay that Peter visited yesterday'; **hlax̂ unguchiiluĝ-im ada-am kraasxil angali-gan ku-ga-n txin ungutnax̂** 'the boy sat down on the chair that his father had painted that day'; En 1983 *Nelson* **iiltax̂, ama-n** *Eunice* [suffixless rel., cf. 2.1.1.4.3.] **kapitaanax̂ta-qa-a** 'the one called Nelson, who was the captain of Eunice', lit. 'that one whom Eunice had as a captain'. The appositional nature of the construction is especially clear from sentences like A 1971 **chagi-m ila-a Chalana-m atxazal saĝa-qa-gan ila-a atxazaa-ax̂takuq** 'I got a piece of the halibut that Chalanax̂ [nickname] caught yesterday', lit. 'a piece of the halibut, a piece of the one Ch. caught yesterday' (cf. 3.14.2.3.2.3.).

This type of construction is relatively rare in the available material. To Moses Dirks 1980 the straightforward version (3.14.2.3.1.2.) is preferable: **Piitra-m uda-x̂ hnux̂tal saĝa-qa-gan asa-a haqatalakaq**; **Chalana-m chagi-x̂ asx̂as saĝa-qa-gan ila-a atxazaa-ax̂takuq.**

3.14.2.3.2.2. Version (b)

In this version both the outer subject and the inner one are in the relative case, the 3A suffix of the participle having thus a double referent: A 1860 (accepted 1971) **tmuusi-m gidgi-m yaagiisada-na-a**, E 1870 **usxi-m, sla-m yaagiisa-na-a** 'a reed (lit. A cane, E willow bush) shaken with the wind' (Luke 7.24); A 1862 **anĝaĝiisi-m Aguuĝu-m anuxta-ngin maquli-ngis** 'rules of a life pleasing to God'; A 1973 **alaĝum achidan chugu-m alaĝu-m hnudaĝulagan [= hnu-da-gan-ulax] ilan hitzas** 'they (certain plants) grow on the beach in sand never reached by the sea'; **qalgada-m Amilaayu-s qaatuza-a** 'food that the Americans like to eat'; **asxinu-m hla-s qaĝax̂ta-za-a** 'a girl liked by boys'.

3.14.2.3.2.2.3. Version (c)

Without an object term, the clause has an inherent object, with a nominal subject in the relative case (or anaphoric) or a suffixal first, second or reflexive third person subject.

Nominal subject, e.g. Ea 1910 **la-am agu-qa-ngin ukux̂taqadaagiim** 'having seen what his sons had made' (J 29:33); A 1952 **hlam ludaaĝi-ngin ma-na-ngis qiluzax̂** 'he imitates what the older boys are doing'; A 1952 **tayaĝu-m agangaa-aqa-a slagaatalakaĝim ...** 'it is too wide for a man to get (jump) across', lit. 'it is not as wide as a man would get across [it]' (N.M. 3:57); En 1910 **luda-ng ayagax̂ta-aĝ-a ngaan ukukuqing** 'I have found a wife for my older brother', lit. 'one for my older brother to have as wife' (J 55:6); En 1909 **iqya-m unamaaxta-ax̂-kix agunax̂** 'he was making gunwales for a baidarka', lit. 'two for a baidarka to have has gunwales' (J 45:23).

Anaphoric subject (entails suffixal reference in the matrix verb): En 1948 **una-na-ngin qaatuda-ku-ng** 'I like to eat what (pl.) he/she is cooking'; En 1909 **tayaĝugan max̂ta-na-ngin ax̂saasa-kin** 'his men realizing what he was doing' (J 57:5); A 1860 / E 1870 **qa-aĝ-is / qa-aĝ-in ngiin aĝ-iiqa-chi** 'give you (pl.) them to eat' (Mark 6.37); Ep 1941 **qa-aĝ-ingin ngaan ilgaakagan ilaan ayuka-a** 'he left her (lit. went out from her) in order to look for food (something to eat) for her'.

First, second and reflexive third person subject, e.g. A 1952 **tuta-qa-ning ilagan angunangizulax haqatananing** [3.14.2.3.1.3.] **imis hix̂taa(ngan) ax̂siting** 'I am going to tell you the little I have heard that I know' (N.M. 1:1); A 1973 **tanadgusix̂ta-na-ngin ilagaan tingin ayx̂as** 'setting out from the village we live in (lit. the one we have as village)'; A 1950 **maamis hix̂taamis ax̂ta-na-t mada** 'do what you have said that you'll do'; A 1952 **ala-na-mchix huzuugizaa mayaaĝ-na-mchix kugan ukux̂tal** 'getting all they needed for [in payment for] what they hunted' (N.M. 2:37); En 1910 **ugix̂ta-aĝ-iin ilgaaĝan** 'in order to look for a husband for herself (lit. for one for her to have as husband)' (J 62:3); En 1909 ... **makiniin chngatutxaĝida-ax̂-txin alalix, aan'gilkaadalix ...** 'thinking about what he should do to get sea otter', lit. 'needing how (**makiniin** 3.9.3.4.2.) for him to get sea otter, thinking' (J 47:3).

Adverbial use of the gerundive: En 1909 **tunusaĝiisa-aĝ-ing isuĝim sanx̂ugan alax̂ chx̂aasaa sigax̂talaaĝanang iqyang ilan aĝiisakuqing** 'to tell you something (lit. for me to have a story with), in my baidarka I left a seal stomach full of whale blubber (3.14.2.3.1.2.) that I had for travelling provisions (3.14.2.3.1.3.)' (J 44:6).

3.14.2.3.3. Passive

The subject being removed by the passive, the construction is like a subject with a simple predicate (3.14.2.1.)

3.14.2.3.3.1. Version (a)

The subject (underlying object) is in the absolutive case irrespective of the case of the clause, e.g. A 1952 **wa-n chx̂uuĝaĝi-i alakuq** 'I want (need) this washed'; A 1971 **slachxiza-x̂ malgaaĝan aqa-a agach matalgakux̂** 'it should be fine weather by now', lit. 'fine weather to be (lit. be done) it is like (passive) now'; A 1862 **suun'gim ingaaĝi-i ukulga-qa-a uuyuusalagaaq** '(in order that) I do not hide another's belongings that have been found'; En 1909 **ama-kun ayaga-n**

awachx̂isxada-qa-ngin-ulux 'those women who had never been put to work before (he put to work)' (J 43:45): A 1909 **wa-n asagaam tanadguch-a asx̂asxa-qa-gan hadan** 'towards his cousin's village who[se people] had been killed' (J 76:338); En 1910 **ataqan unguchiilux̂ malga-na-gan utm-a-n txin unguhnax̂** 'he sat down in the middle of one of the sitting places', *lit.* 'in the middle of one sitting place there was' (J 48:33).

Adverbial use: En 1909**atxidusi-x̂ taĝa-lga-qa-a, ingaligaagan qamdaĝulux ulgalix ..** 'when the plumb was tried, at once a shallow place was reached ...' (J 37:6); A 1909 **uhngi-in Hyaagaĝi(m) tanadgusig(an) kugan ayagaĝaaĝan su-lga-qa-a, hamaanugan sila axtamaayaaĝan hix̂taaĝan amunaan** 'his sister having been taken for marriage to Driftwood Village, he finally got ready for going over there (he said)' (J 77:52); A 1979 **unglum sada-a ax-sxa-qada-a ...** 'when we had passed outside of the pinnacle'.

3.14.2.3.3.2. Version (b)

E.g. En 1909 **aman tayaĝu-m su-lga-qa-a tununax̂ akux̂ tutakux̂** 'that captured man heard someone saying' (J 46:22); Ea 1910 **tayaĝu-m asx̂a(t)-sxa-na-gan asangin** 'the names of the men who were killed' (J 32:17); En 1910 **anĝaĝi-m ma-lga-na-gan usungin asx̂as** 'killing all the people there (lit. that there were)' (J 67:5); A 1952 **haka-m qutax(t)-sxa-na-a liidal ayx̂akux̂** 'he was going (in his baidarka) like a feather blown by the wind' (N.M. 3:92); **qalgada-m asx̂a-ala-a-aqaa** 'poison', lit. 'food one would die by'.

Also a 1., 2. or 3R subject (underlying object) is possible: A 1973 (gerundive) **achixa-lga-aĝ-ing alakuq** 'I need being taught', **achixa-lga-aĝ-iin alakux̂** 'he needs being taught'.

3.14.2.3.3.3. Version (c)

A passive participle with a simple number suffix is used with a subject (underlying object) and a specified agent (underlying subject) in A 1952 **qagaan ayaga-a Niiĝuĝim ilaan ayagaĝa-qa-x̂, hlaĝil** 'the Eastern woman who was married to the Atkan (lit. was had as wife by the Atkan) had a son' (N.M. 3:5), 1973 **qagaan ayaga-a Niiĝuĝim ilaan ayagaĝaqa-m hla-a** 'the son of the Eastern woman married to the Atkan'.

A passive participle with a simple number suffix may also be used with a nominal predicate (cf. 3.2.7.), e.g. A 1952 **hawan tiĝyu-x̂ hiilax̂tanax̂** 'that so-called wild rye' (N.M. 2:6); **hingaan aslaan uda-kus chux̂taqa-s hiilax̂taa-aqa-s ngiin chuĝaqaliqas hiilax̂tadas** 'at that time people began to wear what we now call clothes, it is said', lit. 'these that would be called clothes began to be had on by them' (N.M. 2:41).

Simple examples of version (c) are A 1952 **malga-na-m huzu-ngis ukul** 'seeing all that was going on (lit. was being made)' (N.M. 3:21); **malgaa-aqam huzuu malgaqax̂ ax̂takumaan** 'when all what was to be done had been done' (ibid. 46); **ma-lga-aĝ-is ngus hix̂tada** 'tell me what to be done' (gerundive).

Adverbial use: A 1952 **wayaam uku-ĝa-x̂, daqaĝilakaĝis maalal hamamaalaqas ax̂takus** 'as we (passive) see now, they were treated in that way because they lacked understanding' (N.M. 2:44).

3.14.2.4. Oblique term

As in the case of clauses with an object, there are three versions both of straightforward clauses, with the adjunct of the positional noun in the relative case, and of clauses with the adjunct extraposed as an outer subject. In either case an inner nominal subject may (i) precede or (ii) follow the oblique term as in a final clause (see 3.3.2.1. vs. 3.3.2.2.).

3.14.2.4.1. S-Obl-V, Obl-S-V

3.14.2.4.1.1. Version (a)

The subject, rather than the oblique term, is the semantic head, being the subject or another term of the matrix sentence, e.g.
(i) En 1910 **ama-n ayaga-x̂ igli-m il-a-n a-na-a, alitxux̂ adaam aqaaĝan maayunaa aqatalix, ...** 'the woman (being) in the cave, learning that an army was ready to come against her, ...' (J 69:58); A 1973 **kapitaanax̂ priistina-x̂ hama-ng a-qa-a kanxuuĝutakux̂** '(when) now the captain bumped into the pier that was there'; A 1971 **hlax̂ taanga-x̂ ku-um hyu-na-a (± kumiim) angadanax̂** 'the boy wiped off (himself) the water that spilled over him'; En 1909 **ama-kux tayaĝu-x tana-m kuga-n a-na-kix** [absol. **-kix** for rel. **-kin**] **kamga ahnax-sxan asx̂at-xa-a** 'the two men (who were) on land clubbed his head and killed him' (J 57:8); A 1971 **tayaĝu-x̂ suna(m) kugan awa-na-gan asa-a haqatalakaq** 'I don't know the name of the man working on the ship'; **sluka-x̂ ula-am kangan taga-na-gan-aan quganax̂ anuusanax̂** 'he threw a rock at the sea gull that landed on his house'; A 1909 **ulum inukicha-a hama-ng il-a-n aaka-a agul** 'making space for a little piece of meat', lit. 'making for a little piece of meat to possibly be there' (J 79:300);
(ii) A 1987 **ulax̂taqam nagan uuquchiingi-x̂ qangu-na-gan hadan huyanaq** 'I went to(ward) a/the fox that crawled into the old house'; A 1971 **Saganam ilan tayaĝu-s a-na-ngin hadan huyaa-ax̂takux̂** 'he went to the men who were at Saganax̂ (a bay)'; En 1949 **akaaĝaaĝan aĝikux̂, qusaan tataam tayaĝu-x̂ kuuĝa-qa-a aman ukukum ...** 'when he was about to get up on top, he saw the man appearing again above him'.

Anaphoric subject in A 1952 **Chiimuusix̂ hiilax̂tam qayaĝanagan** [3.6.1.4.2.] **kangan a-ngis tataam aslixsxal ukulgaaĝutal** 'being on top of the hill called Ch. they were met again' (N.M. 3:56); **tanamax ilaan agaatu-ngiz-ulax ... Saĝuugam kugan ax̂tux̂salgaqas** 'not wanting to depart from their islands [= being removed from their islands against their will] they were put at Old Harbor' (ibid. 110).

3.14.2.4.1.2. Version (b)

The subject in the relative case is the semantic head in both orders, e.g. (i) A 1973 **tayaĝu-m hada-am huya-na-a haqatanaĝulax** 'he did not know the man who came toward him'; A 1952 **haman alitxu-m agal-iim haqaqali-qa-a ukux̂taqadanax̂txidix hiisax̂tanas** 'the warrior[s] who had come after him they no longer saw, they said' (N.M. 3:93); En 1909 **qiiga-m ku-mchi a-ngin agatingin** 'just a heap of grass', lit. 'grass (pl.) being on top of each other'(J 44:5);
(ii) En 1910 **aman chidaĝiim tayaĝu-m angami-na-a umlalakan** 'that man who was lying beside her did not wake up (she heard)' (J 55:12); Ea 1910 **analuĝim utman tayaĝu-m a-na-gan ilan igisxan ...** 'a man who was halfway up the ladder jumped at him' (J 31:4); En 1910 **amaan kiiĝuusim kangan ula-m a-na-gan nagan** 'into a house (that there was) on top of that mountain' (J 64:8); A 1952 **haakus tanam ilan sa-m aza-na-gan huzungis slumaan lazaqas** 'all those (kinds of) birds that stay on the ground were caught during the summer' (N.M. 1:36).

3.14.2.4.1.3. Version (c)

E.g. A 1952 **qayam ilidan a-na-x̂ yaagikux̂** 'there is something moving on the hillside', lit. 'something being on the hillside is moving'; A 1950 **sadang inqana-x̂ suux̂t** 'take the one hanging outside'; A 1952 **ludamiing axta-s iĝayuxtazaq** 'I respect people older than me', lit. 'those originating earlier (in age) than me'; A 1860 **ahmiĝmis anĝaĝi-s** 'your neighbors', lit. 'those living in your neighborhood'. Expression of fact: En 1909 **Unmagim kugaan ayu**(g)**-ka-m qila-a** 'the morning after we had left from Umnak (we ...)', lit. 'the morning of having left from Umnak' (J 37:7).

Anaphoric adjunct, coreferential with the anaphoric oblique term of the matrix sentence: Ea 1910 **ilaan iqi-na-m ngaan txin suchx̂ida-a** 'whoever flees from it will get (lit. let himself be) taken by it' (J 22:4).

3.14.2.4.2. Adjunct extraposed as outer subject

3.14.2.4.2.1. Version (a)

The relation between the outer subject and the clausal predicate is appositional (cf. 3.14.2.3.2.1.).

Corresponding to order (i), the inner subject is in the relative case, mostly preceding the anaphoric oblique term, e.g. A 1973 **suna-x̂ tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n awana-a waaĝal angalix̂** 'the ship on which the man is working came in today', **suna-m tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n awa-na-gan asa-a haqatalakaq** 'I don't know the name of the ship on which the man is working'; **ulasu-x̂ uchiitila-m il-a-n al sluza-qa-a imdaĝilakax̂** 'the hut where the teacher used to be in the summer is empty', **ulasu-m uchiitila-m il-a-n al sluza-qa-gan had-a-n huyaa-aĝikuq** 'I'll go to the hut where the teacher used to be in the summer'; En 1983 **alix wa-n anĝaĝi-m nag-a-n unguch(i)-na-a, alqutax̂ iiltadax̂** 'but this one in which a person sits, what is it called ?'; **Iilĝudax̂ iiltana-m, suna-m il-a-n a-na-gan ad-a-n uyanaqing** 'I went to the so-called Ii. where the ship was (wrecked)'. The order is the opposite in A

1971 **tanĝi-x̂ ku-ga-n tayaĝu-m a-na-a hnux̂tanaq** 'I visited the island where the man was staying'.

Initial inner subject, apparently topicalized, in Eu 1909 **tuman Aĝita-m angali-x̂ il-a-n aĝa-qa-a** 'the birthday of our Savior', lit. 'the day on which our Savior was born' (J 38:24); E 1870 **Guuspuda-m isxa-x̂ il-a-n angami-qa-a** 'the place where the Lord lay' (Matthew 28.6; 1838 **isxax̂, ilan Guuspudam angamiqaa**, Russian original *mesto, gde lezhal Gospod')*. The inner subject may also be anaphoric, e.g. Eu 1910 **amakux ayagaam adakin uyalix, tana-x̂ il-a-n a-na-kix uqadaagiim ...** 'he went in the direction of his two wives, and when he reached the place where they were ...' (J 35:66); A 1971 **hingayaa tanĝi-x̂ ku-ga-n mayaaĝza-qa-a** 'that one (you see there) is the island where he used to trap (foxes)'; A 1984 **ulasu-m il-a-n al saĝa-qa-gan hadan huyaa-aĝi-ku-ng** 'I'll go to the hut where he used to stay in the summer'.

Corresponding to order (ii), the inner subject (if it is a subject, cf. 3.3.2.2.2.) is in the absolutive case, e.g. A 1971-1987 **ulax̂taqa-x̂ nag-a-n uuquchiingi-x̂ qangu-na-a ukux̂tanaq** 'I saw the old house into which a fox crawled', **ulax̂taqa-m nag-a-n uuquchiingi-x̂ qangu-na-gan hadan huyanaq** 'I went to the old house into which a fox crawled'; A 1978 **kanga-a ila-ga-an huyĝi-x̂ hiti-iĝi-i tatxil** 'punching the top of it (the crust) for steam to escape from it'; A 1860 **agiitaqaa isxam quganaĝu-gan, il-a-n chiqi-x̂ hasina-qa-gan-ulax ilan itnax̂** 'some of it fell in a stony place where there was not much earth' (Mark 4.5). With an indefinite construction (3.5.2.) as the "subject": A 1860 (confirmed 1973) **qumnam quganam il ahngugaĝi-gan, il-a-n hamaaga aĝakux̂ a-na-gan-ulax il Haman aĝnax̂** 'put Him in a grave dug in stone where nobody had been put' (Luke 23.53).

3.14.2.4.2.2. Version (b)

Corresponding to version (a): A 1973 **suna-m tayaĝum hasina-ngis ku-ga-n awa-na-a hamang anax̂** 'a ship on which many men are working was there'. The relative form **hasina-ngin** was not accepted, so the clause corresponds to a sentence **sunam kugan tayaĝum hasinangis awakus** 'on the ship [there are] many men work[ing]'.

The subject in the relative case is coreferential with the anaphoric adjunct of the oblique term (rather than being the adjunct of it) in Ea 1910 **tanĝi-m alaĝu-gan achida-n chuguulĝuĝi-i ulix** 'reaching an island with a gravel beach', lit. 'island having gravel at its seaside' (J 29:10); A 1952 **chiĝana-m qusa-n tanaĝi-i** 'a creek with earth (an earth-bridge) over it'; **kiiĝuusi-m kang-a-n imudiga-a** 'a rounded mountain', lit. 'a mountain round at its top'; **tanĝim isax̂ta-ngis, unĝi-ngin akayuĝi-ngis** 'islands [as if] cut, with channels between them' (N.M. 3:32). The oblique term being anaphoric (3A) rather than reflexive, these clauses are reminiscent of sentences with a double subject such as **itx̂aygix̂ chngaa usakux̂** 'the reindeer, its hair is falling off; the reindeer is shedding its hair' (3.1.1.6.3.).

3.14.2.4.2.3. First, second and reflexive third person subject

These clauses correspond to clauses with an object (3.14.2.3.1.3.), the predicate corresponding to a transitive participle.

In Atkan, there is an appositional relation between the outer subject and the clausal predicate as in the case of a nominal inner subject (3.14.2.4.2.1.), e.g. 1971 **ulasu-x̂ il-a-n azaa-amu-qa-an hnunax̂** 'he came to the hut where he had used to stay', **ulasu-m il-a-n azaa-amuqa-am nag-a-n aĝiqaa** 'he put it in the hut where he had used to stay'; 1987 **hla-x̂ hadan huya-qa-ng ting ilax̂takux̂** 'the boy I went to is friendly to me'; 1973 **ula-m il-a-n al saĝa-qa-mis hadan huyaa-aĝikuq** 'I'm going to the house where you stayed yesterday'; **ula-m il-a-n a-na-ng anĝaĝinangis tagadaqadakus** 'the people of the house I'm staying in are getting old'. (The absolutive gerundive **a-aĝ-dix** is exceptional in 1952 **tanam ilagan ilan aaĝdix ilan chisilalgal** 'they were scattered about in places (lit. part of land) they were supposed to be' (N.M. 1:44); the expected form is **aaĝ-max ilan** or **aaĝ-imdix ilan.**)

In Eastern, the outer subject is in the absolutive case irrespective of the case of the participle, as in the case of an object (3.14.2.3.3.1.), e.g. En 1910 **ama-n ula-x̂ il-a-an ayug-na-an qignaĝix̂takux̂ ukuugiim** 'having seen that there was light in the house he had left' (J 52:8); **ax̂anan ilingin ama-n tayaĝu-x̂ qul-a-anaan aqana-an ukux̂talix** 'seeing among the dancers the man she had come for' (J 69:47); En 1909 **luugim sutuĝana-a ku-ga-n asx̂aaĝ-iin agulix qanakalinax̂** 'she spent the winter making a grass rug for herself to die on' (J 50:39); Ea 1910 **tanadgusi-x̂ ku-ga-n aĝax̂ta-qa-am adan txin idgix̂tikux̂** 'he ran towards the village where he was born' (J 13:16); En 1909 **wa-n ula-x̂ il-a-n a-na-am anĝaĝi-ngin asx̂adgulgaqalilaaĝanan ax̂takun ukunax̂** 'he saw that the people of this house where he was, had begun to be killed' (J 50:51; A 1973 **wa-an ula-m ilan ...**). A 1971 **uda-x̂ hadan huya-na-am ila-ga-an sas kaluu-ax̂takux̂** 'he shot some ducks in (lit. from) the bay he was going to' must be a case of Eastern influence, for Atkan **uda-m hadan ...**

3.14.2.4.2.4. Version (c)

Without the outer subject, the clausal predicate functions as a noun in the same way as clauses with an object (3.14.2.3.2.2.3.). It is especially common as an oblique term (adjunct of positional nouns).

A nominal inner subject is mostly in the relative case, e.g. A 1973 **kasami-m ila-ga-an iga-qa-a hnux̂takux̂** 'he came to where the eider had flown from'; En 1982 **qa-m il-a-n amnaĝu-na-ngin** 'where there are many fish' (explanation of **amilĝix̂** 'fishing place'); En 1910 **ugi-im adan ayux-saaĝana-gan adan txin aygaxnax̂** 'she set out in the direction her husband had gone' (J 74:7); Eu 1910 **sla-m usmi-na-gan kayux anĝaĝi-m il-a-n ayga(g)-ka-gan ilan** 'where the wind blows and where a person has walked' (J 36:20); A 1952 **agitaadaam ulugan ilan achigiiax̂ta-na-gan, ilan haang tataam achigiiĝutakux̂** 'he in turn fell where the body of the (lit. his) other one had fallen' (N.M. 3:75). Anaphoric inner subject: A 1952 **ilan ahlizuuka-gan-ulax ilan aĝikuun** 'you put it where it is not supposed to be'; **hamaax ilangiin angix̂ta-qa-ngin hadangin aygaxsxakus** 'the people (passive) went to where they had started from' (N.M. 3:69).

Also an inner subject in the absolutive case is possible, corresponding to order (ii): A 1979 **buchuunukalĝus ... ulas kangaan chix̂tam taanga-a nag-a-n** [sg. for pl. **nagi(ngi)n] ichag-iiqa-gan** [optative] **ilan ngiin ax̂chx̂inax̂** 'he had us put big barrels where rain water would drip into them from the houses'.

The subject may also be a suffixal first, second or reflexive third person, e.g. En 1910 **il-a-an kim-saaĝana-am ilan txin unguhnax̂** 'she sat down where she had descended from' (J 69:51); A 1952 **umaax ilan adaaĝa-na-max huzugan ilan adaaĝal aaĝakus** 'wherever they came ashore they came ashore in vain' (N.M. 3:10); En 1910 **qul-a-an aqaqali-qa-an ngaan iistakan** 'telling him why she had come' (J 69:50); A 1952 **hadan huya-aĝ-ing ngus hix̂tada** 'tell me where to go'; A 1973 **ilan changa-aĝ-iin alal** 'needs where to crawl in (= is embarrassed)'.

3.14.2.4.3. Passive

The passive of an intransitive verb having no subject or object (3.4.3.1-2.), the adjunct of the positional noun is extraposed as an outer subject, in version (b) in the relative case, e.g. Ea 1910 **aman ayaga-m ada-an tunuĝa-na-a ... ukaaĝakux̂** 'that woman talked about came in' (J 26:10); A 1952 **ulam anguna-gan, ilan anĝaĝi-lga-a-yulax, qalgadas qulihlingiin aguĝal** 'a big house in which no one (passive) lived being built just for food' (N.M. 1:15), with explicit agent: **ulam angunagan, inaqamchix kumchiix nagan anĝaĝilgaayulax agux̂tal** 'building (having built) a big house not lived in by themselves' (ibid. 52); Ea 1909 **ama-an ayaga-m il-a-n asx̂a-lga-qa-gan ilan ukaaĝakux̂** 'he entered into [the house of] the woman where people (passive) had previously died' (J 3:53); A 1978 **ulalĝu-m nag-a-n mika-lga-za-gan ilan mikal angalix̂** 'he was playing in a big gymnasium', lit. 'in a big house where one (passive) usually plays'.

Without the outer subject, the participle has a simple number suffix: En 1910 **ilan iqyax̂si-lga-da-qa-n axtalix** 'going to (lit. passing) places where baidarkas had been built' (J 67:23); A 1952 **tayaĝux̂ ilan chali-lga-qa-m hadan huyakux̂** 'the man went to where people (passive) had been fishing'.

3.14.2.5. Object and oblique term

Just as in a final clause the order of the complements determines more or less the degree of definiteness (3.3.4.1.), in a participial clause the order determines to a large extent the relation to the matrix sentence, the first complement, if not the subject, being mostly the semantic head. As in the clauses with only one complement, the order of the terms may be (1) straightforward: S-O-Obl-V or S-Obl-O-V, or (2) the object or the adjunct of the positional noun may be extraposed as an outer subject, or (3) the subject may be removed by a passive. In all three cases there are the versions (a), (b) and (c). As in the other clauses, a term (argument) may be nominal, anaphoric, or a pronominal or suffixal first, second, or reflexive third person. Three terms being involved in the participial clause, the relations of anaphora and reflexivity are of special importance.

3.14.2.5.1. Object before oblique term

3.14.2.5.1.1. S-O-Obl-V

3.14.2.5.1.1.1. Version (a)

Depending on the context (the meaning of the words), the subject or the object of the clause may be the semantic head, or the clause is an expression of fact, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝu-x̂ masinas ayx̂aasi(m) nagan aĝ-na-a awal txin asx̂anix̂tazax̂** 'the man who put the motor in the boat is working hard (lit. gets tired)'; **tayaĝu-x̂ sax̂ udam ilan kalul saĝa-qa-a asxinum ukuqaa** 'the girl found the duck that the man had shot in the bay the preceding day'; A 1973 **tayaĝu-x̂ chagix̂ ngus waaĝaasa-na-a ngaan qaĝaasanaq** 'I thanked the man for having brought me a/the halibut'; **unguchiiluĝi-x̂ ngus aĝi-qa-mis kugan unguchikuq** 'I am sitting on the chair you gave me'; Au 1909 **ma Qaglaax̂ ayagax̂ iim uyax̂chi-na-a, ayagax̂ ukulaka ...** 'Raven, who sent for the woman for himself, not seeing the woman ...' (J 82:19).

An oblique term coreferential with the nominal (3A) subject of the matrix sentence is reflexive, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ hla-x̂ chagix̂ iim waaĝaasa-na-a qanguusanax̂** 'the man took in the boy who brought him the halibut' or, less likely, 'the man took in the halibut that the boy brought him'; **tayaĝux̂ hla-x̂ chagix̂ iim waaĝaasaa-ax̂ta-na-gan ila-a unakux̂** 'the man cooked a piece of the halibut that the boy had brought him'; **tayaĝux̂ hla-x̂ chagix̂ iim waaĝaasa-na-a ngaan qaĝaasanax̂** 'the man thanked the boy for having brought him the halibut'.

An anaphoric subject entails a suffixal reference in the final verb, e.g. A 1971 **qa-x̂ iim ax̂s saĝa-qa-a una-ku-u** 'she is cooking the fish he gave her yesterday'; **qa-x̂ ngus ax̂s saĝa-qa-a qa-ku-ng** 'I am eating the fish he gave me yesterday'. The object (the fish) being specified, entailing zero-anaphora, the suffixal reference could only be to the subject (the person).

3.14.2.5.1.1.2. Version (b)

Both the subject, in the relative case, and the object may be the semantic head, depending on the context, e.g. A 1987 **anĝaĝina-m anaĝis laavkim ngaan haqaasa-na-ngis hasina-na-s** 'there were many people bringing the goods to the store', lit. 'people bringing goods to the store were numerous'; A 1971 **ayagax̂ tayaĝu-m qas asxinuum ngaan achxux̂ta-qa-a qaĝaasakux̂** 'the woman thanked the man who had (or for having) given fish to her (3R) daughter'; **braata-am saygit iim aĝ-na-a iim aygaxtusanax̂** 'he walked off with his (3R) gun that his (3R) brother gave (reached) him (3R)'.

In the case of different numbers, the number marking in the participle may resolve the functional ambiguity, e.g. A 1952 **tayaĝu-m tunu-s ngus hix̂ta-qa-a ugunuzuukaĝulaq** 'I'll not forget the man who told me the words' vs. **tayaĝu-m tunu-s ngus hix̂ta-qa-ngis (hix̂ta-na-ngis) ugunuzuukaĝulaq** 'I'll not forget the words that the man told me (is telling) me'; A 1981 **kuusxix̂ Piitra-m qa-s ngus aĝ-na-ngis chxanax̂** 'the cat stole the fish (pl.) Peter gave me'.

3.14.2.5.1.1.3. First, second and reflexive third person subject

Only the object, the initial term of the clause, can be the semantic head, e.g. Eu 1909 **yaasi-n wangudaĝan chimgux̂ta-qa-txin usu-ngin chimikangin waaĝa-na-n** 'all the boxes you sent over here have arrived whole' (J 37:26); A 1971 **tayaĝux̂ asxinu-x̂ udam ilan ukul saĝa-qa-an hnuu-ax̂takux̂** 'the man came to the girl he had met at the bay the day before'; **tayaĝux̂ asxinu-x̂ uda(m) ilan ukuu-ax̂ta-na-am ana-gan ula-gan hadan huyakux̂** 'the man went to the house of the mother of the girl he had met at the bay'; (**tayaĝux̂**) **hla-x̂ hadaam huyachx̂i-na-am ngaan kanfiixtax̂ aĝnax̂** 'he (the man) gave candy to the boy he had come to him (3R)'. Anaphoric oblique term: En 1910 **maayu-n ngaan agu-qa-txin-ulux maayux̂ta-na-ngin ngaan amayaax̂taqali-qa-a** 'he began to ask her about the things she had that he had not made for her' (J 53:8).

While in the case of a nominal or anaphoric subject an oblique term coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb is reflexive, the participial clause being thus the formal complement of the matrix verb (3.14.2.5.1.1.1-2.), with a first or second person subject it is non-reflexive, e.g. Eu 1987 **qa-n ngaan achxux̂ta-qa-ng una-ku-x̂** 'she is cooking the fish (pl.) I gave her'; A 1971 (**Piitrax̂**) **qa-s ngaan aĝ-na-ng su-ku-x̂** 'he (Peter) took the fish (pl.) I gave him', **qa-s ngiin aĝ-na-ning su-ku-s** 'they took the fish I gave them'; A 1973 (**Piitrax̂**) **tunu-s ngaan hix̂ta-na-ng hix̂saasa-na-ĝ-ulax** 'he (Peter) did not understand the words I told him'; **Piitra-x̂ qa-s ngaan waaĝaasa-na-ng qanguusa-na-x̂** 'Peter took in the fish I brought him', cf. **Piitrax̂ qas ngaan waaĝaasa-ku-q-aang ting qanguusanax̂** 'when I brought Peter the fish he took me in'.

Here the participle agrees in number with the oblique term, as also in an anaphoric final clause: **qa-s ngaan aĝi-qa-ng** (**aqang**) 'I gave him some fish', **qas ngiin aĝi-qa-ning** (**aqaning**) 'I gave them some fish'. The oblique term being non-reflexive, the participial clause can not be the formal object of the matrix verb but constitutes the subject, while the initial object is by zero-anaphora the object of the final verb as well: "he (Peter) to whom I gave the fish, took [the fish]", etc.

3.14.2.5.1.1.4. Version (c)

E.g. A 1952 **asagaan agiital adum qalan changa-laĝana-x̂** 'the one (he) who together with his cousin had just gone into the bottom of the cave' (N.M. 3:74).

3.14.2.5.1.2. Object extraposed as outer subject

3.14.2.5.1.2.1. Version (a)

The outer subject is the semantic head, the clausal predicate an apposition. With a nominal inner subject, an oblique term coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence is reflexive. E.g. A 1971. **kuusxix̂ qa-s Piitra-m ngus aĝ-na-ngis chxanax̂** 'the cat stole the fish Peter gave me'; **hlax̂ furaaski-x̂ ada-am iim aĝi-qa-a chukux̂** 'the boy put on the cap his father had given him'; **ukina-x̂ hla-s** (**hla-m**) **ilamiim su-qa-a ukunaĝulax** 'he did not find the knife that the boys (the boy) had taken from him'; **tunu-s uchiitila-m igiim hix̂ta-na-ngis hix̂saasa-na-ĝ-ulax** 'he did not understand the words that the teacher said to him' (same as **uchiitila-m tunus igiim hix̂ta-na-ngis h.**); **unguchiiluĝi-m Piitra-m ngus aĝi-qa-gan kugan unguchikuq** 'I am sitting on the chair that Peter has given me', **unguchiiluĝi-m Piitra-m iim aĝi-qa-gan kugan unguchikux̂** 'he is sitting on the chair that Peter has given him' (at another occasion the initial term was given in the absolutive case: **unguchiiluĝi-x̂**).

This construction was used also by Atkan Salamatov 1860, while Eastern Shayashnikov 1870 had mostly the straightforward order (except John 4.50 in 3.14.2.3.2.1.), e.g. A **tunu-x̂, Iisuusa-m igim hi-qa-a ... iliim aĝatnax̂**, E **Iisuusa-m tunux̂ igiim hix̂ta-qa-a iliim aĝanax̂** 'he remembered the word Jesus had said to him' (Mark 14.72); A **hamakux, tunu-s Hama-an imax hi-qa-ngis taĝa-na-g-ulax**, E **hamayakix Hama-an tunun imax hi-na-ngin taĝa-na-g-ulux** 'they (two) did not understand the words He said to them' (Luke 2:50).

Version (b) is not attested. With a first, second or reflexive third person subject there could be no difference from the straightforward order.

3.14.2.5.1.2.2. Version (c)

Without an outer subject, the clause has an inherent object, with a nominal or a suffixal first, second or reflexive third person subject, e.g. A 1952 **hinga-an aliĝim ngus hix̂ta-qa-ngis ugunuzuukaĝulaq** 'I'll not forget what (pl.) that old man told me'; A 1860 **amgiĝna-s imax tunumkaasa-qa-ngis quumalix̂taasanas** 'they wondered at what the shepherds told them' (Luke 2.18); Eu 1910 **Usilam-aan iklaqa-ning a!** 'here are the pieces of wood I got for Usilax̂' (J 35:21); A 1950 **iming** [= **ngus**] **hix̂ta-na-t makuq** 'I did what you told me'; Eb 1984 **ingaan uglagaan imch(in) ix̂ta-aĝ-ning aqatalkaqing** 'besides that I don't know what to tell you'; Ea 1909 **imdin ugdux̂sx̂iisada-laaĝana-din imdin ugdux̂sx̂iisalix** 'putting on the magic guise they had put on the last time', lit. 'providing themselves as magic guise with what they had provided themselves as magic guise with the last time' (J 10:104).

Anaphoric oblique term: A 1860 **Ngaan achuuĝiisa-aĝ-dix haqata-qa-ngizulax**, E 1870 **Ngaan angdax̂sx̂iisa-aĝ-din haqata-qa-ngin-ulux** 'they did not know what to answer Him' (Mark 14.40); En 1983 **awakun Kuluusan itxax̂tax̂ itadqangin; ngaan angax̂taasad-qa-ngin aqata-lkaĝ-ing** 'those Indians (Tlingits) made it differently; what they had mixed with it I don't know'; A 1952 **kugan masaĝ-ning ngus ukuchx̂i-qa-an** 'you showed me what (pl.) for me to do to it'; **hingaan tayaĝu-m kugan ma-qa-ngis ugunuzuuka-ĝula-ng** (= **-zuuka-ng-ulax**) 'I'll not forget what that man did to him' or 'I'll not forget what he did to that man' (anaphoric subject).

Differently from the case with an initial object term (3.14.2.5.1.1.3.), an oblique term coreferential with the third person subject of the matrix sentence is reflexive also with a first or second person subject of the participle, e.g. A 1950 **igiim hix̂ta-na-ning ma-ku-x̂** 'he did what (pl.) I told him'; A 1973 (**Piitrax̂**) **igiim hix̂ta-na-ning hix̂saasa-na-ĝ-ulax** 'he (Peter) did not understand what I said to him'; **hla-x̂ igiim aĝi-qa-ning hikiti-na-x̂** [**aqaning hikitnax̂**] 'the boy lost what I gave him';

Piitra-x̂ igiim waaĝaasa-na-ning ngus qaĝaasaa-ax̂ta-ku-x̂ 'Peter thanked me for what I brought back to him'. Here there is no term for the final verb to refer to by zero-anaphora, so the alternative would be, for example, **hla-m ngaan a(ĝi)-qaning hikit-xa-a** 'the boy lost what I gave him (another one)'. The anaphoric **ngaan** entailing a suffixal reference in the final verb and a subject in the relative case, the following is ungrammatical: ***hlax̂ ngaan a(ĝi)qaning hikitnax̂**.

3.14.2.5.1.3. Passive

The subject being removed by the passive, the construction is like a subject with an oblique term (3.14.2.4.).

3.14.2.5.1.3.1. S-Obl-V

3.14.2.5.1.3.1.1. Version (a)

E.g. Eu 1909 **aalax kalika-kin unugulux Ikalĝan-ngaan u-ula-qa-kix ax̂tana-kix waaĝaasakun** '(the men from Chernovski) have brought your two letters which had been brought to Chernovski long ago' (J 38:2); A 1973 *chopsticks* **ngiin ax̂-sxa-qa-a sux̂tal qaakalakan ...** 'we could not eat with (lit. holding) the chopsticks that were given us'; **qa-s igiim achxu-ĝa-qa-ngis unal angalix̂** 'she cooked the fish that were given her'.

Anaphoric oblique term: **qa-s ngaan achxu-ĝa-qa-ngis unal angali-i** 'she cooked the fish that were given him'; Ep 1941 **saĝa-x̂ ngaan kamĝu-lga-na-gan ukan txin saĝaniguun ...** 'when the sleep wished upon him reached him and he fell asleep' (**ngaan** coreferential with **-kan** and the subject of the following verb, cf. 3.9.2.5. fourth paragraph). Anaphoric subject, clause adjunct of temporal noun: En 1909 **kalikan chaasanam-ngaan usu-kix waaĝaalalix nung ax̂-sxa-qa-gan angali-i ax̂-qa-king** 'I gave both of them to the postmaster (lit. the one handling letters) the day they were brought here and given me' (J 38:3).

3.14.2.5.1.3.1.2. Version (b)

E.g. A 1952 **qalgada-m Kasakam aslaan uku-ĝa-qa-ngiz-ulax, huzuugizangis, adaaĝalax̂taasal** 'bringing ashore food, of all kinds, that had not been seen in the Russian period' (N.M. 2:29); A 1979 **hingan qahmig-im,** *walk* **ilagaan qangu-lga-na-gan ilan, ulakuchax̂ hiing akux̂, hingay** *power house* **azanax̂** 'at the door where one came in from the walk, the little house that was there, that was the power house'; Eu 1910 **ukalĝan asla tunusa-m kum imin tutaatu-na-gan ma-lga-na-a maasalakax̂** 'here (in the village) there is no news that could interest you', lit. 'any news possibly for you nice to hear that exists (**ma-lga-**)' (J 39:21); En 1949 **tayaĝungin nuusi-m imchi atxax̂-sxa-aqaltana-ngin sux̂talix** 'his men holding the knives that had been prepared for them'; Au 1909 **saagayusi-m iim ux̂ta-luqa-a naa saagayusaka** 'making her drowsy with the sleep-charm that had been given him' (J 81:10).

3.14.2.5.1.3.1.3. Version (c)

E.g. A 1952 **hamaax kugaan qigulgaa-aqa-m huzu-u** [±**kugaan**] **qigulga-za-qa-x̂** 'anything that could be collected from there was collected (from there)' (N.M. 1:27); A 1840 **igim hix̂ta-qa-s huzu-ngis malix** 'doing all that had been told her' (V B 3:9); A 1971 **hingan tayaĝux̂ ku-um hi-ĝa-na-s haqatalakax̂** 'that man does not know what we (passive) are talking about him'; En **igiim achxu-ĝa-na-x̂ qaqadaguum** 'when he finished eating what was fed to him' (J 66:10); Ea 1910 **matalgaligiin naĝnaadalgadan iiltalix, igiim ukux̂tachx̂i**(t)**-sxa-na-n matalix ...** 'being told how one (passive) eats soup, doing as was shown her, ...' (J 14:8).

3.14.2.5.1.3.2. Extraposed adjunct

3.14.2.5.1.3.2.1. Version (a)

E.g. A 1973 **ula-x̂ il-a-n hagi**(t)**-sxa-qa-a alitxum aslagaan hixsxaqax̂** 'the house he was brought up in was burned in the war time'; **ula-x̂ il-a-n hagi**(t)**-sxa-qa-an atxax̂tiiĝutanax̂** 'he repaired again the house he was brought up in'; **ula-m il-a-n hagi**(t)**-sxa-qa-am ilan anĝaĝikux̂** 'he lives in the house he was brought up in'; En 1909 **angiĝalakan ama-an il-a-an su-lga-qa-am ilan ax̂sxaax̂tax̂ iistakan** 'saying that he should be put unharmed back to where (lit. that one) he had been taken from' (J 46:29).

3.14.2.5.1.3.2.2. Version (b)

A 1860 **chamluuda-m hitnisas il chisi-ĝa-qa-gan hangad-a agim aslagaan** 'at the time of passing through the corn fields', lit. 'passing along (lit. the surface of) the flat ground where plants had been sown (lit. scattered)' (Mark 2.23; E **tanasxan hinisaĝiiluĝin ilin aygakalinax̂** 'began to walk in places with plants in the field', suffix **-ĝiiluĝ-** 2.2.3.8.).

3.14.2.5.2. Oblique term before object

3.14.2.5.2.1. S-Obl-O-V

These constructions have been found mostly in modern Atkan, while older Atkan and Eastern extrapose the adjunct (3.14.2.5.2.2.).

The semantic head is the oblique term, in version (a) possibly also the subject, e.g. A 1971- (a) **hla-x̂ yaasikam nagagaan qas suu-ax̂ta-na-a ukunaq** 'I found the boy who took the fish out of the box' or 'I found the box out of which the boy took the fish'; **tayaĝu-x̂ udam ilan sax̂ kalul saĝa-qa-a asxinum hnuqaa** 'the girl came to the bay where the man had shot the duck the preceding day'; (b) **Piitra-m yaasikam nagan qas aĝii-ax̂ta-na-a saraayam ilan akux̂** 'the box that Peter put (the) fish in is in the shed'.

Likewise with a first, second or reflexive third person subject, e.g. A 1971- **udam ilan Piitrax̂ aslixtal saĝa-qa-ng hnuu-ax̂takuq** 'I came to the bay where I had met Peter yesterday'. But also **udam ilan Piitrax̂ aslixtal saĝa-qa-ng ilan hnuu-ax̂takuq** 'I came to Peter in the bay where I had met him yesterday'. Here the second **ilan** refers the participle to the initial oblique term, which leaves the object

Piitrax̂ as the object of the final verb.

Salamatov 1860 used version (b) with the object as the semantic head: **Iaakova-m hlaam Iosifiĝan[agan]aan tana-x̂ a(ĝ)-qa-gan ilaaguzan** 'near the land that Jacob gave to his son Joseph' (John 4.5.).

In Eastern, version (b) is found with an anaphoric oblique term: Ea 1910 **ama-an ayaga-gan ilaan txin aĝuta-laaĝana-gan agalaan sakaanuqalikuu** 'his wife who had been hiding from him started down after him' (J 14:13). In En 1949 **tanam kugan yaagam kugan qiigan chachix̂taa ngaan nuusakan** 'getting with him to a log on the ground covered by grass', lit. 'a log having grass as cover on it', the second **kugan** 3A (rather than 3R **kuum**) seems to be irregular, perhaps by contamination for **yaaga-m qiigan chachix̂ta-a** 'a log that grass (pl.) cover', cf. 3.14.2.3.2.2.

Version (c) is not distinguishable from version (c) of clauses with extraposition of the adjunct, see 3.14.2.5.2.2.3..

3.14.2.5.2.2. Extraposed adjunct

3.14.2.5.2.2.1. Version (a)

In Atkan there is an appositional relation between the outer subject and the predicate clause, while in Eastern the outer subject is in the absolutive case irrespective of the case of the participle (cf. 3.14.2.4.2.3.). The inner subject is a noun in the relative case, following the oblique term, or a suffixal first, second or reflexive third person, e.g. A 1971- **uda-x̂ il-a-n Piitra-m ting kidul saĝa-qa-a hnux̂taa-ax̂takuq** 'I visited the bay where Peter helped me yesterday'; **hama-an uda-m il-a-n Piitra-m txin kidul saĝa-qa-gan had-a-n huyaa-ax̂takux̂** 'he went to the bay where Peter helped him yesterday' (1971 without **txin**, the final verb showing that there could be no other object); **uuquchiingix̂ chixti-m il-a-n Piitra-m txin ukul saĝa-qa-gan il-a-n ahlil ax̂takux̂** 'the fox is apparently still in the den where Peter saw it yesterday'; A 1860 **hama-an isxa-m il Maarfa-m Txin kadamga-qa-gan il ahlinax̂**, E 1870 **hama-n il-a-n Maarfa-m Txin kadgama-qa-gan il-a-n alinax̂** '(Jesus) was still in the place (E that one) where Martha had met Him' (John 11.30); A 1973 **tanĝi-x̂ ku-ga-n isuĝis kalul saĝa-qa-ng amaatxakux̂** 'the islet where I shot seal yesterday is far away'; A 1860 **Kaanam Galileeya-gan, il taangax̂ viinax̂ hit-xa-am had-a-n kayeeĝutalix waaĝanax̂** '(Jesus) came again to Galilee of Cana [*sic*] where he had made the water wine' (John 4.46); En 1934 **ama-n uĝnaasa-x̂ il-a-an txin su-na-ng ad-a-n txin uyaasaaqing ix̂takux̂** 'he told me to bring him back to the warm place I had taken him away from'; Ea 1910 **ama-n il-a-an uku-na-am adangan aguxsix** 'towing it to the shore in from where he found it' (J 28:18).

With a suffixal inner subject, the oblique term may follow the object (cf. 3.3.4.1.), e.g. En 1952 **yaaga—x̂ ulux̂tax̂ il-a-an agu-uĝ-iin taxsaaĝan aygaxsix** 'walking to gather wood for him(self) to make a baidarka of'; A 1973- **tayaĝu-x̂ qas ngaan aĝ-na-ng idax̂talakat ii?** 'do you know the man I gave the/some fish to ?'. With a nominal inner subject this inversion is hardly acceptable (A 1987) : ***tayaĝux̂ Piitram qax̂ ngaan aĝnaa idax̂talakat ii?**; better **Piitra-m tayaĝum-(ng)aan qax̂**

aĝ-na-a idax̂talakat ii? 'do you know the man that Peter gave the fish to ?' (cf. 3.14.2.5.2.1.). In modern Atkan there is some uncertainty in this matter.

In the following sentence, where the oblique term is temporal, Salamatov 1860 put the inner subject in the absolutive case: **awaagichxizax̂ matxax̂, il-a-n Hiroda-x̂ qaygix̂ agu-qa-a** 'a convenient time occurred when Herod gave a feast' (Mark 6.21; E 1870 quite differently).

3.14.2.5.2.2.2. Version (b)

A 1860 **Ilaming siĝli-m il hitxuli-m txin qalalĝi-na-a-ulax aqitdakux̂ Hama** '[every] branch in me in which the seed bears no fruit (lit. provides itself with content) He takes away' (John 15.2; E 1870 differently); A 1973 **changana-m il-a-n itx̂aygis txidix sux̂ta-na-a hnux̂tal angaliq** 'I came to a valley where reindeer were gathered (lit. kept themselves)'; **changana-m il-a-n itx̂aygis txidix sux̂ta-na-gan had-a-n huyal angaliq** 'I went to a valley where reindeer were gathered'.

3.14.2.5.2.2.3. Version (c)

The inner subject is a noun in the relative case or a suffixal first, second or reflexive third person, e.g. A 1973 **Piitra-m had-a-n ting huyachx̂i-na-gan had-a-n huyaa-ax̂takuq** 'I went where Peter sent me'; A 1860 **ngaan inux̂ chix̂ilix chiya-na-ng, hamayaa akux̂** 'the one for whom I dip and reach a piece (of food), that's the one' (J 13.26; E 1870 with initial **hama-n**); A 1973 **ila-ga-an taangax̂ uku-uĝiin alal hamamahlikum ...** 'he still needed [to find a place] for him to find water'.

With a suffixal inner subject, a nominal object (more or less definite) may come first, e.g. Ea 1910 **ayuxsix, ama-n alax̂ il-a-n uĝulu-laaĝana-am ad-a-n uyalix̂takum** 'he set out in his boat toward the [place] where he had speared the whale the day before' (J 16:34); A 1937 **saaqudgim aslaan Kasakam tayanangis chaangidim hatix̂ signaĝii aakax̂ ayx̂aasix̂ sunamax kugan husil ayugasal chngatus il-i-in mayaaĝ-iiĝ-is** [perhaps for rel. **mayaaĝiiĝin**] **hada-ngin huyaasadanas** 'in the summer the Russian traders used to load in on their ship about fifty boats (baidarkas) and bring them [to places] where for them to hunt sea otter'.

The object may be anaphoric, e.g. A 1952 **il-a-n aĝ-iiĝ-iin imis hix̂taa-ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'I told you where to put it'. And the anaphoric object may be coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence (cf. 3.11.2.5.2.), e.g. A 1971 **agitaada-gan il-a-n anuusa-na-gan ilahli-gan txin haaĝaninax̂** 'he stopped right there where the other one threw him'; A 1952 **haang il-a-n anuusa-na-am ilahli-gan txin haĝaninax̂ hiisax̂taqaa** 'he (a) stopped right there where he (b) threw him (a), he (b) said' (N.M. 3:76).

3.14.2.5.2.3. Passive

The underlying object being promoted to a subject by the passive, the constructions are like constructions with an extraposed adjunct and an inner nominal subject (3.14.2.4.2.1-2., 4.).

3.14.2.5.2.3.1. Version (a)

The subject (underlying object) follows the oblique term (order ii), e.g. A 1973- **saraaya-x̂ il-a-n ayx̂aasix̂ agu-lga-qa-a hiing akux̂** 'the shed where the boat was built is over there'; **tayaĝu-x̂ ila-ga-an qichitix̂ chxa-lga-qa-a kidunax̂** 'he helped the man from whom money had been stolen'; **Piitrax̂ tanĝi-m ku-ga-n isuĝis kalu-lga-a-ax̂ta-na-gan had-a-n huyanax̂** 'Peter went to the islet where the/some seals had been shot'; A 1860 **adu-m, il asx̂ax̂tax̂ ax̂ta-lga-qa-gan ku-ga-an quganax̂ agatxax̂** 'the stone was removed from the cave where the deceased had been laid' (John 11.41); Eu 1910 **Unimgim naaĝigan adan yaĝim adu-u-yulux, qagaaĝigan tugumax̂ malga-na-a, Tanam Tugumaĝa asax̂taa** 'the short cape toward the southwest side of Unimak Island, on the northeast side of which there is a sandy beach, called Land's Beach' (J 40:39). Without extraposition: Eu 1909 **alaĝum achidan adum qamda-a-yulux malga-na-gan ilan** 'in a shallow cave on the seashore' (J 37:11). Anaphoric subject: En 1983 **tana-x̂ il-a-n agu-lga-aĝan usuu atxax̂sxalix** 'the whole place where it was going to be built, being made even'.

Reflexive third person subject in A 1860 **Nazareeta-m, il haxisxa-qa-am iluun aĝanax̂** 'he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up' (Luke 4.16; E 1870 **Nasariitam hadan, haman ilan hagisxaqaam hadan waaĝalix**, with **haman** 'that one' possibly in imitation of the Russian relative pronoun).

A comparable construction is found with a local object (cf. 3.4.3.6.4.): A 1973 **tana-s tingin hnux̂taala-qa-ngin asa-ngis haqatazaĝulaq** 'the names of the various islands we were taken to (flying back from Japan) I don't know' (**-za-** in the final predicate makes the plural object **tanas** distributive, see 2.2.6.5. (c)).

3.14.2.5.2.3.2. Version (b)

A 1860 **hitnisa-m aangsu-ngin il-i-in viinax̂ agu-lga-da-a** 'a plant from the berries of which wine is made' (explanation of Russian *vinograd* 'vine' in note to John 15.1); A 1973 **qawax̂ alga-m an'gi-ngin ili-ngiin chigda-x̂ / chigda-s agu-lga-za-qa-a akux̂** 'the sea lion is an animal from the intestines of which the gut parka / gut parkas used to be made' < **qawam an'gingin ilingiin chigdax̂ / chigdas agulgazaqa-x̂ / -s** 'the gut parka / gut parkas used to be made of sea lion intestines'.

3.14.2.5.2.3.3. Version (c)

A 1971 **isuĝis il-a-n kalulgaa-ax̂ta-na-a** [for **ax̂tana-gan**] **hadan huyanax̂** 'he went to where we (passive) had shot the seals'; A 1952 **il-a-n ax̂-sxa-aĝ-a ngus hix̂tada** 'tell me where to put it', lit. 'where it is to be put'; En 1983 **awaan usugaan awadnaqing, ilan ax̂-sxa-na-ng ilan** 'I worked all the time, wherever I was put'.

Indefinite subject (underlying object) with anaphoric oblique term: A 1952 **ku-ngin chuĝaa-aqa-gan huzuugiza-ngis hama-ng il-a-n taxsazaqax̂** 'everything they would wear (lit. that would be put on them) used to be stored there' (N.M. 1:16).

3.14.2.6. Extraposed adjunct of nouns

3.14.2.6.1. Version (a)

The extraposed term, the outer subject, may represent the adjunct of (1) the subject, (2) the object or (3) the positional noun (oblique term) of the corresponding underlying clause, and the participial clause may serve as the subject, object or oblique term of the matrix sentence, e.g.

(1) A 1973 **hama-n tayaĝu-x̂ ada-a iqyaĝiza-qa-a ayx̂aasim masinaĝii tayaa-amunax̂** 'that man whose father used to paddle in a baidarka bought a boat with a motor' < **hamaan tayaĝum adaa iqyaĝizanax̂** 'that man's father used to paddle in a baidarka'; **tayaĝu-x̂ hla-a qas imis ax̂s saĝa-qa-gan hadan huyaa-aĝikuq** 'I'm going to the man whose son gave the fish to you yesterday';

(2) A 1973 **tayaĝu-x̂ ada-gan ayx̂aasi-i atxax̂s saĝa-qa-ngin uqis qilax̂six̂** 'the man whose father's boat we repaired yesterday returned this morning' < **tayaĝum adagan ayx̂aasii atxax̂s saĝanas** 'we repaired the man's father's boat yesterday'; **tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasi-i sux̂ta-na-ng hnunaq** 'I came to the man whose boat I use', cf. **tayaĝu-m ayx̂aasi-i sux̂ta-na-ng hnunaq** 'I came to the man's boat I use'; En 1949 **ama-n tayaĝu-x̂ igiqa-kan qachima-kix qadgit-xa-an nux̂taaĝan qagaanunax̂** 'he went east to visit the man whose thighs he had pierced with his spear (lit. spearing him)'; En 1909 **ama-n tayaĝu-x̂ sa-kix unga**(t)**-saaĝana-an ukuĝaax̂tax̂,** '(she sent her slave girl) to find (passive) the man whose parka she had torn' (J 42:3); E 1870 **hama-an Angaliĝadiga-m asa-a asax̂ta-na-min-aan txin aĝdada** 'entrust yourself to the Saint whose name you have (lit. have as name)'; A 1860 **hama-n Snganaada-x̂, asa-a asax̂ta-na-mis hadan** 'to the Saint whose name you have' ; E 1870 **ama-n Piitra-m tutuch-a iqit-xa-gan ilaasa-a** 'a kinsman of the one whose ear Peter cut off' (John 18.26; A 1860 likewise);

(3) A 1973 **hama-n tayaĝu-x̂ ula-gan nag-a-n al saĝa-qa-an ahmatida** 'ask the man in whose house you stayed yesterday'; **hama-an tayaĝu-m ula-gan nag-a-n al saĝa-qa-mis hadan huyaa-aĝikuq** 'I'll go to the man in whose house you stayed yesterday'.

In clauses with the participle in the relative case there was some uncertainty about the case of the outer subject.

3.14.2.6.2. Version (b)

The extraposed term, here in the relative case, corresponds to the adjunct of the subject of the simple clause. The inner subject, which has an anaphoric suffix in reference to the extraposed term (the outer subject), is either (1) in the absolutive case or (2) in the relative case, apparently with a dialectal difference, e.g. (1) A 1860 **anĝaĝina-m huzu-u qachx̂iluxta-a,** (2) E 1870 **tayaĝu-m husu-gan qadutu-u** 'a person (E man) leprous all over (lit. all of him leprous) (came)' (Luke 5.12). Some other examples:

(1) A 1973 **aniqdu-m cha-kix kikagna-a** 'a child with dirty hands'; A 1971 **hyaaga-m ukdu-u isiĝi-i** 'a log from which a piece is cut'; **hyaaga-m anga-a imudiga-a** 'a piece of wood round on the side'; A 1977 **tayaĝu-m imli-i uluuda-a**

'a man with red hair'; Eu 1984 **tayaĝu-m saligu-u quhma-a** 'a man with a white cap';

(2) En 1909 **tayaĝu-m sa-gan agaluuĝi-gan ungax̂ta-a** 'the man who had the hind part of his parka torn' (J 58:4; Au 1909 **agaluuĝil**, J 86:4); En 1910 **iqya-m igluqa-gan qaka-a-yulux** 'a kayak with wet (lit. not dry) covering' (J 70:23); Ea 1910 **kinguuĝix̂ la-am cha-gan isinaĝi-gan ayaga-gan il-a-an tayaĝux̂ aĝakux̂ ukux̂taagiim** 'seeing a man going to the wife of his youngest son whose hand was cut (perforated)' (J 29:10); A 1971 **laampa-m kudu-gan adu-u** 'lamp with a long leg'.

3.14.2.6.3. Version (c)

With a passive participle Ep 1941 **wa-an chimignu-u iqi**(t)**-sxa-na-m amaya aan'gilakaadaasa-qa-a** 'the one whose big toe was cut off was thinking about it'.

3.14.3. Complex participial clauses

3.14.3.1. Nested participial clauses

The participial clause corresponding to a sentence with conjoined predicates such as A 1978 **chagi-x̂ ichaaqida-l anguna-za-x̂** 'a halibut is flat and big' (3.9.3.2.) has as a predicate nested participles, version (b), the first one being the adjunct of the following: **chagix̂ qa-m ichaaqida-gan anguna-a ax̂** 'the halibut is a flat big fish'. The number of the subject may be marked in both participles or only in the final one, e.g. A 1952 **tayaĝu-m anĝaĝiika-ngin uymina-ngis** 'able-bodied vigorous men' (N.M. 3:39); En 1909 **ilaan tayaĝu-m anguna-gan kayutu-ngin** 'big men stronger than he' (J 41:4).

As mentioned in 3.6.1.4.1., the one or the other participle may have a complement, e.g. A 1952 **haa-kus txidix aĝix̂taasa-na-s, tayaĝu-m anax̂ maaka-gan-ulax txidix aĝix̂taasa-na-ngis** 'those who were left, the men who could not go out (lit. could not do that, the mentioned activity) and were left' (N.M. 2:1); **quganam ungluĝakuchana-gan** [cf. 3.6.1.4.2.], **haman adum qalagaan unangaa ax-sxa-a sana-a** 'a small pointed rock that allows (lit. equals) the passing (passive) of the passage from the bottom of the cave' (N.M. 3:76); A 1973 **anĝaĝina-m haqata-gan-ulax ilan aaka-qa-a-yulax** 'an inexperienced (lit. not knowing) person that should not have been there'.

The one or the other participle may also have an inner subject (3.14.2.6.2.), e.g. Ea 1910 **uda-m qal-a uku-ĝa-gan-ulux alan chx̂aasa-a** 'a bay with an invisible bottom (lit. its bottom being not seen) and full of whales' (J 17:37); E 1978 **qa-m kamgitu-gan agalĝi-gan anguna-a** 'a fish with a big head and a big mouth (lit. its mouth being big)'; A 1973 **sa-m kudu-kix uluuda-gan hitxi-i adu-u** 'a bird with red legs and a long tail'; A 1952 **yaaĝ-im qatuuĝi-i kingtitu-gan qaya-a** 'a point with a steep side (lit. its side having a high bank) and high (a high point with a steep side)' (N.M. 3:57); A 1860 (accepted 1973) **Kidrona-m nag-a haniĝaada-ĝi-gan awangan, il hitnisaĝiilux̂ a-na-gan hadan txin aygaxtnax̂** '(Jesus) went beyond Cedron, that has a small kind of lake (lit. being a lake) within it, to where there is a garden' (John 18.1; the clause with **awangan** 'beyond' may be the outer subject of **anagan** 'there being' [3.14.2.4.2.1. (ii)], the whole construction being the adjunct of **hadan** 'to, towards -').

3.14.3.2. Embedded conjunctive

There are participial clauses corresponding to most types of sentences with conjoined predicates (3.9), including verbal phrases with the conjunctive (3.8.1.).

3.14.3.2.1. Conjunctive with auxiliaries

With temporal auxiliaries (cf. 3.14.1.), by themselves intransitive, a transitive conjunctive has in Eastern an anaphoric suffix in reference to a preceding noun. The noun may be the subject, version (a), as in Ea 1910 **ama-kun tayaĝu-n txin amchigu-kin uniiĝna-ngin il-i-in qaankun tayaĝun** 'three (men) of the men who had met him (3R) on the beach (to receive him) the other day' (J 17:70). If the noun represents the underlying complement the conjunctive has also the enclitic **+(ng)aan**, du. **+ikin**, pl. **+(ng)iin** (cf. 3.9.2.3.), e.g. Ea 1910 **tanadgusi-x asx̂asig-ikin amagna-am ila-ki-in wan tanadgusi-x̂ ngaan aygag-na-an qaĝanaasax̂takux̂ tutalix** 'hearing that the village he was going to was celebrating [even more] than the two villages he had annihilated (lit. killed) the night before' (J 17:109); En 1909 **iqya-x̂ ukux̂taqli-kan-aan angalix̂ta-na-an txin nuuĝan aqaliingan** 'when a kayak man he had seen earlier in the day was about to reach him (3R **txin**)' (J 45:9); Ea 1910 **ama-n ayaga-x̂ il-a-n asx̂a-kan-aan amag-na-an liidaĝulux** 'unlike the woman he (3R) could have died for the last night' (J 17:93). Version (c): Ea 1910 **chilanax̂si-kan-aan qanag-na-an sulix** 'taking the cord that she had spent the winter braiding', lit. 'what she had been cord-making in the winter' (J 15:4); Eu 1909 **ama-kun iqya-n aslan ukux̂tada-kin-ngiin angali-na-ng adangin** 'over to where (**aslan**) I had seen those kayaks off and on (**-da-**) [all] day' (J 40:35).

Demonstrative auxiliaries appear to agree in valency with the conjunctive (cf. 3.8.1.2.1.): Ea 1909 **haman laan laqas(i)tuun hix̂ta-k(a)n hamama-as(a)-na-an Qalngaaĝimguus(i)x̂ hamaya** 'that son of yours, the popular son of yours you were talking about, that's Real Raven' (J 1:24); A 1973 version (b) **angu-m una-lga-l hingama-ala-na-gan chidaĝ-a-n aaq hix̂tal** 'telling me to be beside the pot we (passive) were cooking'; En 1952 version (c), anaphoric oblique term, **ku-ga-n maatulka-kin-iin gumaasaĝali-na-txin maasaaĝan aĝ-na-an ngaan iisakan** 'saying to him that he was going to do all sorts of things he (3R) really did not want to do to him (3A)'.

3.14.3.2.2. Conjunctive with other intransitive participles

The semantic head of the clause may be the subject of a conjunctive without or with a complement, e.g.

Version (a) A 1950 **Piitra-x̂ ayuxta-l imyaĝ-na-a masina-ngis six̂s** 'while Peter was out fishing his motor broke'; A 1973 **qiiga-s la-ĝi-l qaka-ngis hamang as mal** 'as there was grass cut and dry there'; A 1973 **hamaax hama-n Alfred ayaga-a, kita-an nax̂ta-l quyuĝi-na-gan ula-gan had-a-n huyalgal** 'then they (passive) went to the house of Alfred's wife who was lying in bed with (lit. having) pain in her foot'; with an anaphoric complement of the conjunctive coreferential with that of the matrix sentence and the subject in the relative case Ep 1941 **ama-kux aalax ayaga-m agiita-kan asix qa-na-gan asugan nagan ukaadaa ukut-xa-a** 'the two women who were eating together with her, turned her inside her pot'.

Version (b) Ea 1910 **tayaĝu-m ayagaĝiisa-laaĝana-txin mata-lix saĝa-a ukux̂talix** 'seeing a man asleep as he would be after sexual intercourse', lit. 'doing like the way (-**usa**- 3.14.4.1.) of his having recently had intercourse' (J 17:66); **qaagnaadam achiigusaada-ngin sitxuuĝix̂ adix̂ qadgita-lix iingun yaagi-ngin** 'small straight bones going through the lower lip and dangling there' (J 25:3, description of **suklux̂**).

Version (c) Eu 1910 **aluqaa chux̂ta-lix ayuxta-na-x̂ algax̂ qiĝux̂tadax̂** 'whoever goes out wearing what she (a mourning widow) has sewed has difficulties catching animals' (J 36:23).

A conjunctive with a complement as the semantic head of the clause has in Eastern an anaphoric suffix and the enclitic dative, e.g. En 1978 **chnga-x̂ sux̂takan-aan qiglu-na-ng chugilakax̂** 'the yarn I use for knitting (lit. using it I knit) is insufficient'; Ep 1941 **chimignu-x̂ ix̂ta-kan-ngaan qida-aqaltana-an qulaasalix gumakux̂ wa** 'now it (the child) is being choked by the big toe it was crying for (lit. saying it was crying)'; Ea 1910 **kama-kun ala-n ukux̂ta-kin-iin ingaaĝa-qa-txin ukux̂talakan** 'without seeing those (absent) whales he had seen on his way there (lit. seeing them had come there)' (J 17:150); Ea 1910 **ama-kun chux̂ta-kin-iin ayaya-qa-ngin kugaan iqisxan** 'removing from her those [clothes] she had on while menstruating' (J 11:10). With suffix **-usa-** indicating reason (2.2.5.2., 3.4.1.), version (c), Ea 1910 (**ayagaan**) **ukna-n ungi-im ula-a qignadigaasa-kin-iin qignaĝi-na-ngin** (**ukuux̂tax̂ iistalix, amaanuchx̂ikux̂**) '(he sent his wife down there, telling her to find out) why his sister's house down there had such a bright light in it (lit. for what having bright light had light in it)' (J 35:43).

In Atkan the conjunctive has no anaphoric suffix, e.g. 1952 **hawakus naahadan tanangis ax-s hakuuĝa-na-gan huzugan ilan hamaax hiilazaqas** 'at all of the islands of the west they approached (lit. passing approached the shore of) they suffered the same fate' (N.M. 3:29). In version (c) the conjunctive has the enclitic (cf. 3.9.2.3.), e.g. 1979 (double enclitic) **kanguĝiisa-l-aanaan asx̂a-l hamama-nangis hix̂saasanaaĝimasu-ku-u** 'perhaps he tried to find out how (the reason why) he (anaphoric subject of the participial clause) died'; 1952 **il-a-n al-iin qus-aĝ-in il-i-n qichx̂i-ku-ngis** 'she hanged them (grass for weaving) up where (lit. being there) they would fade (get white)'.

3.14.3.2.3. Conjunctive with transitive participles

The semantic head of the clause may be the subject of the conjunctive with a complement different from that of the participle, e.g. version (a) En 1910 **ama-n adax̂tana-a isuĝin tuga-lix la-na-a ahnagiin sixsix̂takum ...** 'her foster-father, who clubbed (lit. hitting caught) seals, once broke his club' (J 69:6).

The conjunctive may also have an inner subject in reference to the semantic head of the clause, e.g.
version (a) Ea 1910 (**agalikiigiim asx̂aanaam ilaadaa suqadaagiim, udan axtaaĝiim aslan-aan chimx̂aasakum**), **uda-n asl-a chimx̂a-na-am asl-a-n ala-ngin asx̂a-lix chiĝanax̂ txin liida-na-gan nag-a axtalix** '(when, having taken a small piece of his dead-man's fat from behind himself [from behind the cockpit of his kayak], he splashed it along where he was to pass), he passed inside the area he splashed which, the whales there (lit. its whales) dying, became like a river' (J 17:41);
version (b) En 1909 **chiĝanam anguna-gan snanga-gan adamdix uyamix-six anĝaĝim qagnangin amnaĝ-asa-a nuugiim** 'having reached a big river which, its banks coming repeatedly together [and separating], was floating with human bones' (J 41:7); Ea 1909 **alamagim ludaĝi-gan-ulux an'g-a-n isxa-lakan qunalitxin isxaasa-gan chigda-ĝana-a chukux̂** 'he put on a gut parka [made] of a humpback whale that had no older than itself, which, its guts being insufficient, was completed with its throat-folds' (J 9:43; suffix **-ĝana-** see 3.6.1.4.2.).

In the case of different complements, the complement of the conjunctive or that of the participle may be the semantic head, e.g.
version (a) A 1952 **ayx̂aasi-x̂ hawaax imax chxaasa-l ud-hadan aĝa-aĝ-dix imax ukuzaqalinax ax̂takux** 'they (two) started to look for a boat with which to sneak away from there and get over to here' (N.M. 3:83);
version (b) Ea 1910 **wa-kux qaya-m txidix utxi-lix qigna-m chiĝanaĝana-a anuchx̂i-na-gan ilan** 'in the fire river that these two mountains made flow by knocking against each other' (J 17:132);
version (c) A 1952 **amgiĝnax̂tanaan qanang su-l kum asx̂ad-usa-aĝ-iin ala-naan anuxtal** 'thinking where to take (lit. taking) what he would need to kill his guard with (N.M. 390).

In the case of a common complement, the conjunctive has in Eastern and in old Atkan an anaphoric suffix (cf. 3.11.2.3.), e.g.
version (a) Ea 1910 **algax̂ asx̂a**(t)**-sxan** [modern A **asx̂as**] **qa-na-mchi qagna-ngin** 'the bones of the animal[s] they (3R) killed and ate' (J 29:14); **aman aniqduun anĝaĝita-kan tanat-xa-an** 'that child of hers (3R) that she had buried alive (lit. keeping it alive)' (J 13:3); Eu 1910 **amakun amayaax̂ta-kin nung aluĝasa-qa-min uglagngiin** 'besides those [questions] you asked me in writing (lit. asking them you wrote to me)' (J 39:12); A 1840 **hamakux agatikix qaĝax̂ta-l-kix, qugaasa-na-ng anuxtada-king** 'that one (the drum, **chaayax** du.) I love most and think myself to be a master of' (V B 1:13); A 1860 **anuxta-l-kis ama anuxta-lakan-kis tunux̂taaĝux̂ta-qa-ngis huzungis ngiin ignida** 'forgive them all they have, willingly or unwillingly, sinned';
version (c) with an additional enclitic dative: Ep 1941 **il-a-n txichi taxsax̂ta-kin-ngiin qaasax̂ alix qaĝax̂siidax̂ agux̂ta-da-na-mchi adan** 'to where they (3R) used to gather for (lit. and do) a party or enjoyment'.

3.14.3.2.4. Clauses in the passive

The subject (underlying complement) of the conjunctive and of the participle is the semantic head in Au 1909 **tama-ku quga-n tamang aĝi-ilu-l ili-ngii aga-lu-qang, Qalgaaĝim alataa qax̂tal**, E **amakun qugan amangun aĝiilalix ilingiin amaanulgaqangin, Qalngaaĝim alatxaa qax̂talix** 'those spirits, which were left there when they went away (lit. being left there had been gone away from), ate the whale killed by Raven' (J 81:36).

The clauses appear to be interlaced in A 1952 **txidix kamgadatikus hamakus ma-lga-l kadim hadaan ma-qaĝa-l ma-lga-qa-s ma-lga-qada-l** 'when they became Christian, they no longer did what they once used to do', lit. 'those there being, formerly being usually done that there were, no more there being' (N.M. 3:105); A 1973 **haa-kus suĝana-lga-l suĝana-lga-na-s su-ĝa-l suun'gix̂ta-lga-na-ngis ukux̂tanax̂t ?** 'did you see the equipment for doing handicraft ?', lit. 'those, with (lit. being hold, **suĝal**) the handicraft being done that are done, that are used as equipment' (**suĝana-** 'handicraft; to do handicraft').

In the following Atkan sentence (recorded on tape in 1973) the participial clause **hyaaga-s il-a-an** [ablative sg. for pl.] **ula-s agu-lga-za-na-ngis** 'planks of which houses are made' is embedded in a linked matrix clause by **ilan** 'in/at it': ... **hingan** *Sitka* **kugan** *sawmill* **hiilaĝakux̂, hyaaga-s il-a-n agu-lga-l, ula-s il-a-an agu-lga-za-na-a, il-a-n agu-lga-za-kux̂, hamang awaaĝutazanaq** 'that sawmill at Sitka [as it] is called, where (lit. in it) planks are made of which houses are built, there I used to work again' (recollection of war time). The repetition is essential for the meaning, for the simpler clause **hyaagas ilan agulgal ulas ilaan agulgazakux̂** would mean that also the houses were built at the sawmill: 'where planks are made and houses are built of them'. Thus, in the text, the clauses are interlaced rather than nested, presumably because participial clauses have no formal head.

The conjunctive goes with a quantifier rather than a participle in A 1952 **haa-kus igluqam ayx̂aasiĝahlina-ngis ma-lga-l huzu-ngis, suun'giilgi-ngis, ... hamang il-a-n taxsaza-qa-x̂ hiilax̂tadax̂** 'all those skin boats there were and their equipment .. used to be stored there in it (the community house)' (N.M. 1:16; singular predicate in reference to the anaphoric **ilan** 'in it').

3.14.3.3. Embedded intentional/optative

3.14.3.3.1. Intentional/optative with auxiliaries

ma- 'to do' in the intentional with an enclitic dative and a participial demonstrative auxiliary (cf. 3.8.1.2.2.) or **aqa- (aĝ+ka-)** (cf. 3.8.1.3.1.1.) indicate the way of a planned action. In Eastern the intentional has an anaphoric suffix, in Atkan only the dative (cf. 3.14.3.2.1.): Ep 1941 **maakigin-ngiin guma-qa-txin malix** 'doing what (in the way) he was going to do'; A 1952 **maaĝaniin** [for pl. **ma-aĝin-iin**] **haguma-na-ngin huzu-ngis ida-ĝa-lakaĝ-is** 'all that (how) they had planned to do was known' (N.M. 3:42); 1997 (accepted by Moses Dirks) **Qawalangis ku-max maaĝiniin aqa-ngin huzu-ngis ukux̂takus mal** 'because they (a) saw what (how) the Q. planned to do to them (a)'; **ku-ngin maaĝiniin aqa-ngis ukux̂ta-ku-ning** 'I saw what (how) they (a) planned to do to them (b)'.

The passive **ma-lga-** is in the optative: A 1952 **ku-max malga-ax̂ta-z-iin aqa-m huzu-ngis ukux̂takus mal** 'because they (a) saw all that (how) was going to be done to (was planned against) them (a)' (N.M. 3:58).

3.14.3.3.2. Embedded clauses of purpose

The intentional has the same subject as the participle (cf. 3.10.1.1.), e.g. version (a) En 1910 **aman Iqitaqangulux chiilu-uĝan txin aygag-na-a ayukux̂** 'when I., who started (or while starting) to go back, fell' (J 54:19); Eu 1909 **ama-n il-a-n tig-iingan maayu-na-ng masxiniin ilan tigduukanang aqataqalinaĝulting** 'I did not know how I could land there where I was prepared to land' (J 40:41); A 1909 **hama-n ayagax̂ta-aĝan haqa-qa-a ngaan ukuchx̂isxalix** 'that one she had come to marry (lit. have as wife) being shown to her' (J 78:190); Ea 1909 **ika-n uĝasax̂ta-akamin ngaan tix-saaĝana-min ilan sigiix̂txin iĝaltxin** 'you are told to go up in the bed of the one you landed here to have as a sweetheart' (J 3:89); A 1952 **Tanax̂agim Igadagikix tataam, alax tanadgusilĝux hamang akix tataam, asx̂asaĝuta-aĝan hnu-na-ngis tataam hiing maazaqadasxaaĝutaqas hiilax̂tazadas** 'reaching in order to kill in turn the I. of Tanaga, which are two big villages there, they were again annihilated' (N.M. 3:31).

The subject of the optative is different from that of the participle or the participle is passive (cf. 3.10.1.2.), e.g.
version (a) En 1909 **qichax̂ sux̂ta-aqa-an igiim atxax̂-sxa-x̂ta-na-a ukux̂taasaaĝliigiim** 'having examined the knife that had been prepared for him to use' (J 45:19); Eu 1910 **ama-kun angdax̂sx̂i-iqing imasuĝaadaasin liidan nung ax̂-qatxin** (= **aqatxin**) 'the questions about riddles you gave me to answer', lit. 'those for me to answer like riddles you gave me' (J 39:10); **ami-gan agach-a-n asax̂ ayaĝix̂ta-aqa-an-ngaan txin amqix̂si-iĝ-a ngaan asaasada-qa-a** '[it was] rather his (the boy child's) maternal uncle [who] gave him the name, a name for him to be ashamed of [and] get angry' (J 36:32; **-ngaan** because the object of the optative is different from the reflexive **txin** of the following gerundive, cf. 3.14.3.2.2.);
version (c) Eu 1909 **ma-aqa-txin-iin qagaanuchx̂i(t)-sxa-qa-txin ax̂ta-ku-n malix** 'doing what he had been sent eastwards to do' (J 34:135).

3.14.3.4. Embedded linked clauses

Version (a) Ep 1941 **ingan Kaangiidaa kaangu-ku-m** [3.11.2.2.] **kaangu-na-an-ulux aada-lix asx̂a-qa-a waaĝaqalikux̂** '(saying that) that K., who was in good condition but feigning sick had [as if] died, was coming in'; Ep 1941 (confirmed En 1982) **ama-kux uqlux̂ta-kix kayux ilikiin kaangu-gali-ku-m kaanguĝulux txin ita-qa-am ada-kin agacha chiiluuĝan anuxtaqalinax̂** 'he wanted to return to those two whom he had disliked and, although he was in good condition, [going away] from them had pretended to be sick'.

Version (b) Ea 1909 **tayaĝu-m ayagaĝi-ku-m mayaaĝ-iiĝan txin atxax̂ta-na-a ayagaan asix txin quyuuĝan aquum** 'when a man who is married but prepares himself for hunting, is about to go to bed with his wife' (J 19:3); **wa-kun uulngiiĝ-iim asla chaasa-ku-n a-lakaĝ-in** [3.5.2.1.] **agichaĝi-ngin ilin tanaaĝalix** 'coming home to his squirrels that [although] there was nobody to clean them were all spread out' (J 10:20).

3.14.3.5. Embedded conditional (3.13.)

Version (a) En 1909 **uuĝdun taxsa-gu-um, iinuutkaadax̂ chidaĝ-a nux̂tada-na-an nukum** 'when she got to the hummock she used to go to (lit. the hummock the space beside of which she used to visit) when she gathered moss' (J 49:7).

Version (b) A 1979 **sa-m igax̂ta-l a-gu-dix axchiga-ngis azas** 'they are fast flying birds', lit. 'fast birds when they fly'; En 1983 **tayaĝu-m tunux̂ta-gu-um alaasaangulux tunux̂ta-d(a)-qa-a** 'a man who used to talk loudly (lit. not quietly) when he talked'; Ep 1941 **chaaya-m itxi-gan angta-kiin adĝa-lga-gu-mdix tunuda-aĝan mata-kix** 'a musical instrument (dual) being such that it plays when it is touched by its tail end'.

Version (c) A 1937 **Kasakam aslaan mayaaĝ-igu-mas agu-da-qa-mas ayxax̂ agudaqalinas** 'we began to make more [money] than we used to make when we hunted in the Russian period'.

3.14.3.6. Embedded report clauses

The general discussion of report clauses follows in 3.15. The examples below illustrate the embedding of report clauses in participial clauses.

(1) **ukux̂ta-** 'to see':

version (a) Ea 1910 **ama-n il-a-an anix̂ iqi**(t)**-sxan-aan sakangun tanadgusin malgadan ax̂ta-ku-n ukux̂ta-qa-am ad-a-n uyalix** 'going to that [place] from where, removing the lupine root, she had seen that there appeared to be villages down below' (J 15:4, story of the Moon's Sister); version (c) En 1909 **ugi-im ad-a-n uya-ku-u ukux̂ta-laaĝana-am ad-a-n txin aygagnax̂** 'she walked off to where she had seen her husband go' (J 49:11); Eu 1909 **ama-n anaada-an, hakangun il-a-n txin ungut(i)-ku-u ukux̂ta-k(a)n-aan** [3.14.3.2.2.] **ayu(g)-ka-an, iingun unguchilix̂ta-ku-x̂ il-a-n tixsix,** 'landing where his mother, whom he had seen sitting down up there when he left, was still sitting' (J 34:131-133).

(2) **haqata-na-** neg. 'to be not known':

version (b) En 1910 **ama-kux aalax tayaĝu-m asx̂a**(t)**-saaĝana-am il-kiin tayaĝu-m kuuĝa-na-a, uku-ĝa-na-a anĝaĝix̂ amasu-ku-m aqata-na-a-yulux kuuĝakux̂ ukux̂taqaliigiim** 'when he saw a man appearing who, more than the two men he had killed before, looked inhuman', lit. 'who being looked at was not known if perhaps he was a person' (J 17:112); En 1952 (confirmed 1982) **waan tanadgusim kugan ula-m asla agu-na-x̂ aqata-na-a-yulux a-qa-gan ad-a-an tunux̂tanan** 'they talked about a house, unknown who built, that had been in this village'.

(3a) **hix̂ta-** 'to say; to tell', passive **hiĝa-, hiisa-** 'to say, tell about': complement semantic head, version (a) A 1973 **hlax̂ hama-n adu-x̂** [1976 **adu-m**] **nag-a-n ana-gan changa-lagaaqa-an** [1976 **-qa-a**] **igiim hix̂ta-l angali-gan nag-**

a-n changaa-ax̂takux̂ 'the boy entered into the cave that his mother had told him not to enter into' (1977 **hlax̂ anagan adum nagan qangulagaaqaa igiim hix̂tal angalii** [probably for **angaligan**] **nagan qanguu-ax̂takux̂**); En 1910 **aman lax̂ ama-n yax̂ awaaĝi-gan aĝa-lagaaqa-an i-ĝa-laaĝana-m awaaĝi-gan aĝanax̂** 'the boy went beyond the point he had been told not to go beyond' (J 51:5);
version (b) Ea 1909 **aman lax̂ sax̂ chmaxtanaan ama-an yaĝ-im awaĝi-gan aĝa-lagaaqa-an i-ĝa-qa-gan awaaĝi-gan aĝaasaqalikux̂** 'the boy let the bird he chased take him beyond the cape he had been told not to go beyond' (J 8:7);
version (c) En 1978 **anuxta-kan i-x̂ta-na-an matagung kum imin aĝikuqing** 'if I had what you say you want I would give it to you'.
Subject semantic head, version (a) En 1909 **nix̂alaam sitxan alangin angiĝa-lga-ax̂ta-n i-isa-naaĝ-na-a, nix̂alaam sitxan alangin kayux iisakux̂** 'while trying to tell the whale blubber under his baidar not to be touched, he told also the whale blubber under his baidar [to be taken]' (J 44:19).

(3b) **anuxta-** 'to think', **anuxtaasa-** 'to think about': version (c) En 1909 **ama-n asix saĝa-na-am amilgi-x̂ta-duuka-kan anuxta-na-an ngaan agukan** 'using a voice he thought the one he slept with would use', lit. 'what he thought the one he slept with would have as voice' (J 41:38); **iqya-x̂ ukuugim, kum aaliisi-x̂ta-aka-kan anuxta-asa-na-am il-a-n aĝaqadaagiim** 'having seen a kayak, when he got to where he thought it would land' (ibid. 9); Ep 1941 **ala-x̂ ... il-a-an qasa-duuka-na-a anuxta-asa-na-am il-a-n txin anikasix achiĝiqalinax̂** 'he stopped paddling and waited where he thought the whale would surface'.

(3c) **un'gix̂ta-** 'to hope': version (a) A 1860 **hama-kus ixchimudaĝan ili-ngiin ilgatxaĝi-imchi un'gix̂ta-na-mchi uhli-ngin-iin isxulix̂ aĝzadax̂ aguchi** 'if you give a loan only to those from whom you hope to get something back' (Luke 6.34).

3.14.4. Participial clauses as expressions of fact

As mentioned in several sections above, parrticipial clauses of various types may express a fact, rather than having a semantic head, being used as an object or an adjunct of a noun (3.14.2.3.1.1-3., 3.14.2.4.1.3., 3.14.2.5.1.1.1.) or as an adverbial (3.14.2.1.1., 3.14.2.3.1.2-3, 3.14.2.3.2.2.3., 3.14.2.3.3.1., 3.). Here follow some special types.

3.14.4.1. Participles of derivatives in **-usa-**, **-ula-**

Version (c) of plural participles of derivatives in **-usa-** 'with', with a nominal or suffixal subject, removed by the passive **-ula-**, indicates a fact or the circumstances of a fact. The derivatives have the same kind of complements as in other connections (see 3.4.1. and 3.4.3.6.).

Underlying intransitive verb, e.g. Eu 1910 (anaphoric subject) **ukudiga-asa-na-ngin ... taching tutali-lakaĝ-ing** 'I have not yet heard how he is', lit. 'what (pl.) he is happy with' (J 39:40); A 1952 **hamaanu-usa-lakan angali-ning ngus amtaasakuq** 'I regret that I did not go over there today'; A 1909 **alaĝuĝi-isa-qa-dix matalix** 'doing as they did when hunting at sea' (J 76:162); A 1973 **awa-asa-na-dix**

imchix taĝax̂takus 'they are skilled at their work'; A 1862 **asx̂ax̂tas haĝad-usa-aĝan aqa-ngis un'gix̂takuqing** 'I hope for the resurrection of the dead', lit. 'the deads' future rising (from the dead)'; A 1860 **ukuqulax̂ a-asa-qa-ning, ama wayaam ukuqaĝi-isa-na-ning agatingis idax̂taĝulak** 'I only know that I was blind and now am seeing' (John 9.25).

Underlying transitive or reflexive verb, e.g. A 1952 **ngus kidu-usa-na-t qaĝaasakuq** 'I thank [you] for (your) helping me' < **ting kidukux̂t** 'you helped me'; A 1862 **hama-kux imis agu-usa-qa-kix hix̂sax̂tada** 'realize that they (lit. those, your parents) bore (lit. made) you'; A 1860 **imis hagyad-usa-na-t isxanangin**, E 1870 **imin aamali-isa-na-min qulangiin** 'for your cleaning' (Mark 1.44); E 1861 **Iisuus Xristuusa-m Igiim nanasa-asa-kin-iin** [cf. 3.14.3.2.3.] **kayux asx̂a-asa-qa-ngin** 'the suffering and death of Jesus Christ'.

Passive, e.g. Ea 1910 **wa-kun nung aĝud-ula-na-n nung amqiniisa-lakaqing-aan ...** 'I am not angry at being hidden now ... ' (J 16:10); En 1952 **Atugan anĝaĝi-gan ngiin la-ala-da-qa-n** 'how the people of Attu were killed'; A 1952 **wa-an tanadgusi-m-aan tanax̂ta-ala-qa-s** 'how one lived in (lit. had as land) this village' (N.M. 1:2); **udaan anĝaĝina-ngin-iin iĝamana-ala-x̂ta-na-s, Amrikaanchi-m iĝamana-asa-na-ngis ukudaa-aĝnax̂** 'was going to inspect how the people here (lit. of this one) were being treated, how the Americans treated them' (N.M. 2:35). Singular participle in En 1910 **ngaan asx̂ad-ula-na-x̂ ilgaaĝli-kan** 'to find out how he had been killed' (J 69:52b); with 3A suffix (perhaps irregular) Ep 1941 **igiim sugdax̂ta-ala-lix guma-ala-x̂ta-na-a ax̂saasa-kan** 'knowing that they (passive) were jealous (of her) on account of him (3R)'.

3.14.4.2. General

The functions of the general range from final predicates (2.1.9.3.1.) to verbal nouns. With a nominal or suffixal subject it may indicate a fact, used as a subject or complement in the matrix sentence, e.g. A 1973 **Piitra-m aĝa-a angalikux̂** 'it is Peter's birthday today', lit. 'Peter's being born is today', cf. **aĝa-l angali-x̂** 'he/she was born today' (3.8.1.3.2.1.); A 1860 **aamgi-gan hyu-u txin atxinax̂** 'the running of her blood stopped' (Mark 5.29; E 1870 differently); A **ichingu-ng wan liidamahlinaĝulax** 'I did not feel chilly like this before either', lit. 'my feeling chilly was not like this either' (1959:80, 14 (9)); A 1973 **saĝa-ngin chugas agungin** 'when we have had enough sleep (lit. completed our sleep)'; A 1860 **kamung sitxan qangu-un aslitalakaqaan malix**, E 1870 **ting chaching sitxan Txin qangu-un aslitalakaqingaan malix** 'for I am not worthy that you should enter (lit. worthy of your entering) under my roof ' (Luke 7.6); impersonal A 1971 **wayaam qanii**(g)**-kada-da-a aslitalgakux̂ qaniixs umamakux̂** 'it should (passive) have stopped snowing now (at this time of the year) but it is snowing right now'. **slax̂** in the absolutive case may be predicative in A 1952 **sla-x̂ a-qada-a imax akiix̂sx̂itaasanax** 'they set as an appointed time the time when the weather changes (lit. it stops being weather)' (N.M. 3:85). The suffixal 3R subject corresponds to an underlying object in A 1978 **una-yuka-an alazaĝulax** 'it does not need long cooking (lit. its long cooking)'.

With suffix **-*ia*ka-** 'can', e.g. A 1952 **hingaan unangaa, tayaĝu-m isi-ika-a qamdaatax̂ maasal** 'as the sound there is as deep as a man can cross it (not too deep for a man to cross)' (N.M. 3:25); A 1971 **asx̂ati-ika-ng huzuu asx̂atikuq** 'I killed all (as many as) I could kill'. For constructions with **mat-, mata-, aagi-, liida-**, see 3.8.2.1.2.

Without a subject, e.g. A 1952 **angalix̂ hnux̂ta-m il-a-n** 'where one reaches daylight (going out from cave)' (N.M. 3:74); **adim hadaa lita-m-ulax il-a-n** 'where the land side (object) does not show up, where it is not seen from the land side' (ibid. 63); **txin alix̂si-m had-a-n aĝal** 'he starts getting old (lit. towards getting old)'; A 1971 **ting alix̂si-m hadan aĝaqalikuq** 'I start getting old'.

3.14.4.3. General passive

The general passive of an intransitive verb has a 3A suffix, e.g. A 1950 **kurima-lga-a ngus iĝamanalakan** 'smoking is not good for me'; A 1952 **adalu-lga-a iim taĝakux̂** 'he is learning to lie'; **isuĝnaax̂-sxa-a haqatazaĝulax** 'he does not know how to hunt seal'; A 1980 **agiichigaan sunakucham kugan ayx̂a-lga-a kayuĝnazanax̂** 'it was sometimes hard to ride on the tug (lit. small ship)'; A 1979 *tar paper lay***il kugan a-lga-a atii akinaalkidazanax̂** 'it was pretty damned hot to be on it (roof) and lay tar paper'; A 1860 **asx̂ax̂tas ilingiin haĝax-sxa-a, alqux̂ qalax̂tax̂ aax̂taa?** 'rising from the dead, what may that mean?' (Mark 9.10; E 1870 similarly).

With an underlying transitive verb, a nominal subject (underlying object) is mostly in the absolutive case and the general agrees with it in number, as generally in version (a), e.g. A 1952 **haĝu-x̂ haĝu-ĝa-a kayagna-ku-x̂** 'the pack is heavy to carry', lit. 'the pack being carried is heavy'; **isuĝ-is kalu-naax̂-sxa-ngis kayuĝna-ku-s** 'shooting (lit. trying to shoot) seals is difficult, seals are difficult to shoot'; **ulu-x̂ qa-m ila-ga-an chaqux-sxa-a tungaĝ-za-x̂** 'meat is harder to chew than fish'; A 1978 **luuka-x̂ su-ĝa-a alana-za-ĝ-ulax** 'one does not need to use onion[s]'; **chiĝanam qa-ngis agati-ngis suli-lga-ngis iĝamana-za-s** 'freshwater fish are best for salting', lit. 'river fish in particular being salted are good'; A 1980 **Atx̂a-x̂ igax̂ta-ĝi-l hnu-ĝa-a akitu-za-x̂** 'to go to Atka by plane is expensive'; A 1860 **Hama-n ahma(**t**)-sxa-a iĝatuusanas** 'they were afraid of asking Him' (Mark 9.32; E 1870 likewise); **aniqdus ilingiin qalgada-x̂ aga(**t**)-sxa-lix, aykuziin anu-ula-a iĝamanalakaĝaan malix** 'for it is not good to take the food away from the children and throw it to the dogs' (Mark 7.17; E 1870 likewise); En 1983 **ayaga-x̂ uku-ĝ(a)-li-i ayaĝiisad(a)naqing** 'I was bashful even to look at a woman'; A 1909 **iqyaĝina-x̂ uku-lga-a aĝatiikluqadaam** 'having made [his] paddling conspicuous (lit. seen)' (J 79:314). Or the subject is anaphoric, e.g. A, En 1978 **uku-naax̂-sxa-a qiĝuna-ku-x̂** 'it is difficult to find (lit. try to find)'; A 1973 **uku-ĝa-ngis** (or **uku-ĝa-na-ngis**) **Amilaayus liida-ku-s** 'they look like Americans', lit. 'being looked at, they are like Americans'; A 1978 **haka-ngis hitmi-lga-ngis amni-za-s** 'their feathers are hard (lit. tight) to pluck'; A 1860 **tunux̂taaĝu-ngis igni-lga-ngin quliin**, E 1870 **hama-kun tunux̂taaĝu-ngin igni-lga-ngin-iin** 'for the remission of their sins' (Luke 1.77).

A version (b) in Eb 1984 **wa-an chiirka-m agu-lga-naax̂-sxa-a way txin aguduuk(a)lakan gumakux̂** 'the building of a church here does not come about (lit. make itself)'; En 1978 **Unanga-m ax̂a-gan ax̂a-ala-a aqataltxin?** 'do you know how to dance an Aleut dance?'; A 1952 **yaarusa-m agu-lga-ngis haakulaasalakan** 'he is clever at making halibut hooks'.

The subject may also be a suffixal first or second person, e.g. A 1950 **kumsi*ĝa-ng kayagna-ku-x̂*** *'I am heavy to lift'*; A 1952 **qal aguung misaayi-lga-ng alazaĝulaq** 'when I eat I don't like to be disturbed'.

The adjunct of the positional noun is extraposed, version (a), in A 1978 **asxu-x̂, ku-ga-n tadal-ga-a nana-za-x̂** 'to step on a nail is painful'.

With the suffix **-da-** 'usually' instead of the subject suffix in A 1952 **masxa-l agu-lga-da-x̂** [same as **masxa-l-aan agu-lga-a**] **ngus ukuchx̂i-qa-a** 'he showed me how it is made'; **masxa-l hamaaĝa-lga-da-s ngaan ukuchx̂iqang** 'I showed him how one gets there'.

In the simple relative sg. the general passive is used as the adjunct of positional nouns, e.g. A 1952 **igachis halu-lga-ma-an iĝamanakus** 'sinews are good for sewing'; A 1860 **Haman su-lga-m qul-a-an** 'in order for Him to be taken' (John 11.57; E 1870 optative **Haman sulgaax̂ta qullin** 'that He might be taken'; the same difference elsewhere).

3.14.4.4. Clauses as adjunct of positional nouns

A participial clause, in the relative case, with certain positional nouns serves as a temporal or causal adverbial, with a certain semantic tense agreement. Also the present in **-ku-**, with a possessive subject marker like a participle, and the conditional are to some extent used in this way. In most cases a nominal subject is in the absolutive case, thus version (a).

3.14.4.4.1. With abl. **asl(ag)aan**, du. **aslikiin**, pl. **aslingiin** 'at the time of'

General, e.g. A 1952 **angalikingan chiĝdu-x̂ haqa-ga-n aslaan** 'in the afternoon while the tide was coming in' (N.M. 3:24); A 1860 **aĝadĝi-x̂ chidu-ga-n aslagaan** 'at sunset' (Mark 1.32; E 1870 linked **aĝadax̂ chiduqalikuĝaan**); En 1983 **Kasaka-x̂ udaadaa sux̂ta-g(a)-n aslaan** 'at the time when the Russian ruled (lit. held) this country'; Eu 1910 **ayaga-x̂ sanĝutu-gan aslaan** 'a woman during her pregnancy' (J 36:13). Anaphoric subject A 1860 **ixchi-kin asli-kiin** 'as they (two) returned' (Luke 2.43); **hamahligan a-ngin asli-ngiin** 'while they were there' (Luke 2.6); A 1952 **txin aĝuti-ga-n asli-iguza-ga-an tiĝlam qusan igax̂tal angalii** 'just as he was hiding an eagle flew over him'; anaphoric object A 1952 **qisati-ning aslingiin slaĝux̂ masxaa-ax̂taku-ngis** (or **-ax̂ta-ku-x̂**) 'while I was tying them a storm blew up (lit. was made)'. Version (b) A 1860 **aĝadĝi-m liqali-ga-n aslagaan** 'at sunrise (lit. while the sun began to appear)' (Mark 16.2; E 1870 linked **aĝadax̂ hakaaĝaqalikuĝaan** 'when the sun began to rise'); **taanga-m txin utx̂uch-a-n aslagaan** 'when the water is troubled' (John 5.7; E 1870 conditional). Suffixal subject, e.g. Ea 1910 **lakaayax̂ a-ng aslaan ting sunax̂ awa** 'at the time I was a boy she took me' (J 26:6); En 1910 **aman alugax̂ una-am aslaan** 'while she cooked the bulb[s]' (J 53:16).

-na-, -(ĝ)ka-, e.g. A 1860 version (b) **kihnguna-m ma-lga-na-gan aslagaan** 'at the time of there being affliction' (Mark 4.17; E 1870 conditional); A 1952 **wang a-qa-mis aslagaan slachxizanax̂** 'at the time you were here before it was good weather'.

Present **-ku-**, used frequently by Atkan Salamatov 1860, while Eastern Shayashnikov 1870 used a linkage or some other construction, e.g. **qa-ku-ngin aslingiin** 'while they were eating' (Mark 14.18; E 1870 **qa-kun-iin**); **suganaĝ-iku-mis aslagaan** 'when you were young' (John 21.18, accepted A 1971; E 1870 **haqasaaĝu-ku-x̂txin-aan**); **qanguusa-ku-ki-n aslikiin** 'when they (two) brought Him in' (Luke 2.27; E 1870 linkage).

Conditional, used by Atkan Salamatov 1860, while Eastern Shayashnikov 1870 used an ordinary conditional or some other construction, e.g. **tutaqaĝi-gungin aslingiin ... sataanax̂ waaĝadax̂** 'at the time when they hear, Satan comes ...' (Mark 4.15. E 1870 **tutxungin**); **kamga-l a-gu-mchix aslagaan, igniqaĝidaatxichix** 'when you are [standing] praying, forgive' (Mark 11.25; E 1870 **kamgalix anqax̂tagumchi**).

3.14.4.4.2. With abl. **agal(ag)aan**, pl. **agal(ing)iin** 'after'

-(ĝ)**ka-**, e.g. Eu 1910 **Gliiya-x̂ ayu**(g)**-ka-gan agal-a-an** 'after Mr. Grey left' (J 38:10); Eb 1984 **aliĝaada-n asx̂a-qa-gan agal-i-in** 'after the old (elderly) men passed away'. Anaphoric subject, e.g. A 1973 **walix̂ta-qa-gan agalagaan amatxax̂ agu-ku-u** 'after he paid a visit here long time has passed: it is a long time since he was here'; anaphoric object A 1952 **ngus a**(ĝ)**-qa-gan agalaan guudax̂ ag-iku-u** 'after he gave it to me a year has passed: he gave it to me a year ago'; **ngus ahmayaax̂ta-qa-mis agalagaan nidilix̂ ag-iku-u** 'you asked me about it a week ago'. Version (b) A 1860 **taanga-m utx̂u**(t)**-sxa-qa-gan agalagaan** 'after the water was troubled' (John 5.4; E 1870 conditional). Suffixal subject, e.g. En 1909 **tanaan nu-qa-am agalaan** 'after he had gotten back to his village' (J 44:22); En 1910 **tana-a ngaan nu-ula-qa-am agalaan, kaanguu aqakum** 'after he had been brought back to his village he recovered' (J 54:12); Au 1952 **su-lu-qa-am agalagaa** 'after she had been taken' (1959:125, 33 (32)); A 1937 **Kasakas timas su-qa-max agalaan timas mayaax̂chx̂il mayaaĝiqamas ilingiin akidaqalinas** 'after the Russians had taken us they had us hunt and began to pay for what we hunted'.

Present **-ku-**, Atkan, e.g. 1952 **Amrikaanchi-x̂ sakaaĝa-ku-gan agalagaan ...** 'after the American[s] had come out here' (N.M. 2:35); **chugidaqada-ku-gan agalingiin hamamatalgal ukusxaqadaamax ...** 'after they had become silent, they were left like that for a while ...' (N.M. 3:45); 1973 **waaĝa-ku-mchix agalagaan alqus manax̂txichix** 'after you (pl.) had come back, what did you do?'; 1952 **qisat-ikuning agalagaan slaĝux̂ masxaa-ax̂ta-ku-ngis** (or **-ax̂ta-ku-x̂**) 'after I had tied them a storm came up'. Used also by Salamatov 1860, while Eastern Shayasnikov used the general (Luke 6.1) or a linkage (Luke 2.43).

Future, A 1952 **hix̂taa-aĝ-na-mis agalagaan taam** 'only after you have told it (I will explain)' (1959:72, note 59).

3.14.4.4.3. With abl. **kad(ag)aan**, Au **kayagaa**, A abs. **kadaa** 'before'

Gerundive, e.g. Eu 1910 **Usilax̂ ax̂s-aĝ-an kadaan, alax̂ ngaan kasunaan ix̂talix, uuqilaax̂txin** 'before U. gets up, go to him and say that you have found a whale for him' (J 35:49); A 1950 **hamaaĝa-aĝ-an kadaa hamaax agakung** 'before he came out there, I left from there'; **ayug-iiĝ-an kadaa ukux̂takukin ii?** 'did you see them (two) before they went out?'; **hamaax aga-aĝ-ing kadaa haqanax̂** 'he came before I left'; A 1952 **ngas-aĝ-an kadaa chaayuuqaan** 'drink it (the tea) before it gets cold'; **max̂si-iĝ-iim kadaa ukinaan chumlikux̂** 'before butchering he sharpened his knife'; **aniqdu-m su-uĝ-an kadaa hingaax agachada** 'take it away from there before the child takes it'; **waaĝaasa-a-mis kada-ngiin saĝaayugaaĝii-aĝ-iku-[ni]ng** 'before you come back with them I'll take a nap'; A 1971 **tayaĝu-x̂ tanadgusix̂ hnu-uĝ-an kadagaan sunax̂ txin ayx̂atnax̂** 'before the man reached (could reach) the village, the ship sailed'; Eb 1984 **tanĝaaĝix̂ awaya ix̂amnakux̂, ingay kayux asx̂asxadaqax̂, tanĝaax̂, qilaax̂, saaqudgi-x̂ aqa-aĝ(an) kadaan, qax̂ qa-aĝ-iim kadaan** 'the bear, that's good (to eat), it used to be killed, the bear, early, before spring came, before it would eat fish'.

Conditional, A 1950 **hamaanu-gu-max kada-a pulaatxidix hamang chuhmluzakus** 'before they go out there, they (usually) pitch their tent(s) there'; A 1860 **akiisa-lakan a-gu-mis kadagaan** 'before you have paid' (Luke 12.59; E 1870 **aĝlakaĝultxinaan**).

3.14.4.4.4. With loc. **il-a-n** 'at, while'; abl. **il(a-g)a-an** 'from, since'

General, e.g. A 1860, E 1870 **angalix̂ a-gan ilan** 'while it is day' (John 9.4); Ea 1910 **ukux̂ta-gan ilan ayagax̂ ngaan txin itakan, ukux̂ta-ga-n-ulux ilan tayaĝux̂ txin itadakan** 'while he was looking at her, she would have become a woman for him, and while he was not looking at her, she would have become a man' (J 26:24); A 1952 **Kasaka-x̂ ... tayaĝut sux̂tanat ... kamgadadgul, a-ga-n ilaan** 'since the Russian ... baptized the people they (sg.) ruled' (N.M. 3:107); Ea 1910 **wan idmaan ukuchx̂isxaa ayaĝiisa-am ilaan** 'out of shame for having her pregnancy shown (she ...)' (J 16:8).

-na-, e.g. En 1952 **Unmagim kugaan niĝala-x̂ Atux̂ nux̂ta-na-gan ilan tayaĝum ukukan ...** 'while a ship from Umnak visited Attu, a man found her'; A 1973 **anĝaĝina-ngin asx̂a-na-gan ilan chulalgazaĝulax** 'while [one of] our people is dying (s)he would not be dressed'; Ea 1910 **aygag-na-am usu-gan ilan txin atxitalakan** 'without making a halt anywhere on his way (lit. in all his walking)' (J 17:139); A 1971 **Unangax̂ aada-na-am ilan tunux̂tadulakan** 'speaking Aleut he talks slowly".

Present **-ku-**, A 1860 **subbootax̂ masxa-ku-gan ilan** 'when the sabbath came' (Mark 6.2; E 1870 **summootax̂ hulaala-ku-ĝ-aan**); Ea 1910 **sana-ku-um ilan idgix̂talix** 'running as fast as he could' (J 13:42), cf. A 1952 **sana-ku-un sanal** (3.11.2.3.1. end).

-(ĝ)ka-, A 1860 **asx̂aaĝiisa-qa-am ilugaan** 'from her illness' (Mark 5.29; E 1870 **takiig-iim ilaan**).

Optative, A 1952 **anaĝis ma-aqa-am ilan anaĝis malakan angalix̂** 'while he should have been doing something he did not do anything (wasted his time)'.

3.14.4.4.5. With loc. **guudg-a-n**, pl. **guudg-i-n** 'during, while'

General, Eu 1910 **anĝaĝi-n saĝa-ngin guudgan** 'while the people are sleeping', **anĝaĝi-m txin aqata-mdin-ulux guudgin** 'when the people are not aware of her' (J 36:3); E 1909 **qa-ng guudgan awaan inanax̂** 'while I was eating he finished his work'.

-na-, En 1909 **ingasaĝan qasx̂inaaĝnaa, asxuun takachx̂ilix ingah-na-gan guudgan uĝulgakux̂ nawa** 'lifting his arm to throw, at the moment when he threw the spear from his throwing board, he was hit by a spear' (J 46:19).

3.14.4.4.6. With loc. **sil-a-n** 'until', abl. **sil(ag)aan** 'since'

General, A 1860 **txin mach-a-n silan** '(I will not eat it) until it be fulfilled' (Luke 22.16; E 1870 **txin chx̂a-lakaĝ-ulug-aan** with extra negation from the Russian *poka ne sovershits'a)*; **hikinax̂ uku-um silan ilgaaĝan** 'to look for the lost one until he finds it' (Luke 15.4; E 1870 **hikinax̂ ukulakaĝimulux**).

-(ĝ)**ka-**, En 1935 **waaĝa-qa-am silaan aalax qamgaangix tumhdalix asx̂asaqaltakux̂** 'since he came back he has shot two geese'; Au 1952 **agiichaĝingul tin aĝiisa-qa-am silagaan** 'never since she had been left' (1959:126, 33 (53)).

3.14.4.4.7. With **ngaan** 'for, until'

General, A 1952 version (b) **ugi-im waaĝa-gan ngaan atxax̂takuu** 'she has it ready until her husband comes back'; **waaĝa-mis ngaan atxax̂tii-aqang** 'I will have it ready until you come back'; Eu 1909 **ataqan saĝad(a)-m-ul(u)g-aan ... iqaĝilix** 'paddled without sleeping a single time (lit. for never one sleeping)' (J 34:125).

Gerundive, Eu 1909 **waaĝa-aĝa-min-ngaan** 'until you come' (J 38:16); A 1980 **ayx̂a**(t)**-sxa-aĝ-an ngaan tingin hax̂salgaqaliix̂t** 'we (passive) have better get going with gathering our things for the trip (lit. for us (passive) to get started)'.

3.14.4.4.8. With causal positional nouns

These constructions are found in Atkan, used mostly by Salamatov 1860, while Eastern Shayashnikov 1870 used various other constructions, e.g. with **-usa-** (3.14.4.1.):

Loc. **isxanan** 'for, because of', e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝum sax̂ kaluu-ax̂tanaa[n] uku-na-gan isxanan kanflixtax̂ ngaan aĝii-ax̂takuu** 'the man gave her candy for having found the duck he had shot'; A 1860 **tununing luusa-qa-txin-ulux isxanangin** 'because you did not believe my words' (Luke 1.20; E 1870 **luusanaminulux qulangiin**).

Abl. **qul-a-an**, pl. **qul(ing)iin** 'for, because', e.g. A 1860 **hamaan anĝa idax̂ta-lakaĝ-max qulaan** 'for they know his voice' (John 10.4; E 1870 **haqatakun malix**); **qaya-lakax̂-txin qulingiin** 'because he was little of stature (lit. not tall)' (Luke 19.3; E 1870 **qayanamulux malix**).

Abl. pl. **kungiin** 'because of', e.g. A 1860 **kanuux̂-chi qaxuta-kum-chi**

kungiin 'because you have embittered your hearts, for the hardness of your heart' (Mark 10.5; E 1870 **kanuux̂tuusanamchi hadangiin**).

Abl. **akanga-ga-an**, pl. **akanga-ngi-in** 'on account of, because of', e.g. A 1860 **anĝaĝinas qalaĝi-ku-ngin akanganglin** 'because of the people being numerous' (Mark 2.4; E 1870 **anĝaĝin amnaĝuusadanangin hadangiin**).

3.14.4.5. Other clausal temporal adverbials

With **tamadag-** 'every', e.g. En 1909 **chngatunaaĝ-na-am tamadag-a chngatutxaĝidanaanulux iisakux̂** 'he said that every time he hunted for sea otter he never got any sea otter' (J 47:5).

With **akilta-x̂** 'time until or since', e.g. Eu 1910 **suganĝix̂ a-a akiitax̂** 'until his adolescence (lit. his being a young man)' (J 36:25); A 1952 **hax̂s angali-ng akiita-m il-a-n awahlikuqaang ting asx̂aniiĝutakuq** 'since I got up today I was working until I got tired again' (1959:79, 13 (1-2)).

3.14.5. Clausal comparison

3.14.5.1. Difference

The one item of comparison is marked by the ablative **il(a/ug)aan**. du. **il(a)kiin**, pl. **il(a/ing)iin** 'from, than', while the other may be emphasized by the contrastive **agat-** '- singled out, in particular' (2.1.3.2.).

The items compared are mostly nominal but may also be participial clauses such as A 1952 **itx̂aygi-m xaadagnaaĝ-na-a tayaĝu-m xaadaĝnaaĝ-na-gan ilagaan axchigazax̂** "a running reindeer is fast[er] than a running man" (3.14.2.1.3.); Ea 1910 **waan tanam algaa ilga-na-am ilaan aĝdiikax̂ agacha ilan saxtananuuqidakux̂** 'she is usually out a little longer for ptarmigan than for the other animals of this country that she is looking for (lit. than animal[s] of this country she is looking for)' (J 26:9); A 1860 **aasaadalakan kuyuudax̂ ama tanax̂ ilax̂ axhluxhliiqin aĝnax, maaluĝim iluun ataqan chu(u)du-x̂ hiki-gan ilugaan** 'soon[er] heaven and earth will pass than a line [will] get lost from the law' (Luke 16.17; E 1870 two main clauses); see also J 17:109, 112 in 3.14.3.2.1. and 3.14.3.6. Note also the use of the participial **malga-na-** 'that there are' in A 1980 **sa-s malgana-ngis** [absol. for rel.] **ilagaan chlaqatuzas** 'they (certain ducks) dive more often than other ducks (lit. than ducks there are)'; **alaĝum sangis malgana-ngis ilagaan qa-lga-ngis qaatunaza-s** 'they are tastier to eat [3.14.4.3.] than other salt water birds'.

Participial use of present **-ku-** in A 1973 **mataa-ax̂ta-ku-um ilagaan angalidigax̂ agux̂taqaliiĝutakux̂** 'it (weather) begins to be (lit. make) light[er] again now than (it was like) a while ago'.

3.14.5.2. Equality

Clausal comparison of equality is expressed mostly by repetition of **mata-** 'to be such as, to be like' or **liida-** 'to resemble, be like' (cf. 3.8.2.1.2.) in a way similar to version (c) of extraposed oblique terms as in En 1910 **ugi-im ad-a-n ayux-saaĝana-gan ad-a-n txin aygaxnax̂** 'she set out in the [same] direction [as]

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her husband had gone', see 3.14.2.4.2.4. Cf. also, with a repeated positional noun in the absolutive case, A 1840 **hada-a ukuta-l-ka hamangus qangu-qa-an** [absol.] **hada-a ukuta-lix, hamangus aax̂ta ngaan hix̂talka** 'told her to be there facing the [same] direction [as] she faced upon entering it', lit. 'facing the direction she entered there, facing the direction to be there' (V B 3:7), where the equality (identity) is expressed iconically by the repetition of the terms rather than by an overt or covert relative particle as in English.

In the case of **mata- mata-**, the first one may have the present suffix **-ku-**, **-na-**, or the general zero, e.g. Eu 1909 **qanikinga aqaguu(n) taaman mata-ku-ngin ukux̂tad(a)-qa-txin mata-a ukux̂talix** 'seeing that it (the sun) was [shining] like he had seen it only when spring was coming' (J 34:47); Au 1909 **ayaga-am iim mata-ku-ng tiyin mata-l anuxtal** 'thinking that they (the bones) had become like what his wife had become' (J 84:11); A 1860 (found normal 1973) **atxidusi-m mata-kuu-ngaan atxid-usa-na-chi[x], mata-aguza-x̂ imchix atxid-ula-ma-aĝ-an aqax̂** 'with what measure you measure (lit. what the measure is like that you measure with), with precisely that you shall be measured' (Mark 4.24); A 1860 **qunĝumaalina-m mata-na-an mata-a maasaakanaĝulax** 'he could not do any kind of miracle (lit. a miracle like what it is like)' (Mark 6.5); A 1909 **tukux̂ chalaguu mata-da-ngis mata-l chalal** 'landing in the way a chief would land', lit. 'doing like what it is like when a chief lands' (J 77:102). A single **mata-** makes an anaphoric comparison, e.g. A 1952 **mata-aguza-s aniqduum ngaan agu-qa-ngis** 'she made just the same (as those) for her child'; En 1909 **ama-kun iĝa-laaĝana-n mata-x̂ iqyax̂ aqakux̂ ukux̂taqalinax̂** 'he saw a baidarka coming in the way that had been said (lit. like those that had been recently said)' (J 46:12).

The repeated **liida-** may have a simple number suffix or the first one has the suffix **-na-**, e.g. En 1952 **agitaasaking ukux̂tagung liida-x̂ agux̂ta-na-kix ukux̂talix ting kayux liida-x̂ agux̂ta-na-ng ukux̂taqang** 'when I looked at my two companions, I saw that they were doing the same thing (shaking) as I did', lit. 'seeing them doing like it, I saw myself also doing like it'; A 1952 **malga-aguza-na-s liida-s hingahligan malga-aguza-na-s liida-s Amlagim kugan malgal, ...** 'the same conditions as these prevailed at Amlia', lit. 'like precisely such [conditions] like precisely such there were there (in the village of Atka), there were at Amlia' (N.M. 1:36); A 1980 **kadaang-is wa-kus liida-s qa-lga-na-ngis liida-s qa-da-na-s?** 'did [our] ancestors eat the same kind of food that we eat now?'; A 1952 **sla-x̂ hamaax liida-na-an liida-l ax̂tagalikum ayugzax̂ hama** 'he goes out in any weather', lit. 'although the weather is like whatever it is like'.

The comparison appears to reside in the repetition of **ilan** 'in it (the old village), there' in A 1952 **kay wakus matalganas liidas ilan, chux̂taqam alanaayulax ilan maqaĝulax ax̂tanax̂** 'also people did not have as many clothes as we have nowadays', lit. 'like these being had [now] there, plenty of clothes there was not had' (N.M. 1:11). Cf. 3.14.3.2.4. (interlacing).

The same kind of comparative repetition is found with E **asa-** (A **aza-**) 'amount to, be as many as', **sana-** 'to equal', and similar verbs, e.g. En 1910 **aman asagaan,**

asa-x̂ ayaga-x̂ su-na-an asa-x̂ ayaga-x̂ su-ux̂ta-x̂ ix̂talix 'telling his cousin to take as many women as he would take himself' (J 68:61); A 1973 **hingan tanĝix̂ sanahlii-aqa-an sana-l hulal ax̂tanax̂** 'in the morning that island (the emerging Kasatochi) was as big as it was going to be (still is)'; **haman tana-m qiiga-gan aduuta-na-a aduuta-l hitzax̂** 'that one grows as high as the grass on the ground (is high)'.

3.15. Report clauses

Report clauses include several kinds of clausal complements of verbs of (1) perception, (2) knowledge, (3) utterance and thought, and (4) question. Some are like linked clauses (3.11.), others are participial clauses (3.14.).

3.15.1. Clauses with verbs of perception

The principal verbs of perception are **uku-** 'to get sight of; to find', **ukux̂ta-** 'to see; to look at; to watch', passive **ukuĝa-**, Au **ukuĝu-**; and **tut-** 'to get to hear', **tuta-** 'to hear (sound, noise and speech); to listen to; to understand; to feel', passive **tutalga-**, Au **tutalu-**. All of them may have a nominal or pronominal complement (object) as well as a clausal one. The same is true of **sngaxta-** 'to dream of'.

The predicate of the report clause is a present in **-ku-**, neg. **-lakaĝ-**, or a participle, **-na-** or general. The present mostly brings into focus the event, contemporaneous with the perception of it, while the participle may indicate the state of the person(s) or object(s) involved, e.g. A 1952 (the relevant parts in italics) **ahlikus udaax ukalĝan qalagaan alax iĝilax, Niiĝuĝim iĝilakix** ***hitikux ukux̂taqalinas*** **ax̂takus. Amlagim anĝaĝinangis akus udang qalim hadan ayx̂aqadaamax** ***hitnangis ukuĝaqas*** **ax̂takus** 'Then *they saw that* two baidars, Atkan baidars, *were coming out* from the head of the bay here. They were people of Amlia [who], having traveled into the bay over here, *were seen [while] going out*' (N.M. 3:14-15). The choice is not always clear, however, and may in part be dialectal, e.g. A 1860 (accepted A 1971) with the present: **tununax̂ ax̂ta-ku-x̂txin, txin ukux̂takuq**, but E 1870 with the **-na-** participle: **ingaya tununax̂ ax̂ta-na-an, ukux̂takuqing** 'I see you are a prophet' (John 4.19).

3.15.1.1. Present **-ku-**, neg. **-lakaĝ-**

3.15.1.1.1. Mood/tense relations

As in a final clause (2.1.9.1.1.) a simple present form may indicate what is immediately perceived, but the report may also be qualified by the evidential suffix **-(x̂)ta-** (2.2.6.1. (c)), in Atkan conjunctive with **a-x̂ta-ku-** (3.8.1.4.1.1.), e.g. A 1950 **ux̂asil tanaanu-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂taqang** 'I saw him rowing back towards his place [the apparent direction]' (1959:78, 9 (6)); A 1993 **itx̂aygi-x̂ txin uku-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂tanax̂** 'he saw that the reindeer (apparently) spotted him'; A 1971 **inaqaam sagimaĝ-iin quqdatu-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂tanax̂** 'she saw (in the mirror) that her face was dirty'.

The qualification is natural but not obligatory with **tuta-** 'to hear; to feel', e.g. A 1952 **qilagan ahmayaax̂ta-l ax̂ta-ku-t tuta-l saĝa-qa-ning** 'yesterday I heard you asking about them'; **ataqan ayaga-x̂ asxinux̂ aniqdux̂ta-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ tutakuqaa** 'when I heard [it being said] that one woman had gotten a girl baby (I too wanted my baby to be a girl)'; A 1993 **masina-an akina-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ tutanax̂** 'he felt that his motor was hot'; but A 1909 **txin natiiklu-k(ux̂) tuta-l a-am** 'when he felt that he was hurt' (J 79:64); En 1983 **sagiquuda-ng uluudaa aqa-ku-x̂ tutanaqing** 'I felt that my face got red'. The qualification seems natural also in A 1979 **ada-ng ayuxta-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ sngaxtanaq** 'I dreamt that my father was going out in his boat'.

A remote with the evidential **ax̂taku-** indicates a past event being discovered or talked about, e.g. A 1840 **asagaan akux̂ gumaasa-l-ka saĝa-qa-an ax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukulix** 'seeing that it was his cousin he had done this to (killed) the day before' (V B 2:4); Eu 1909 **kayux Akutanam kugaan aalax ulux̂tax Unmagim kugaan ataqan ulux̂tax̂ Akutanax̂ nu-na-n ax̂ta-ku-n tutanaqing** 'and I heard that two baidarkas from Akutan and one baidarka from Umnak had reached Akutan' (J 40:74).

3.15.1.1.2. Person relations

Report clauses in the present have nearly the same person relations to the following verb of perception as linked clauses in the present have to the following clause (3.11.). The subject of the report clause may be (1) different from or (2) the same as the subject of the verb of perception.

3.15.1.1.2.1. Different subjects

The formal near identity with linked clauses is explicit in the cases where, in Atkan, an enclitic subject marker is repeated as a pronominal object of the following verb (cf. 3.11.2.4.1.), as in the Biblical sentence quoted above: A 1860 **tununax̂ ax̂ta-ku-x̂txin, txin ukux̂takuq** 'I see you are (apparently) a prophet' (John 4.19), lit. 'you are apparently a prophet, I see you'. Likewise A 1971 **Aligutax̂ a-lakan ax̂ta-ku-x̂t txin ukux̂takuq** 'I see (you) you are not an Aleut'; A 1973 **ayug-iku-x̂t txin ukux̂tal angaliq** 'I saw (you) [when] you went out (in your boat), I saw you going out' (also participial **ayug-na-an ukux̂tal angaliq**); **ayug-iku-q ting** [or **ayug-na-ng**] **ukux̂tal angalix̂t ?** 'did you see me going out ?'; A 1909 **... anaan hitag-iku-x̂t-aa(n) txin ukul ax̂takux̂, ...** 'his (3R) mother apparently saw him (3R) (when he was) showing up' (J 77:247; 3R in reference to the subject of the following clauses).

As in linked clauses, a specified nominal subject of the report clause may possibly by zero-anaphora serve as a complement of the following verb, while an anaphoric subject entails a suffixal reference (cf. 3.11.2.4.2.), e.g. A 1952 **igax̂ta-x̂ kim-iku-x̂ ukux̂ta-l angali-q** 'I saw the airplane coming down', **kim-iku-x̂ ukux̂ta-l angali-ng** 'I saw it coming down'; **igax̂ta-x̂ udaan ilaa ag-iku-x̂ tuta-l qilax̂si-q** 'this morning I heard the airplane passing over here', **iga-ku-x̂ tutaaĝuta-l angali-ng** 'then I heard it taking off'; En 1910 **ada-an isuĝnaax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂taqali-na-x̂**, Au **aya-an isuĝnaaĝaayax̂ta-ku ukux̂taqali-na-x̂** 'she saw her father hunting seal' (J 64/87:27); En 1909 **Qumnigin tayaĝuu ... asx̂aada-n malga-lix i-ĝa-ku-n**

tutadaqalinax̂ nawa 'a man of Q. repeatedly heard it told that there were outlaws around' (J 46:1); A 1973 **taanganang hagyanax̂ liida-lakax̂ ukux̂ta-l ax̂tagali-kung taangaqang** [modern for **taanganaq**] 'although I saw that what I was drinking did not seem to be clean, I drank it'.

Like a temporal clause the report clause may also precede the nominal subject of the following verb: En 1909 **ula-a qigna-ĝi-x̂ta-ku-x̂, Kanaagutu-m ukuugiim, tahlaan ad-a-n uyachx̂i-qa-a** 'when Kanaagutux̂ noticed (saw) that there was a light in her house, he sent his slave there' (J 43:32); En 1910 **malix aman Qatxaykusam laa ayukadaagiim, aaliisiim sadan saakux̂ chmaxta-ku-x̂, ada-gan ukux̂taqali-qa-a** 'and when Qatxaykusax̂'s son had gone out, his father saw him chase a king eider outside his harbor' (J 73:29), cf. without the intervening subject Ea 1909 **sax̂ chmaxta-ku-x̂ ukux̂taqali-ku-u awa** 'he saw that he was chasing a bird' (J 8:5).

Other report clauses that are like linked clauses, with application of the same rules of anaphoric reference, are A 1860 **Ierusaliima-x̂ alitxu-s imuta-ku-u ukugu-chi** 'when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies' (Luke 21.20; E 1870 ... **alitxun imux̂tax̂tanaa ...**) (cf. 3.2.2.3.); A 1952 **aniqdu-m su-ku-ngis ukux̂taangan ax̂ta-ku-ning** 'I saw the child taking them'; A 1950 **inaqamis su-ku-un ukux̂taa-ax̂ta-ku-u** 'he saw you yourself taking it'; Ea 1909 **qaya-ku-m, kamgiim angadan aĝat-iku-ngin ukux̂taqali-ku-u awa** 'he saw that he was tall and put them on a level with his head' (J 3:66).

A complement in the report clause may have a reflexive suffix coreferential with the nominal or anaphoric subject of the following verb of perception, e.g. A 1973 **ixchi-ku-m aniqdu-un saygit mikaasa-ku-x̂ ukux̂taa-ax̂ta-ku-x̂** 'when he came home he saw that his child was playing with his (the man's) gun'; Ea 1909 **igiim aqalix txin u-uĝan maayu-ku-m, ilkiigiim hatax̂-six, qusa-am yaaga-a adĝaku-un, sixsi-lix itxi-lix, it-iku-x̂ ukux̂taqali-ku-u awa** 'he saw it coming against him, about to reach him, but then dodge him and hit the log above him, breaking it and knocking it down, and then going out' (J 10:112).

The subject of the report clause may also have a 3A suffix representing the outer subject of the sentence while the subject itself serves as the complement of the following verb in the above-mentioned sense (cf. 3.11.2.2.3. and 3.11.2.6.2.3.), e.g. En 1909 **ula-am ilan ukaaĝalix, ugi-im chidaĝan txin quya-ku-ĝ-aan, ugi-i ax̂txada-agiim, amaan kaluka-am adan aĝax̂ta-qada-agiim, it-iku-x̂ ukux̂takux̂ nawa** 'when she got into her (3R) house and lay down beside her (3R) husband, she saw her (3A) husband get up (3R anterior), go up to that dish of his (3R) and then go out' (J 49:20); A 1973 **ayaga-gan ngaan tunux̂ta-ku-u tuta-na-ĝ-ulax** 'he did not hear what his (3A) wife was telling him (3A)', lit. 'his wife talked to him [but] he did not hear [her]'.

3.15.1.1.2.2. Shared subject

In Atkan and Attuan the report clause with a third person subject is like a linked clause (cf. 3.11.1.1.), the coreference of the subject with the subject of the verb of perception being marked by a reflexive pronoun as the object of the latter, e.g. A 1973 **tayaĝu-x̂ txin ayx̂as hala-ku-m qahmig-iin chachi-lakan ax̂ta-ku-m txin ukux̂tanax̂** 'when the man had started (in his boat) and turned his head, he saw that he had (apparently) not shut his door'; Au 1909 **agaliim maatʳax̂ uku tutaqaliim, hala-ku-m, kimaĝu-ĝi-x̂ta-ku tin ukunax̂** 'she felt (that there was) something behind her, turned her head and saw that she had a tail' (J 87:26; A 1973 **hitxi-ĝi-x̂ta-kux̂ txin ukunax̂**). Likewise 1.p.sg. A 1993 **hiichiknaada-ĝi-ku-q ting ukunaq** 'I got to see (as in a mirror) that I had gotten pimples'.

In older Atkan the singular 3.p. subject of the report clause (in the passive) was marked by the enclitic reflexive pronoun **+t** (regular apocopation) followed by the enclitic dative **+(ng)aan** (cf. 3.11.2.4.1.), e.g. 1860 (confirmed 1973) **anĝaĝiika**(t)-**sxa-ku-x̂t-aan txin ukuum** 'when he (3R) saw that he was healed' (Luke 17.15; E 1870 participial **txin kaangu-na-an, ukux̂talix**); 1909 **akux̂taa(n) wa(an) tanadgusim hachagaan hi-ila-ĝa-ku-x̂t-aan txin tutaaĝ(an) amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii** 'then he heard people (passive) calling him from the entrance to the village - he said, it is said' (J 77:85, likewise 149), but also, like the later construction, **hi-ila-ĝa-ku-x̂ txi(n) tutakux̂ ...** 'he heard himself being called' (ibid. 153).

In Eastern the reflexive object pronoun is enclitic (cf. 2.1.9.1.1.), here without apocopation, e.g. Ep 1941 **ada-am uya-lga-ku-x̂t[x]in ukux̂tanax̂ ax̂tanax̂** 'he saw that someone was coming towards him (lit. saw himself being come towards)'; En 1982-83 **alaqaadaĝ(a)-ku-x̂txin tuta-d(a)-na-x̂txin iistakux̂** 'he said that he used to feel surprised'. The ending is frequently **-kutxin**, from **-ku(m)+txin** with regular deletion of the **-m** (see 1.4.2.), e.g. En 1910 **ala-ku-m, itxi-ĝi-x̂ta-ku-txin ukux̂taqalinax̂** 'she turned her head and saw that she had a tail' (J 55:34; so Jochelson's original manuscript, in his edition of 1923 changed into **-kuu, txin**, likewise elsewhere; A 1973 **hitxi-ĝi-x̂ta-ku-m txin ukux̂tanax̂**); Ea 1910 **ulam ilan qangu-ula-ku-txin ukukux̂ awa** 'he found (saw) that he was being brought into a house' (J 26:3); **angali-x̂ ku-um aqachx̂ita-ku-txin ukux̂talix** 'seeing that (being asleep) he had let the daylight come upon him' (J 17:12); En 1949 **tumhda-naax̂-sxa-x̂ta-ku-txin ukux̂taa aqalix** (3.8.2.1.3.) 'beginning to see that one (passive) tried to shoot him'; Eu 1910 **agux̂ yalix, txin anikat-iku-txin tutaqalikux̂** 'he began to feel that the tide was coming up and that he got afloat' (J 35:25). In Nikolski 1984 the ending was disambiguated as **-kum+txin** (J 64:26, note a.), and according to consultants in Nikolski, Unalaska and Akutan 1974-1987 it is the equivalent of **-ku-x̂+txin**. Possibly, however, **-ku-txin** was also reinterpreted as a pl.3R sg., cf. 3.15.2.3.

With a nominal object the report clause has the form of a linked clause with the subject and the complement shared with the following verb (3.11.2.3.1.), e.g. A **yaasika-an six̂i-l ax̂ta-ku-un ukux̂tanax̂** 'he saw that he had broken his box', cf. **hla-x̂ yaasika-x̂ six̂i-l ax̂ta-ku-x̂ ukux̂tanax̂** 'he saw that the boy had broken the box'; A 1993 **yaasika-ng six̂i-l ax̂ta-ku-ng ukux̂tanaq** 'I saw that I had broken my box' (better participial **yaasikang six̂il ax̂ta-na-ng ukux̂tanaq**); **da-an aĝiisa-l ax̂ta-ku-un ukux̂tanax̂** 'he discovered that he had left his (artificial) eye'; Ea 1910 **la-am atuukix kayu-kix ikin sanaadaagusax̂ ita-ku-kin** [cf. 3.2.7.] **ukux̂taagiim** 'seeing that he had made the strength of his two sons exactly equal' (J 17:18); Ea 1909 **Nawan-Alaxsxan uda anikatudaĝulux isix qasa-x̂ta-ku-din ukux̂taqalikun awa** 'they saw that Unalaska Island had become very low [as seen from there] where they surfaced', lit. 'they saw that they surfaced making Unalaska Island sitting low in the water (being far away)' (J 9:36).

3.15.1.2. Participial report clauses

These clauses are like other participial clauses except that a personal subject is regularly marked by a suffix also in clauses with a specified or no complement, see examples above and A 1860 **saĝa-na-chi ukulagaax̂ta kungiin**, E 1870 **saĝa-chi ukulagaax̂ta quliin** 'lest he find you sleeping' (Mark 13.36); Eu 1909 **ukudiga-an tusix ting ugutikuqing** 'I was glad to hear that you are in good health'(J 37:1); A 1952 **haada-na-ng tutakuq**, Ek 1982 **aadanang tutakuqing** 'I feel better (now)'; A 1952 **uuĝli-lga-na-chix tutax̂txichix ii?** 'do you hear that you are called to peace?'; A 1971 **ting alix̂ti-na-ng ukux̂taqalikuq** 'I see that I'm getting old'; A 1860 **asx̂aaĝiisaqaam ilugaan txin anĝaĝiikani-na-an tutanax̂** 'she felt that she was healed from her illness' (Mark 5.29; E 1870 likewise); A 1909 **txin na(t)-sxa-maaya-na-an tutal akux̂taan** 'when he felt that he was hurt at last' (J 79:118); A 1952 **ataqadiidahlim hiiku-ula-na-dix ukux̂tanazulax** 'they did not see that happen to them (lit. being done to thus) even once' (N.M. 2:36); A 1979 **qa-na-ng sngaxtanaq** 'I dreamed that I was eating'.

Like participial clauses in general, a report clause may indicate a fact or state in different versions, e.g.

Version (a) A 1950 **igax̂ta-x̂ haqa-na-a ukux̂tanax̂t ii?** 'did you see the airplane coming ?'; A 1973 **ugi-in haqa-na-a tutanaĝulax** 'she did not hear her husband coming'; A 1984 **Tanaga agach anĝaĝinaĝinax̂ hiilax̂ta-na-a tutazalakaq** 'I have never heard it said that Tanaga had inhabitants'.

Version (b) E 1870 **alix̂ya-m haqa-na-a ukuguum** 'when he sees the wolf coming' (John 10.12; A 1860 **alix̂xix̂ waaĝadakux̂ ukux̂tadax̂**); En 1910 **aman asxinuu ada-am txin ix̂ta-na-a ukux̂talix** 'his daughter seeing [that] her father [was] calling her' (J 60:18); A 1973 **Piitrax̂ hla-am ayx̂aasi-in su-na-a ukux̂tanax̂** 'Peter saw his son taking his (Peter's) boat', with extraposition **Piitrax̂ ayx̂aasi-in hla-m su-na-a ukux̂tanax̂** 'Peter saw the/a boy taking his (Peter's) boat'.

Anaphoric En 1983 **alaĝum chidaĝan asx̂ax̂ta-a uku-qa-ng** 'I found him dead on the beach'; A 1950 **hiikux tayaĝux haqa-na-a ukux̂ta-qa-a ii?** 'did those two men see him coming ?'; A 1973 **ugi-i haqa-na-a tuta-qa-a** 'he heard her husband coming'; **adu-na-a ukux̂taa-aĝnang anuxtaasa-qa-ng** 'I thought I would see how long it (the hair) could be', lit. 'it being long'; A 1952 **hamaaĝa-na-ngis ukuĝaqaliqas ax̂takus** 'they began to be seen coming' (N.M. 3:66); **su-na-ng ukux̂tal angali-in ii?** 'did you see me taking it ?'

Or it may refer to a person or object, the subject of the clause, e.g.

Version (a) A 1952 **uda(m) nagan suna-x̂ a-na-a ukux̂tat ii?** 'do you see the ship (being) out in the bay ?'

Version (b) A 1952 **haman alitxu-m agaliim haqaqali-qa-a ukux̂taqadanax̂txidix hiisax̂tanas** 'they said that they no longer saw the warrior[s] who had come after him' (N.M. 3:93); A 1971 **buchuunuka-m taangax̂ itagan imuunan chaasxingis inka-na-a ukux̂tal angaliq** 'I saw the barrel containing liquor [with] its cups hanging around it' (cf. 3.3.2.3.3.).

Version (c) A 1950 **ayugiiĝin ax̂ta-na-s ukux̂tanax̂t ii?** 'did you see those who went out ?'; A 1973 **itaangis waaĝa-na-x̂ ukuĝaax̂t(ax̂)** 'let's see who arrives first'; Ea 1910 **laam kayugan ikin sanata-na-kin ukux̂taqaliiĝutakux̂ awa** 'he began again to see how much strength he had given his sons' (J 17:9); A 1952 **kuum hiĝa-na-s huzungis tutakum** 'he heard everything that was being said about him' (N.M. 3:74); **hinga-an hla-m ngus hix̂ta-na-ngis tuta-t ii?** 'did you hear what that boy said to me ?', **ngus hix̂ta-na-ngis tuta-ka-t ii?** 'did you hear what he said to me ?'; A 1973 **Amrikaanchi-m** *atomic bomb* **ku-ga-n itxi-qa-a ngiin ukux̂tachx̂isxakux̂ ...** 'we were shown (lit. let to see) where the Americans dropped the atomic bomb'; E 1870 **Hama-an il-a-n anĝaĝix̂ta-na-a kayux ukux̂tanax** 'they (two) saw where He lived' (John 1.119; A 1860 as if anaphoric **il Haman anĝaĝix̂tanaa ukuqakix**).

3.15.2. Clauses with verbs of knowledge

The verbs of knowledge properly speaking are **haqata-** 'to know', in Atkan mostly negated **haqata-lakan** 'to not know', and A **idax̂ta-lakan**, Au **iyax̂ta-lakan** 'to know' ("to not ignore"), with the derivatives in **-usa-** (2.2.5.2.) **haqataasa-(lakan)** and **idax̂taasa-lakan**. Verbs of similar meanings and constructions, to be treated apart, are E **hax̂saasa-**, A **hix̂saasa-** 'to find out (about); to get to know; to realize' and verbs of belief. All of these verbs also take nominal and pronominal objects.

3.15.2.1. Clauses with the basic verbs of knowledge

The constructions depend in part upon the tense relation to the matrix sentence and upon the negation of the latter, and there are also dialectal differences.

3.15.2.1.1. Clauses in the present

In Atkan the present is used in clauses both with a positive and with a negative verb of knowledge, e.g. 1860 **Hama-n hamangus ax̂ta-ku-x̂ idax̂taqadaamax** 'when they knew (learned) that He was there' (John 12.9; E 1870 participial **Haman amaligan ax̂tanaa hax̂sanan**); 1950 **ayangi-ku-x̂ idax̂talakat [ii?]** 'did you know that it is foggy ?'; **atxaĝiiguza-ku-q idax̂talakaq** 'I am sure that I am right (lit. I know I am quite right)'; 1952 (old consultant) **hinga-n tayaĝu-x̂ anĝaĝina-s tunux̂taasa-ku-u txin haqatalagaaĝan ax̂takux̂** (younger consultant without **txin**) 'that man did not know what people were talking about him', lit. 'that man, [while] people were talking about him, did not know himself', cf. 3.11.2.5.2. and 3.15.1.1.2.2.; 1971 also **tayaĝux̂ anĝaĝina-s txin tunux̂taasa-ku-s haqatalakax̂**; 1971 **anĝaĝina-s hadaming ting tunux̂taasa-ku-s haqatalakan ax̂tanaq** 'I did not know what people were talking about me'; **Piitrax̂ tayaĝu-x̂ anĝaĝina-s tunux̂taasa-ku-u haqatalakax̂** 'Peter did not know what people were talking about the man'.

With a negative verb of knowledge clauses in **-masu-ku-** ‘perhaps’ are used in Eastern as well as in Atkan, e.g. Ea 1909 **alaĝum achidan anĝaĝi-x̂ amasuku-x̂ aqata-an-ulux ukuugiim** ‘having seen [something] on the beach he did not know if was a person’ (J 7:3); Ep 1983 **waaĝa-aqalta-m(a)suku-x̂ aqata-lkaĝ-ing** ‘I don’t know if he came’; A 1973 **lunamasukux̂ haqatalakaĝing** I don’t know if he is reliable’; A 1937 **kadim hadagaan Alix̂ngus asaĝi-da-na-s amasukus haqatalakaq** ‘I don’t know if the western Aleuts formerly had names’; **aniqdux̂ aĝaguun asalĝisxadaqax̂ amasukux̂ haqatalakaq** ‘I don’t know if a child used to be given a name when (as soon as) it was born’; A 1952 **anax̂ maasaa-aqang amasukux̂ haqatalakaĝing** ‘I don’t know if I can do anything to it’.

3.15.2.1.2. Participial clauses

Participial clauses of various kinds are common in all the dialects with both positive and negative verbs of knowledge, e.g. En 1910 versions (a) and (b) **aman umniin ada-am asx̂a**(t)**-sxa-qa-a aqatalix angunaa aqaguum, txin asx̂a**(t)**-duuka-na-a aqatalix** ‘knowing that when his (3R a) nephew, knowing that his (3R b) father had been killed [by his uncle], grew up, would kill him (3R a)’ (J 54:28); En 1983 **ilikiiming aakula-n-ulux ax̂ta-na-ngin aqat-ku-ning** ‘I know that they (the old-timers) were wiser than me’; En 1952 **anĝaĝilix uladuukax̂ta-na-ng-ulux aqataqalinaqing** ‘I began to realize that I would (apparently) not keep alive until morning’; En 1956 **qanan sanax̂ mata-lga-na-a aqataatukux̂ inga** ‘he wants to know how much we (passive) have’; Au 1909 **qagaayaa hnutataax̂ uĝ-iiĝuta-na-an iyax̂talakaĝim mal** ‘because he knew that he was going to take another trip to the East’ (J 81:33); A 1971 **atxaĝi-na-an idax̂talakaq** ‘I know that you are right’; A 1952 **ana-gan uqidusaa-aqa-a idax̂taĝulang** ‘I know that his mother will bring it back’; A 1973 **azaatax̂ guudax̂ hamang a-qa-ng haqatazalakaq** ‘I don’t know how [lit. that] many years I was there’; **anĝaĝina-s Piitrax̂ tunux̂taasa-na-ngis haqatalakaq** ‘I don’t know what the people are talking about Peter’ (cf. above 3.15.2.1.1.).

As usual, the clause may also refer to a person or an object, e.g. A 1971 **tayaĝu-m hada-am huya-na-a haqatanaĝulax** ‘he did not know the man [who was] coming toward him’; A 1973 **tayaĝu-m asxinu-u Unmagim kugan a-na-a idax̂talakaq** ‘I know the man whose daughter lives (lit. is) at Umnak’.

The generalized referent in version (c) of various types of participial clauses corresponds to an interrogative term in an independent sentence, e.g. A 1973 **hingan ayx̂aasix̂ agu-na-x̂ haqatalakaq** ‘I don’t know who (lit. the one who) built that boat’, cf. **kiin hingan ayx̂aasix̂ agunax̂** ‘who built that boat ?’; **a-na-an idax̂talakaq** ‘I know who you are’, cf. **kiin ax̂t** ‘who are you ?’; En 1952 **a-na-a aqataatu-ku-ng** ‘I want to know who he is’; A 1952 **hix̂ta-na-t haqatalakaq** ‘I don’t know (understand) what you are saying’; **ada-mis ngaan asax̂ta-qa-a idax̂ta-hli-in-ulax ii?** ‘do you remember (lit. still know) what name your father had for it ?’; A 1979 **mal ii? hamama-na-ngis haqataza-qa-ning-ulax** ‘I never knew what they were doing’; A 1973 **Piitra-m il-a-n a-na-a haqata-lakaq** ‘I don’t know where Peter is’, cf. **Piitrax̂**

qanang ax̂ 'where is Peter ?'; **qula-ga-an ting aqlax̂ta-na-a haqata-lakaĝ-ing** 'I don't know why he got mad at me'; A 1971 **mata-ka-ngiin haqa-na-ngis haqata-lakaĝ-ing** 'I don't know how (cf. 3.9.3.4.2.) he came here'. By contrast, the following sentence appears to be anaphoric: Ea 1970 **taĝ(a) il(a)n aĝa-q(a)-ng aqat(a)-l(a)kaĝ-ing** 'but where (the place where) I was born, I don't know' (**-ng** 'it I', reference to the place where he was born, although unknown).

The indefinite referent may be specified by **asl-** 'something corresponding, anything', e.g. Eu 1909 **asla il-a-n tig-duuka-na-ng aqatalakan** 'without knowing where to land (where I would be landing)' (J 40:34); **aslaan-ngaan txin u-duuka-na-a aqataguung-kum** 'If I had known when it would reach you' (J 38:23). The use of an interrogative term, as in E 1870 **kiin anaan haqatakuqing** 'I know who you are' (Mark 1.24), is a calque from Russian, in the modern language from English.

3.15.2.1.3. Clauses in the dubitative

The dubitative (2.1.9.5.) is used with a negated verb of knowledge in reference to the present or to the future, e.g. En 1909 **ukalĝan saĝa-ax̂ta-an aqatax̂talakaqing** 'I didn't know you were sleeping in here' (J 44:12); A 1840 **asagaan a-ax̂ta-a haqatalakanka** 'not knowing that he was his cousin' (V B 2:13); A 1952 **hamang unglux̂ malga-ax̂ta-a haqatalakaĝis** 'they did not know that there was a pinnacle there' (N.M. 3:61); A 1973 **atxaĝi-ix̂ta-ang haqatalakaq** 'I don't know if I am right'; A 1952 **haqa-ax̂ta-a haqatalgalakaĝim txin waaĝatnax̂** 'one (passive) did not know if he would be coming but then he arrived'; A 1979 **anĝaĝina-ngin haqa-x̂ a-ax̂ta-ngin haqatanazulax** 'we did not know if our people were coming'; Ea 1910 **ayagaĝi-duuka-ax̂ta-dix aqatalakaĝix** 'they (two) did not know whether they were going to marry' (J 17:30); Ea 1983, Eu 1984 **ayagaĝ(i)duuka-ax̂ta-ang aqatalkaqing** 'I don't know whether I'm going to be married'; Eu 1910 **iĝamanalix amaaĝaduuka-ax̂ta-ngin aqatalakaĝning** 'whether they will arrive in good condition, I don't know' (J 39:34).

3.15.2.1.4. Clauses in the gerundive, optative and intentional

The use of the gerundive (of derivatives in **-usa-**) goes with the participial clauses (3.15.2.1.2.): A 1860 (accepted A 1971) **Ngaan achuuĝi-isa-aĝ-dix haqataqangizulax**, E 1870 **Ngaan angdax̂sx̂i-isa-aĝ-din haqataqanginulux** 'they did not know what to answer Him' (Mark 14.40). It is replaced by the intentional in A 1950 **imis achuuĝi-isa-angan haqatalakaq** 'I don't know what to answer you'. The use of the optative is unclear in A 1909 **mahli-ix̂-txidix haqatanilakan** 'not knowing what they should do' (J 76:191).

With **haqata-** in the sense of 'know how to' the intentional is used in A 1952 **tiihnam ukuĝaqaayulux huzugaan uku-ĝa-aĝan haqata-lga-za-qa-x̂ ax̂takux̂** 'a knoll not seen [before] they (passive) always knew how to see (recognize for what it really was)' (N.M. 3:20; passive of ... **ukuuĝin haqatazanas**).

3.15.2.2. Clauses with derivatives in **-usa-**

In Atkan 1860, clauses with participial tenses (2.1.9.3.) were used with derivatives in **-usa-** like the present with basic verbs of knowledge (3.15.2.1.1.), e.g. **adaluda-ĝ-ulax-t, txin idax̂ta-asa-z-ulax** 'we know that you are honest (tell the truth)' (Mark 12.14, accepted A 1971; E 1870 **tumaniin haqatalgakun, Hingaya adaludaĝultxin**); **Achixanam Aguuĝum hadagaan waaĝanaa a-x̂-txin, Txin idax̂ta-asa-z-ulax** 'we know that you are a teacher come from God' (John 3.2; E 1870 **... waaĝanax̂txin tumaniin haqataasakun**); **txichi hamakus ala-ma-x̂-txichi Adachi txichi idax̂ta-asa-ĝ-ulax** 'your Father knows that you too need those [things]' (Luke 12.30; E 1870 participial); **Aguuĝu-x̂ Moiseeyax̂ asix tunux̂ta-na-x̂ idax̂ta-asa-z-ulax** 'we know that God spoke to Moses' (John 9.19, accepted A 1971; E 1870 **tumaniin haqatalgakun, Aguuĝux̂ Muisiiyax̂ asix tunux̂tanax̂**).

In Eastern and later Atkan participial clauses are used, e.g. En 1983 **amaan braataa a-na-ng aqata-asa-lix** 'knowing that I was her brother'; A 1950 (young consultant) **waaĝaaĝutal aguun iming [= ngus] aĝii-aqaa idax̂taasalakang** 'I know that he will give it to me when he comes back again'.

Salamatov 1860 once used the conjunctive: **... slux̂ sagni-qada-lix idax̂ta-asa-da-ĝ-ulax-txichi** 'you know that summer is not (no more) far' (Mark13.28; E 1870 participial).

3.15.2.3. Clauses with E **hax̂saasa-**, A **hix̂saasa-** 'to get to know, learn; to realize, understand'

The predicate of the report clause may be in the present or is participial and has mostly the suffix -(**x̂**)**ta-** or the auxiliary **a-x̂ta-** 'apparently'.

Examples of the present: Eu 1909 **atuung ulux̂tan maasa-x̂ta-lakaĝ-in ax̂saasanaqing** 'I learned that six baidarkas were missing' (J 40:66); En 1910 **lakin a-x̂ta-ku-x ax̂saasaqali-qa-kix** '(hearing that) he understood that they were his two sons' (J 67:37); **iliiĝingin algam iliiĝingin iistalix waaĝaasa-da-x̂ta-ku-ngin ax̂saasalix** 'understanding that he used to bring back their entrails calling them animal entrails' (J 74:9); **maqdadix aĝatalix ax̂a-qali-laaĝana-x a-x̂ta-ku-dix** [En 1984 **-ku-x̂-txidix**, cf. 3.15.1.1.2.2.] **ax̂saasaamdix** 'when they realized that they had begun to dance with their breasts uncovered' (J 63:5); A 1982 **adalu-ula-l a-x̂ta-ku-x̂t hix̂saasanax̂** 'he understood that he had been fooled' (Eastern construction without **txin**). Passive matrix verb in En 1910 **Aglagam tukuu asx̂atakux̂ ax̂sa-ala-lix** 'it being learned that he had killed the chief of Aglagax̂' (J 72:39). Likewise E **sixt-** 'to recognize' in the passive: Eu 1909 **... Tanam Tugumaĝa asax̂taa, aman ax̂takux̂ sixsxalix** 'we (passive) recognized that that was the (beach) called Land's Beach' (J 40:39).

Participial clauses: En 1910 **ana-gan laan a-x̂ta-na-a ax̂saasakan** 'his mother understanding that he was her son' (J 74:33); **tayaĝu-gan ma-x̂ta-na-ngin ax̂saasakin** 'his men becoming aware of what (pl.) he was doing' (J 57:5); En 1948 **ili-ki-in tayaĝu-m anĝi-gan adu-na-a ax̂sa-ala-aĝan** [passive] **amax̂u-ux̂ta-n maayu-ula-qa-n** 'one (passive) prepared a race to find out which of the men had the longest breath'; A 1973 **ayagax̂ azax̂ anĝaĝinax̂ waan tanadgusi(m) kug(an) a-na-a hix̂saasanaaĝnax̂** 'the woman wanted (lit. tried) to find out how many people there are in this village'; A 1952 **hamaax ingachix̂ aakin anuxta-na-x a-na-kix** [cf. 3.5.1.1.] **hix̂saasaguun** 'if you notice any two who want to be a couple' (1959:81, 16 (15)). Salamatov 1860 used the simpler verb **hix̂sa-x̂ta-** with the participle of a derivative in **-usa-** (3.14.4.1.): **hama-kux imis agu-usa-qa-kix hix̂sax̂tada** 'remember (realize) that the two bore you'.

Also the dubitative is found with this verb: Eu 1909 **... ix̂ta-na-ngin adaluux̂ta-a-yulux ax̂saasaangan** 'in order (for me) to find out whether he told the truth (lit. whether what he says is true)' (J 37:10); A 1980 **igax̂tax̂ akix̂tal Atx̂ax̂ wan nidilix̂ hnux̂taamchix aĝ-iix̂ta-chix akux̂** [cf. 3.11.2.2.2.] **hix̂saasanaax̂s gumakuq** 'I would like to know (lit. try to find out) if you are chartering a plane (in order to go) to Atka any time during this week'.

3.15.2.4. Clauses with verbs of belief

lu-usa- 'to believe' is used with a nominal or pronominal object and with clauses with a participial tense: A 1860 **huzus ... manginachix agungis, ilgusamchix aĝ-na-x̂txicix luusazaatxichix** 'believe that you will get everything you ask for' (Mark 11:24); with a participial clause: E 1870 **... husungin imchi ax̂sxaduuka-na-ngin luusadaachi** 'believe that all (you ask for) will be given you' (ibid.); E 1909 **waaĝaduuka-na-a luusakung** 'I believe that he will be coming'; and, in the negative, with a clause in the dubitative: E 1870 **... amaagan anaĝin txidin aĝutangin a-ax̂ta-ngin luusaadalilakaqing** 'I do not even believe that anything (pl.) is hidden' (Acts 26.26).

Likewise **mangiyu- ±usa-** 'believe': A 1860 **Aguuĝum hadagaan hit-na-x̂t mangiyuusakumas quliin**, E 1870 **Wakun hadangiin Txin Aguuĝum ilaan hi(t)-na-x̂ a-x̂ta-na-an mangiyux̂takun** 'Therefore we believe that You came forth from God' (John 16.30).

3.15.3. Clauses with verbs of utterance and thought

The principal verbs of utterance and thought are **hi-**, **hix̂ta-** 'to say, utter; to tell, order', passive **hiĝa-**, Au **hiĝu-**, and **anuxta-**, E also **anuta-** 'to think, suppose; to want, intend', passive **anuga-**, with the derivatives in **-usa- hiisa-**, **hiisax̂ta-**, modern E **iista-**, Au **hiista-**, passive **hiila-**, **hiilax̂ta-**, modern E **iilta-**, Au **hiistalu-**, and **anuxtaasa-**, E also, Au **anutaasa-**, passive **anuxtaala-.** Some other verbs with similar meanings and constructions are mentioned at the end of this section.

These verbs may also have a simple nominal or pronominal object, e.g. E 1909 **asa-an ida** 'say your name'; En 1978 **alqutan ix̂taltxin** 'what did you say ?'; A 1860, E 1870 **txin hix̂takux̂** 'he is asking for you' (John 11.28); A 1950 **alqus anuxtal hingamatat** 'what are you thinking of ?'. The derivatives in **-usa-** have in addition a predicate noun (3.2.6.); e.g. E 1909 **Imaan ting iistada** 'call me John'; Ep 1983 **alqutax̂ anutaas(a)-ka-txin e?** 'what do you think it is ?'

Direct speech in stories is frequently introduced by a sentence with a final

tunu- or **tunux̂ta-** 'to talk, speak' and finished by **hiisax̂ta-**, E **iista-** 'to say' or a passive, e.g. En 1910 **Qaqaliingkin, ikin tunuqakix. "Ting aqayax̂talakan madaqadix maadix," ikin iisaqakix.** 'When they (two) began to eat, he talked to them: "Without paying any attention to me do what you have always done before," he said to them.' (J 53:24-25); A 1909 **... tunux̂takux tuta- ... "....," hiisax̂takux tutaaklul ...** 'he heard them talking ...: "....," he heard them say ...' (J 79:160-164).

The form of a report clause depends both upon the tense relation and upon the subject relation to the matrix verb (the verb of utterance or thought). The form of the latter, basic or derivative in **-usa-**, correlates to some extent with the tenses, especially in Atkan, but there appears to be some free variation, especially in the modern language.

When the subject of the report clause is the same as that of the matrix verb, it corresponds of course to a first person in direct speech. In general, the first person of direct speech is shifted to a reflexive third person when coreferential with the third person subject of the matrix verb. Thus sentences of any length may be marked from the beginning as indirect speech by the use of the reflexive third person, notably by the enclitic reflexive subject pronoun, e.g. A 1952 **... tataam tayaĝux̂ nagmax qanguqaliiĝutal,** 'again a man started to come in (into the cave) to them (3R)'... **hamaax sakang kimi-ku-x̂t-aan, haman isxax̂tanaam ilaan sakang tanam kugan higit-iku-x̂t-aan,** '(when) he (3R) went down from there, (when) he (3R) jumped down onto the ground from that one [the shelf] he (3R) was staying on,' .... **aa-ax̂ta-ku-x̂t-aan.** 'when he (3R) just had ....' .... **chunuka-am hadagaan txin maqax̂taaĝdagalikux̂,** 'although he (3A the man) did something [resistance] to him (3R) from his (3R) neck,' .... **haang ilan anuusana-am ilahligan txin haaĝaninax̂ hiisax̂ta-qa-a hiilax̂tazax̂.** 'he (3A) stopped right there where he (3R) threw him (3A), he (the referent of 3R) said (about him 3A), it is said (about him = 3R).' (N.M. 3:76).

3.15.3.1. Report clauses in the conjunctive

The conjunctive indicates contemporaneity with the matrix verb. The subject of the report clause is different from that of the matrix verb, a use opposite to the other uses of the conjunctive (see 3.9.). The matrix verb is regularly basic in Atkan (possibly also in Attuan), while it is more frequently a derivative in **-usa-** in Eastern. The use of the latter in Atkan (and Attuan) may possibly come from Eastern, the probable source of the apparent innovation (cf. 3.15.3.3.).

Basic matrix verb in A 1973 **sunax̂ haqa-l hix̂tanax̂** 'he said that the ship was coming' (he said "**Sunax̂ haqa-ku-x̂**" "The ship is coming."); A 1984 **inaqamdix agitaada-dix haqal hix̂tanas** 'they said that their own (3R) fellows were coming'; A 1973 **anĝaĝinas agiitazaqaning qimgitanu-ting hix̂tazaa-amunas** 'the people I was together with used to say that I smelled of crab'; **txichix chuhni-lga-za-l hix̂takus** 'they said that they got shots' (impersonal passive: "that one pricked them (3R)"); A 1909 **haman asagaan alitxuun agiital anĝaĝi-hli-masu-x̂ta-l anuxtaaĝan amunaan hix̂tal** 'he thought that his (3R) cousin with his crew might perhaps be

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still alive, he said' (J 76:181); A 1973 **ayaga-gan alqu-ku-m uqit-lakan hamamata-l anuxta-qa-a** 'his wife wondered why he did not return'; A 1950 **saalusmihliiĝan ax̂-s anuxtat ii?** 'do you think that it is going to turn nice again ?'; Au 1909 **... tin itkiix̂ tin in'gi-l anuxtaka tin iĝatikuun ...** 'thinking that she released him (3R) in order to let him (3R) drop down he got scared' (J 81:11); En 1909 **aĝnakachi asx̂ayax̂ta-lix anuxtakin** 'thinking that he was trying to kill their (3R) chief' (J 57:16); **txin saĝani-lix anuxtaqaliigiim,** beside **txin saĝanilix anuxta-asa-qaliigiim** 'as soon as he thought he fell asleep' (J 41:19, 21); En 1952 **kaangux̂ tutaan aqalix** [see 3.8.2.1.3.] **nung ix̂taangan** 'when he said to me that he was feeling better'. Passive matrix verb in A 1952 **Amrikaanchim sunaa a-l hi-ĝa-ku-ĝ-aan** 'when it was said that it was an American ship' (N.M.2:26); A 1973 **ma-ting hiĝazax̂** 'one says I do so'; Ea 1910 **wakun ayagaĝaatukux̂txinaan isxaasa-laka-txin iĝa-na-n ngaan ix̂taqalikux̂** 'told him (her father) about her (3R) being wanted for marriage but said not to be complete' (J 20:12).

Matrix verb in **-usa-** in E 1870 **Xristuusax̂ Daviidam hlaa a-lix hiisax̂tadakun ?** 'do they say that Christ is David's son ?' (Mark 12.35; A 1860 **X. D. hlaa al hix̂talix**); Ea 1909 **inaqaam uyaaqaa ix̂ta-ka-ting ngaan nung iisada** 'tell her for me that I tell [3.15.3.4.] her to fetch it herself' (J 10:59); Eu 1909 **unugulux kalikatxin waaĝachx̂iduuka-l-txin anuxtaasaqalinaqing** 'long ago I began to think that you would send your notes here' (J 37:29); En 1910 **alqulix igiim tunu-lakan ngaan iistaaĝliigiim** 'when she asked him (lit. said to him) in vain why he did not speak to her (3R)' (J 53:31); En 1983 **uda-n il-a-n amnaĝu-kan iista-ku-u** 'she said that the bays are numerous at it (the island)'; A 1860 **taĝa Iisuusam asx̂aduuka-lakan hiisax̂taqaaulax** 'but Jesus did not say that he would not die' (John 21.23; E 1870 likewise); A 1952 **agitaadangin anaĝiisix̂ a-lakan anuxtaasazangis** 'his fellows think that he is not of any use'; Au 1909 **aquung haqa-ting anuxtaasal ting hingamaasanat** 'why do you think I am coming (lit. thinking me to come in order to do what), doing that to me ?' (J 82:36).

3.15.3.2. Report clauses in participial **-na-**

The participial **-na-** indicates contemporaneity but includes phrases with the intentional (3.8.1.3.1.1.). The subject of the report clause is the same as that of the matrix verb. The latter is basic, in Eastern also a derivative in **-usa-** (cf. 3.15.3.3.).

Basic matrix verb in A 1973 **saahmlas uku-na-an hix̂takux̂** 'he said he found (was finding) eggs'; A 1952 **ukuĝa-na-dix anuxtalakaĝis mal** 'for they did not think that they were seen', **ukuĝa-na-dig-ulax anuxtal** 'thinking that they were not seen' (N.M. 3:36, 65); **adam ... anaĝis maasaaka-na-an-ulax ngus hix̂ta-qa-a** 'the priest said to me that he could not do anything to it' (1959:80, 16 (5)); **uchiitilas ukux̂tal ahmayaax̂taaĝan aĝ-na-an hix̂tanax̂** 'he said he would see and ask the teachers' (ibid. 6); A 1973 **chiidaan hikitiiĝan amasu-na-an anuxtal txin iĝatnax̂** 'he was afraid of loosing his pet', lit. 'thinking he might possibly loose his pet he was afraid'; Au 1909 **na(t)-su-na-an hix̂taku** 'he said that he was hurt' (J 81:31); Au 1952 **anaam tunux̂taqaa tunux̂taasanaaĝ-na-a-n anuxtakuun** 'he thought he tried to speak [the language] his mother had spoken' (1959:126, 33 (58)); En 1952 **kuum makutxin malix ngiin ix̂ta-kin, maqaĝi-chx̂i-na-an-ulux ngiin ix̂ta-qa-ngin** '(he a) telling them (his men) that he (b) did what he (a) did to him (b), he (a) said to them that he (a) found him (b) all right'; En 1909 **liidax̂ igiim tuhni-x̂ta-na-a ngaan tuhni-ika-x̂ta-na-an anuxtaagiim** '(she a) thinking that she (a) should make her (b) feel what she (b) had made her (a) feel' (J 50:37); Ep 1941 **alqusix liidan kum maayux̂ta-na-an anuxtaam ilan** 'wondering how he could own such things'. Passive in the sense of 'we': Eu 1909 **ulux̂tan uku-ĝa-na-ngin-ulux ngaan i-ĝa-ku-m** 'when we told him that we had not seen any baidarkas (he left)' (J 40:65).

Matrix verb in **-usa-** in E 1870 **taĝa ukuqaĝi-na-chi hiisax̂takux̂txichi** 'but you say that you see (are seeing)' (John 9.41; A 1860 **hix̂ta-**); En 1910 **saĝa-na-x̂txin-aan saĝatuuqix̂ta-na-an iisanax̂** 'he said that he had been sleeping and had slept for a long time' (J 48:49); **aman ugiin iĝamananulux maasalix aĝiisa-nax̂ a-x̂ta-na-an anuxtaasalix** 'thinking that she must have done wrong to her husband abandoning him' (J 64:10); Au 1909 **ayagagan isux̂ qaatu-na-an naa hiistakuu** 'his wife told him that she wanted to eat seal' (J 84:2).

3.15.3.3. Report clauses in participial tenses

Report clauses with a predicate in a participial tense (2.1.9.3) have the form of final clauses. The subject may be different from or the same as that of the matrix verb. The latter is regularly a derivative in **-usa-**, passive **-ula-**.

E.g. A 1973 **suna-x̂ kidug-na-x̂ anuxtaasakuq** 'I think that the ship sank', cf. **sunax̂ kidux-s anuxtakuq** 'I think that the ship is sinking'; A 1860 **unuqus asix Haman haqa-x̂ anuxtaasanas** 'they thought that He came (went) with others' (Luke 2.44; E 1870 **Hamaya awaaĝin asix aygaxsix, anuxtaqakix**); En 1909 **adaan txin aniqdux̂takum, tix̂lax̂ txin sismiiĝan aĝ-na-x̂ igiim iistada-na-x̂ anuxtaasaqalinax̂** 'she began to think that her father, when she was a child in his house (lit. when he had her as child), used to say that [one day] an eagle would help her out' (J 49:33); En 1910 **asx̂ax̂tagalikux̂txin-aan. qaĝanaasada-amin aĝ-na-x̂txin iistadanax̂txin** 'you used to say that when you were dead you were going to have celebrations' (J 71:8); A 1952 **angalix̂ ama amgix̂ saĝa-na-x̂ a-x̂ta-na-x̂txidix hiisax̂tanas hiilax̂tazadas** 'they must have slept day and night, they said, it is said (about them)' (N.M. 3:99); **hamakus alitxum agaliim ayx̂anaa, ukudigal tanax̂ adaaĝaasa-na-s anuxtaasa-ĝ-ulax̂-txidix hiisax̂ta-na-s hilaĝadas - ilangis, huzuhlingis, ilangis ukudigal tanax̂ adaaĝaasa-l anuxta-qa-dig-ulax** [3.15.3.1.] **hiisax̂taza-qa-ngis hiilaĝadas** 'those warriors who came after him, they did not think that they got ashore safely, they said, it is said - they did not think that all of them, [maybe only] some of them got ashore safely, they used to say, it is said' (N.M. 3:94). Passive A 1952 **anĝaĝinam managan ilaan su-ĝa-qada-qa-x̂ ngiin hiilax̂taaĝdagalikus** 'although the people were told that they were no longer forbidden to do (lit. kept from) what they wished' (N.M. 2:28); A 1973 **sunax̂ tingin udaanuusaaĝutaa-aĝ-na-x̂ hiilaĝakuĝaan** 'when it was said that a ship would take us over here again'.

There are traces in old Atkan and in Attuan of constructions like linked clauses (cf. 3.15.1.1.2.): A 1860 **kugaan mangiqaĝiiĝan aqamas, timas maasa-aka-x̂t Txin anuxtaasakus** 'whatsoever we ask about, we think (about You) that You can do to us' (Mark 10.35); Au 1952 **ataqa qavam aliĝa ayax̂tal qa-na-x̂ tin hiistanax̂ hiiluĝuqax̂** 'she rolled rocks upon one male sea lion and ate it, she said, it is said'; ... **agiichaĝingul iim aalunix̂taasa-na-x̂ tin hiistanax̂ hiiluĝuqax̂** 'she had nothing else to laugh at, she said, it is said' (1959:125, 33 (23, 28)), thus **tin** rather than enclitic **-t,** as in A 1909 ... **ukuqadazuukaĝulax-t ngaan hiisax̂talka** 'saying to him that he would not fail to come and see him' (J 76:127); A 1952 ... **tutal hagumataqaliza-na-x̂t hiisax̂tanax̂** '(when ...) he began as if to hear (him coming), he said' (N.M. 3:89); A 1973 **hlam Ivaan asax̂ta-x̂t** [or **asax̂ta-na-an**, see 3.15.3.2.] **ngaan hiistax̂taqaa** 'the boy told him that his name was (lit. he had as name) John'.

Exceptional basic matrix verb (cf. 3.15.3.2.) in En 1909 **Saĝum kugan makiniin gumaqali-qa-txin ngaan ix̂ta-kan** 'Saĝux̂ told him what he had planned to do to him' (J 45:21); A 1952 **ilan aĝut-xa-an hix̂ta-atu-qa-a-ulax** 'he did not want to tell where he hid it'; A 1973 **haman uuquchiingix̂ diikakux̂ mal, ulaa hnu-ĝa-za-ĝ-ulax ngus hix̂tanax̂** 'he told me that because that fox was mischievous, his house was never visited'.

3.15.3.4. Report clauses in the optative

Report clauses in the optative correspond to direct speech in the optative (2.1.9.4.1.), imperative or prohibitive (2.1.9.6-7.). The subject is thus different from that of the matrix verb, which may have a dative complement (2.1.6.1.3.) in reference to it. The matrix verb is regularly basic but in Eastern also a derivative in **-usa-**, passive **-ula-**, is used.

Basic matrix verb in A 1950-52 **uchiitilax̂ hadaam huya-aq hix̂ta-ku-x̂** 'the teacher told me to come to him'; **hadaam huya-ax̂-t[ax̂] hix̂ta-ku-u** 'he (a) told him (b) to come to him (a)'; **ilamiim aga-lagaaq hix̂ta-ku-x̂** 'he told me not to go away from him'; **igiim taya-aq hix̂ta-qa-ngis hinga** 'he asked me to buy them for him'; **slu-kin changa-lga-l hamaax igu-lga-ax̂ta-x̂ hix̂tal** 'telling a man (passive) to go in after them and pull them out from there' (N.M. 3:74); A 1909 **hawa ma-aqa-t hix̂ta-l hanga-chx̂i**(t)**-sxa-l angali-s manax̂t** 'you did what you were sent up to do', lit. 'being sent up [the orderer] telling what for you to do' (J 79:259); A 1860 **Iisuusam qaaĝ-a ngaan ax̂-sxa-ax̂ta hiqaa** 'Jesus ordered that she should be given [something] to eat', E 1870 **Hamaan hamaya qachx̂isxa-ax̂ta hiqaa** 'He ordered her to be fed' (Luke 8.55); En 1910 **tayaĝutxin itxadagumchi, amaagan maayum malganangin usungin taxsa-ax̂ta-n ix̂talix, itachx̂inax̂** 'telling his men when they went out to take along all of the things that were there, he sent them out' (J 48:65); Au 1952 **haya-am uya-aq hix̂tal** 'he told me to come to him'; Au 1909 **alaĝiit tin uya-aq hix̂takuĝaa mal** 'because he told me to invite you to cut whale' (J 82:37).

With dative A 1840 ... **qagangudaĝan aygag-iix̂ta ngaan hix̂talka** 'telling her to walk eastward ...' (V B 3:4); A 1973 **tayaĝum chidaĝiim txin unguti-ix̂t[ax̂] ngaan hix̂taqaa** 'the man told him to sit down beside him'; **braataan saygit igiim**

chiya-ax̂t[ax̂] ngaan hix̂tanax̂ (not ***hiisax̂tanax̂**) 'he told his brother to reach him his (3R) gun'; A 1952 **had-a-n huya-aqa-an imis hix̂taangan ax̂ta-ku-ng** 'I told you to go to him'; **aniqdu-m su-lagaaqa-ngis ngaan hix̂ta-qa-ning** 'I told the child not to take them'; **ma-aqa-t iim hix̂ta-qa-ning mazax̂** 'he does what I have told him to do'; Eu 1909 **qan(a)ng uliik(i)n igiim ax̂ta-ax̂ta-x̂ ngaan iqaa awa** 'he told her to give him his boots' (J 34:49); Au 1952 **haqa-ax̂-t naa hix̂ta-ku-ng** 'I told him to come'; **su-lagaaqa-a naa hix̂ta-ku-ng** 'I told him not to take it'.

A passive matrix verb does not change the person relation to the report clause (cf. 3.4.3.3.), e.g. A 1950-52 **hamaanu-ux̂ta-s** [optative rather than intentional] **hiĝax̂ta-ku-s mal hamaanuhlix̂ mal ...** 'because they were told to go out there they went there and ...' (1959:79:11 (14-15)); **hamahlix̂ta-lagaaq hiĝaa-ax̂ta-ku-q** 'I was told not to go there'; **hamaanu-lagaax̂ta-x̂ ngaan hiĝa-qa-x̂** 'he was told not to go there'; A 1909 **maasa-aqa-a ngaan hiĝal** 'being told that he could have (lit. do so to) him' (J 76:117); Au 1909 **tin iĝata-laguu-t naa hiĝul** 'being told not to be scared' (J 81:15).

Matrix verb in **-usa-**, e.g. En 1909 **amaan ilaan sulgaqaam ilan ax̂-sxa-ax̂tax̂ iistakan** 'saying that he should be put back to where he had been taken from' (J 46:29); Eu 1984 **ayuxta-l(a)gaax̂ta-ĝ-aan** [enclitic **ngaan**] **iistakuu** 'he told him not to go out (in his boat)'; En 1983 **amaya sux̂tanaaĝi-l(a)gaaqing kayux nung iistaqaa** 'he also told me not to try to hold it'; Au 1909, half direct speech: **maguun, iim haqataasa-aqa-a, Qaglaaĝim naa hiisax̂takuu** 'well, let her [= you] come here to him [= me] with him, Raven said to her' (J 82:40). The Atkan use in 1950 **su-lagaaqa-ngis ngiin hiistaa-ax̂ta-ku-ning** 'I told them not to take it' is probably Eastern (**hiista-** = A **hiisax̂ta-**) for Atkan **hix̂ta-** (so 1971). Passive En 1975 **nuĝiĝ-aan** [enclitic **ngaan**] **anuusa-kan amakayux uux̂luuda-kan amakayux ahyaaku-l(a)gaaqing nung iiltaqax̂** 'I was told not to throw rock[s] at it nor spear or dart'.

3.15.3.5. Report clauses in the intentional

A report clause in the intentional has normally the same subject as the matrix verb (cf. 3.10.1.1.) and the latter is basic, e.g. A 1952 **txin su-chx̂i-iĝan anuxtanax̂ ax̂takux̂** 'he decided to surrender', lit. 'thought of letting himself be taken' (N.M. 3:75); A 1973 **uging asx̂al, asx̂a-aĝan ting hix̂tachx̂ikux̂** 'when my husband was dying and had me [called to] say that he was dying'; En 1910 **aman ayagax̂ saĝa-lagaaĝan anuxtaqalinax̂** 'that woman did not want to sleep', lit. 'wanted not to sleep' (J 69:21); Au 1952 **tin aĝuti-ix̂ hix̂tanaa** 'saying that she was going to hide' (1959:125, 33 (10); A 1950-52 **tayaĝum qilagan iming [= ngus] aĝ-iiĝan hix̂taqaa** 'the man said that he would give it to me tomorrow (the next day)'; **ma-amis hix̂taamis ax̂tanat mada** 'do what you have said you'll do'; **ilan aĝii-aĝnaan** [3.15.3.2.] **hix̂ta-aĝan anuxtalakaĝa** 'he didn't want to say where he was going to put it'; A 1909 **asagaan ngaan ahmaṭa-asa-x̂ta-adahli-iĝan anuxtalka haqaasalka gumanaan ngaan hix̂talka** '(he a) saying to him (b) that, wanting to ask him (b) about his (a) cousin (c), he (a) was bringing him (c)' (J 76:33); En 1910 **quliin-iin lang asx̂ahnaa ilaan ax̂saasa-akangan anuxtakung** 'I want to learn from her why she killed my son' (J 69:71); Ea 1909 **asx̂a**(t)-**lagaakagan anuxtagalisxa[n]** [Eu 1984 **anuxtaaĝlikan**], **asx̂atikuu awa** 'although thinking that he might not kill her, he killed her' (J 3:97).

Passive Ep 1941 **maasaqadalix aguun wakun ayuqdaaxtxin amayux iqaan igiim angaalalix tana**(t)-**sxa-aĝan ix̂tanax̂** 'when he died he asked to be buried together with his spears and baidarka'; A 1952 **txin kidu-lga-lagaaĝan anuxtazax̂** 'he does not want himself to be helped', lit. 'he wants himself not to be helped'; A 1860 **Txin ahma**(t)-**sxa-aĝan anug-a-na-an idax̂talagaam** 'knowing that they (passive) wanted to ask Him' (John 16.19). Only in the last instance the passive removes the subject shared by the report clause and the matrix verb (**anug-a-** passive of **anuxta-**), cf. 3.4.3.3.1. end.

Matrix verb in **-usa-** in En 1910 **ingakux aqadguusikin sayumixta-ax̂tax̂** [3.15.3.3.], **agalan a-kan amgiĝ-iikagan ngaan iista-kan, asix txin iqyaĝit-xa-a** 'telling him to pull his paddle fast [and saying] that he would be behind him and keep guard, he paddled off together with him' (J 68:15); Ea 1974 **asx̂as-aĝ(a)n anuxta-asa-kan**, but 1952 (same speaker, same story) **asx̂as-(a)kagan anuxta-kan** 'wanting to kill him'.

The following instances are exceptional or special. The subject of the report clause is the outer rather than the inner subject of the matrix verb in Eu 1909 (translation from Attuan) **Hiyaĝanang ayuxtalix angalikum, tixsix akum, chikiida-gan Iyĝan-Ilaĝna-m asix qakan, qilagan txin asix Qixtikax̂ tanaada-aĝan saĝa-akagan ix̂ta-qa-a** 'when H. had spent the day away in his baidarka and had landed, his brother-in-law I., while eating with him, requested (lit. said) him to go visiting Q. with him the next day' (J 85:8). An auxiliary (cf. 3.8.1.3.1.) could be inserted in En 1910 **ugi-im asx̂as-aĝan** [Eu 1984 ± **ax̂-six**] **ix̂ta-kan, ... amaanu-lagaax̂ta-x̂ ngaan iistaqali-qa-a** 'saying that her husband was going to kill him [3.15.3.1.], she told him not to go there' (J 53:13); A 1950 **slachxizax̂ haqa-aĝan** [**saĝanax̂**] **anuxtaasakuq** 'I hope that good weather will come tomorrow', cf. A 1973 **slachxizax̂ malga-adahli-ika-x̂ anuxtaasakuq** 'I hope that it will be (lit. could even be) good weather'.

3.15.3.6. Other matrix verbs

Participial clauses go also with verbs like the following: A 1973 **ting akiiĝasa-na-an igiim sakaaĝata-asa-ma-hli-masu-lakaĝ-im mal** 'for he was probably worried (lit. not calm) also for taking me along'; **qulingiin ting aqlax̂tanaa ngaan ahmayaax̂ta-lakan a-qa-ng amta-asa-ku-ng** 'I regret that I did not ask him why he is mad at me'; **sanax̂ ngaan akiisa-qa-ng ugunu-qa-ng ax̂takux̂** 'I've forgotten how much I paid for it'; En 1949 **magungiin ix̂amanaduuka-na-ning aan'gilakaada-asa-lix** 'thinking over whether the things I'll be doing will be good' (for **-iin** cf. 3.9.2.3., 3.12.1.2.); Eu 1909 **Kasakam-tanaa nung tanaada-chx̂i-duuka-na-an un'gita-lix** 'hoping that you will let me visit Russia' (J 38:31); En 1910 **ada-an ... txin saĝani-na-a achiĝi-qali-na-x̂** 'he waited for his father to fall asleep" (J 74:49).

Clauses in the optative or intentional go also with verbs like the following: A 1952 **maaĝning ngus hix̂ta-ax̂t txin haya-kuq** 'I ask you to tell me how to do'; En 1983 **txichi chaĝi-iqing aya-gu[ngin]** 'when they asked me to massage them'; A 1973 **awa-ang[an] haya-hli-ku-q-aang mal** 'for I asked for work (lit. for me to work) ...'; Au 1909 **Qalgaaĝ-im uku-uqa-a qungas** 'making it ready (accessible) for Raven to find it' (J 81:5); Ea 1909 **aman Miichim Aliiĝuu umla-ax̂tax̂ amgi(ĝ)-qali-kux̂** 'he watched for M.A. to wake up' (J 8:28). See also 3.8.1.4.5. and 3.10.

3.15.4. Clauses with verbs of question

The verbs of question are A, Enu **ahmat-**, Eupab, Au **hamat-** (later E **amat-**) 'to ask (person); to ask about' and **ahmayaax̂-ta-**, **hamayaax̂-ta-** 'to ask, question (person); to ask about; to ask for', used also with a nominal object, e.g. Ea 1910 **asang nung amanax̂** 'she asked me my name' (J 4:11); Eu (Au) 1909 **Ilaaĝunaaĝim manangin ngaan ahmayaax̂takan akuu** 'he asked him about I.'s doings' (J 85:43). The report clause, which corresponds to a direct yes/no question (see 2.1.9.1-3.) or to a sentence with an interrogative word (2.1.8.), is in the dubitative (2.1.9.5.).

The verb of question has mostly a dative complement in reference to the subject of the report clause, e.g. En 1983 **Unangam tunuu agux̂tada-ax̂ta-ang nung ahmayaax̂tanax̂** 'she asked me if I spoke Aleut'; A 1952 **qilagan ayuxta-aĝan a-ax̂ta-a ngaan ahmayaax̂takung** 'I asked him if he would go out tomorrow'; **txin kiduuq anuxta-ax̂ta-a ngaan ahmayaax̂taqang** 'I asked him if he wanted me to help him'; **tayaĝu-m su-ux̂ta-ang ngus ahmayaax̂taaĝan ax̂ta-ku-u** 'the man asked me if I had taken it'; En 1936 *A.C.* **asix kayux chuhnida-lga-ax̂ta-n ngiin ahmatadaqalilaaĝanax̂** 'he was asking us whether I and A.C. were getting poked also'; En 1909 **alqulix chngatu-txaĝi-da-ax̂ta-a-yulux ngaan ahmatxaa amaan ilgaaĝum** 'the octopus asked him why he never got any sea otter' (J 47:4); A 1979 **itx̂aygim alquu ala-ax̂ta-ang ngus ahmayaax̂takux̂** 'he asked me which part of the reindeer I wanted'; En 1983 **qanaagan Araapam ayagaa uku-ux̂ta-ang nung ahmayaaĝ-a-qa-x̂** 'I was asked from where I had gotten a Negro wife'; Ep 1941 **Kaangiidaa alqutan makux̂txin-ngaan waaĝalix ingama-ax̂ta-a ngaan amasxaqax̂** 'K. was asked what he did that (= why) he came back'.

Without the dative Eu 1909 **kayux ulux̂tan ukuĝa-ax̂ta-ngin ahmayaax̂tanax̂** 'he asked if we (passive) had seen any baidarkas' (J 40:64); En 1983 **aĝi-ila-aĝan a-ax̂ta-an ahmayaax̂tanax̂** 'he asked if he was going to be left (there)'; **amaya amaan kugaan, kamxam ulagan kugaan tununax̂ tuta-qa-a a-ax̂ta-a, agitaasaning ahmayaax̂ta-qa-ng** 'I asked the others (about him) if anyone had ever heard him say things about the church'; A 1973 **kiin agiital ayuxtaa-aĝnax̂ a-ax̂ta-a ahmayaax̂ta-qa-ng** 'I asked him with whom he was going out' (here **ngaan** is probably possible).

Exceptionally, the report clause comes last in En 1909 **ahmati-ku-u, aman uyu-un ukux̂ta-ax̂ta-a-yulux** 'she asked him if he had not seen her (3R) brother' (J 41:30); **ama-an tayaĝu-m ahmat-xa-a alqulix aygag-iix̂ta-a** 'the man asked her why she was out walking' (J 62:6).

Also a participial report clause is possible: E 1909 **aslaan ngaan (aslaanaan) waaĝa-duuka-na-a amachaa**, Au 1909 **hala (halagaa) maaĝaaĝ-u-na-a naa hamachaa**, A 1973 **aslagaan waaĝaa-aĝ-na-a ngaan ahmachada** 'ask him when he is coming'; A 1973 **hingan tayaĝu-x̂ ayx̂aasix̂ agu-qa-a ahmayaax̂taax̂t** 'ask [who] the man [is who] built the boat'.

The dubitative goes also with other matrix verbs, e.g. A 1952 **hamang a-ax̂ta-an ukux̂tanaax̂s angaliq** 'I tried to see if you were there'; A 1973 **ayx̂a-aka-hli-ix̂ta-ngis ukuĝaa-aqas** 'we (passive) will see if it (the watch, pl.) can still go'; A 1952 **duurax̂ maqaĝi-ix̂ta-a-yulax taĝaa-ax̂takuq** 'I tried if the dory was all right'; Au 1952 **mang ul maaĝa-ax̂ta-a hachaĝi-ing usiting** 'I'll stay here waiting until he comes'; Eu 1910 **baabkam matax̂tanangin ngaan idaa, aniqduĝi-ix̂ta-a alix aniqduĝi-ix̂ta-a-yulux** 'the midwife tells her how it is, whether she has a child or not' (J 36:1). See also 3.15.2.1.3.

3.16. Sentence connections

An Aleut sentence may contain an unlimited number of clauses, in the actual material recorded on cylinder or tape from one to some fifty clauses (in the dictated texts the sentences are generally shorter), connected in the ways described in 3.9-15. A formally defined Aleut sentence may thus have the character of a paragraph, and a couple of sentences may make up a story or an account of some length (e.g. Au 1909 J 83; A 1952 1959:82, 21).

Apart from the marginal nominal and deictic sentences (3.1.2-3.), an Aleut sentence has normally a final verb marked for tense and mood in relation to the act of speech (for exceptions see 3.10.; 3.11.4.; 3.15.4.). In some of the texts the sentences are marked also for type of discourse. In the personal Attuan account of a fox hunt (J 80) every sentence ends with **qan'gaanaq** 'I did last winter'. In one of the Attuan traditional Raven stories (J 82) the storyteller lets the person of the story tell his own story, ending every sentence with **... amu-na-an hix̂ta-l hiĝanaĝii** 'he said that he had ..., it is said' (**-ii** '?'). The Atkan storytellers of 1909 (J 76-79) used the same device, ending most sentences with **... amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii** or the like. (The Eastern storytellers used this device more sparingly.) Atkan Cedor Snigaroff in his historical accounts 1952 (N.M.) ended nearly half of his sentences with **hiilax̂ta(za)da-x̂/-s** 'it is usually said about him (it) / them'.

The resumption of the story or account in the following sentence is frequently marked in some specific way.

(1) In the older texts a sentence frequently starts with a repetition of the last statement of the preceding sentence, e.g. Ea 1909 **... anaadak(i)x anqakux nawa. Anqalix, ...** '... his parents set out. Setting out, ...' (J 1:11-12); **... aamgix̂ usuu kitmid(a)x̂ awa. Kitmilix ...** '... it staunches any kind of bleeding. Staunching ...' (J 5:13-14); Eu 1909 **... ngaan amasxaqax̂. Amasxakum away tununax̂** '... he was asked. Being asked, he responded' (J 34:80-81); A 1909 **... txin inix̂sitaaĝ(an) amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii. Txin inix̂sil ngaa(n) tunux̂talka, ...** 'he was happy - he

said, it is said. Feeling happy he said to him ...' (J 76:241-241); Au 1909 **...igiix̂ amunayix hix̂tal hiĝanaĝii. Ixs angalikun, ...** 'they began to go home - they said, it is said. When they were coming home ...' (J 82:25-26). The repetition may have a suffixal anaphoric reference to a complement of the preceding sentence, e.g. A 1909 **hakaan ukalĝa(n) tukuga(n) hadan hangaaĝa(n) amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii. Hada-n hanga-l-ka angali-in maasal, ...** 'he went up to the village chief up there - he said, it is said. Having gone up toward him ...' (J 76:25-26). But the reference may also be left unmarked, e.g. A 1909 **... maaĝan alitxuun agiita(l) txi(n) hax̂saqaliiĝan amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii. Agiita-l hax̂saqali-l angali-x̂-t-aa(n), ...** '... together with his crew he got ready to do it - he said, it is said. When he got ready together with [his crew], ...' (J 79:263-264).

(2) Another frequent device of resumption is the use of some form of the anaphoric demonstratives **hinga**, **hawa**, **hama** (modern E without the **h-**), Au **taga**, **tama** (2.1.7.), for example a nominal determiner such as in Ea 1910 **Amakux ayagax ...** 'Th(os)e two woman' (J 17:131), A 1952 **Hawakus anĝaĝinas** 'Those people' (N.M. 3:104); a local adverb as in Au 1909 **Hiing angalil** 'spending the day there' (J 82:7), A 1952 **Hamaax naanul** 'going west from there' (N.M. 3:100); or a verbal form, e.g. E **Hingam(a)talix**, A **Hingamatal** 'doing or being so'. A demonstrative verb may have one or more suffixes specifying the temporal or modal relation between the sentences, e.g. Ea 1910 **Agumta-li-x̂ta-ku-ĝ-aan** 'While he was still like that, He was like that until ...', **Amamta-aqalta-ku-m** 'After a while', lit. 'Having been like that for a while' (J 10:94, 98); A 1952 **Haguma-asa-aĝdagali-ku-dix** 'However', lit. 'although they (3R) did so to them' (N.M. 3:49). There may be two demonstrative forms, e.g. A 1909 **Hagumata-qada-l hawa-ax tanaanulix** 'After that, when they were approaching land', lit. 'Having finished being like that, going from there toward land' (J 79:105); A 1952 **Hama-ax hiisax̂tal hamama-hli-kus** 'After a while', lit. 'going on from there (then) they were like that until ...' (N.M. 3:21, 55). This device may also be combined with the preceding one, the preceding sentence ending with a demonstrative verb, e.g. Eu 1909 **... hingamtaq(a)linax̂. Hingamatalix,** 'that's the way he was. Being in that way ...' (J 34:38-39); A 1909 **wa(n) ayagaadahlix̂ haladalakan hingamataa(ĝan) amunaan hix̂tal iĝanaĝii. Hingamatal ...** 'the woman, too, did never turn around (in that way) [toward him] - she said, it is said. So (being) ...' (J 76:44-45).

(3) The verb **ma-** 'to do/be so' with derivatives has a more general continuing function. The very frequent conjunctive **malix**, A, Au **mal,** may thus be translated as 'and' (see for example J 41 and 48). It may be combined with the other devices, e.g. Eu 1909 **... txin iqaĝinax̂. Mal(i)x iqaĝilix ...** 'he started paddling. So he paddled ...'; **away ingaag(a)n ayugas(a)qaa. Maasak(a)n ayugasakan, ...** 'set out with him from there. So (doing to him) setting out with him ...' (J 34:122-123, 185-186); A 1952 **... txidix ilax̂tal anĝaĝiqalinas ax̂tanas. Matal hamamatal txidix ilax̂tal anĝaĝil ...** '... had started to live in friendship. Living in such friendship with each other ...', lit. 'Being so (such) being that way being friendly to each other living' (N.M. 3:1-2). In conversation it is used as an affirmative answer, e.g. A 1973

Hamahligan al agumis, aguĝaĝima-za-x̂t ii? - Ma-za-q. 'When you are there [as stated], do you look for food on the beach too (**-ma-**) ? - I do.' (**-za-** 'usually').

(4) The verb **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be' leads rather to a new point or indicates a contrast. The conjunctive **alix**, A **al**, may be translated 'so, then' (e.g. J 5:2, cf. 8, 18, 32), but it may also come close to the particle **taĝa**, A **tax̂** 'but, however' (also 'now!; well!'), e.g. A 1952 **Al haman, tax̂ haman, tukux̂, ...** 'But he (lit. that one), but he, the chief, ...' (N.M. 3:75). In the present it has a subject marker and may have derivational suffixes specifying the temporal or modal relation between the sentences, e.g. A 1952 **Akux̂ haman amgiĝnax̂, ...** 'But the watchman ...' (N.M. 3:91), **Akus, ...** 'But they' (ibid. 94); A 1909 **Akux̂taan ...** 'Then he (3R) ...' (J 77:85); Eu 1909 **A-hli-kuĝaan away ngaan tunuqax̂,** 'Then, however (lit. it was until), some (passive) said to him' (J 34:152); A 1952 **A-hli-kus ...** 'Then they (saw ...)' (N.M. 3:14), **A-hli-kuz-iin ...** 'Then (they until) ...' (ibid. 3), **A-hli-kux̂t-aan ...** 'As (long as) he (3R) ...' (ibid. 92), **A-aĝdagali-kus ...** 'Nevertheless they ...' (ibid. 25), **A-x̂tagali-kus** ... 'However (they) ...'(N.M. 2:43). A new point is frequently introduced by the anterior or conditional of **a-qada-** 'after having', e.g. 3R sg. E **Aqadaagiim**, A **Aqadaam**, or **Aqadaguun** 'Then (s)he' (e.g. J 3:39, 76:224).

The transitive **a-asa-** 'to be (do) with/to' is used correspondingly, e.g. A 1952 **Aasa-l angangis** 'And/But another party' (N.M. 2:2); Ea 1909 **Aasa-kan taangax̂ nung uyaqaa** 'Treating (lit. Being/doing to) it he brought me water' (J 5:23); A 1909 **Aasa-l-k(a) aqaan maasal** 'Having made it [ready]' (J 77:54); A 1952 **Aasa-kux̂ kugan ..** 'And at it ...' (N.M. 1:6), **Aasa-nas agudix** 'When they (3R) had done it' (ibid. 37); **Aasa-qada-amax** 'After they (3R) had done that' (N.M. 3:59).

(5) Temporal adverbials (3.7.) naturally connect a sentence with the preceding. Among them is the ablative E **agalaan**, A **agalagaan** 'after that, later', with no further anaphoric reference, e.g. A 1952 **Agalagaan tataam chiilul agudix** ... 'Later, having again returned (they kept coming out)' (N.M. 3:32, cf. 71, 77). This appears to be a shortened version of device (1), cf. A 1952 **... tanat hadangin chiilunax̂ hiilax̂tazax̂. Chiilu-qa-am agalagaan ...** '... he returned to his islands, it is said. After he had returned [cf. 3.14.4.4.2.] ...' (N.M. 3:28-29).

4. Aleut sentence structure compared with Eskimo

Aleut and the Eskimo languages — Alaskan Yupik, Siberian Yupik, and Inuit — have in common important structural features and a large body of lexical and grammatical morphemes and appear to be later forms of the same proto-language (updated views in Bergsland 1986, 1989, 1994, 1997b; Fortescue, Jacobson, Kaplan 1994). Aleut, however, has a simplified morphology and a sentence structure differing from Eskimo in fundamental respects. The following pages are a brief discussion of some major points.

4.1. The case systems

The crucial Aleut innovation is the reduction of the nominal case system.

Eskimo and Aleut ordinary nouns (with or without a possessive suffix) and most pronouns have two grammatical (relational) cases, *absolutive* and *relative*, in three numbers (2.1.1.1., 2.1.7.3., 2.1.8.), marked by mostly cognate suffixes. Eskimo nouns and pronouns have in addition a number of oblique (local) cases, while local cases in Aleut are limited to positional nouns (2.1.6.) and to demonstrative and interrogative adverbs (2.1.7.4., 2.1.8.3.2.). Aleut has only two local cases, called locative and ablative, but the comparison of the allomorphs shows that the locative also reflects an allative and the ablative also a prosecutive, corresponding with the respective Eskimo suffixes (see 1986:114 f.). Certain special forms and relics show that the oblique (local) cases of nouns were lost in Aleut, rather than being an Eskimo innovation.

Yupik nouns and pronouns have five oblique cases: *allative* (also called terminalis), *locative* (localis), *ablative* (ablative-modalis, instrumental), *prosecutive* (vialis, perlative, translocative), and *equative* (æqualis). The Inuit cognate of the Yupik ablative is an *instrumental* (modalis), Inuit having an extra ablative (distantialis), probably an innovation (see 1989:32 f.). The oblique case suffixes are added to the relative forms of nouns and pronouns with various assimilations. The initial **n** of a case suffix is assimilated to the simple rel.sg. **-m** (eastern Inuit **-p**) into **m**: allative **-nun**, **-mun** (eastern Inuit **-nut**, **-mut**); locative **-ni**, **-mi**; ablative Alaskan Yupik **-nek**, **-mek** (Inuit instrumental **-nik**, **-mik**), Siberian (and partly Alaskan) Yupik **-neng**, **-meng**, Inuit **-nin**, **-min** (eastern **-nit**, **-mit**); prosecutive **-kun** (eastern Inuit sg. **-kkut**); equative **-tun** (eastern Inuit **-tut**). Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs have partly different allomorphs for the allative, locative, ablative and prosecutive, most of them like the Aleut adverbial suffixes.

The allative sg. suffix **-mun** is found as Aleut **-mud-** in the type **at-mud-aĝan** 'downwards' (2.1.6.3.3.), cf. Inupiaq **at-mun** 'downwards', parallel with the type **wa-ngud-aĝan** 'in this direction, toward here' (2.1.7.9.1.), derived from the adverbial locative (allative) A **wa-ngus**, E **wa-ngun** 'here, to here', CAY **wa-vet**, CSY **wha-vek**, Inuit **uvunga**, **uunga**.

The adverbial forms **qila-m** 'in the morning, this morning', **qila-ga-n** 'tomorrow' of the temporal noun **qila**- 'morning' (2.1.1.4.2.) are clearly relics of the nominal locative which through the apocope of the final **i** (see 1986:98) merged with the relative, cf. Inupiaq **uvlaa-mi** 'early in the morning', CSY **unaa-mi** 'tomorrow, the next day', Greenl. **aqagu-a-ni** 'the following day', etc., and Aleut **il-a-n**, Esk. **ilu-a-ni** 'at its inside, inside it'.

The **-m** of the multiplicative suffix -**(i)di-m** in **ataqa-dim** 'once', **a(a)lg-idim**, also **a(a)lg-im** 'twice', etc. (2.1.5.3.), may possibly reflect the nominal ablative / instrumental, cf. CSY **ataasi-meng**, Greenl. **ataatsi-mik** 'once', etc. (discussion in 1989:34).

The adverbial ablative forms of temporal nouns, e.g. E **amg-aan**, A **amg-aax** (-**aagan**) 'by night, at night' (2.1.1.4.2.), are like the ablative of respectively the 3A sg. of positional nouns (2.1.6.1.2.) and demonstrative adverbs (2.1.7.4.), which probably reflect prosecutive forms, cf. Greenlandic **unnua-kkut** 'at night', etc.

With the loss of the oblique cases of ordinary nouns and pronouns, the Aleut sentence structure was deeply transformed.

4.2. Object constructions

Eskimo has two well-known object constructions: (i) the so-called ergative construction, viz. a verb with suffixal reference both to a definite object, possibly a noun in the absolutive case (the same case as that of the nominal subject of an intransitive verb), and to an agent, possibly a noun in the relative case; (ii) the construction sometimes called half-transitive or antipassive, viz. a verb with suffixal reference only to a subject, possibly a noun in the absolutive case, and an indefinite or only partly affected object in the ablative (Yupik) or instrumental (Inuit). E.g. Central Alaskan Yupik (Reed et al. 1977, Miyaoka 1975, 1996) (i) **angute-m taqukaq tangrr-a-a** 'the man sees the bear' vs. (ii) **angun taquka-mek tanger-tuq** 'the man sees a bear'; (i) **(angutem) atsa-t ner-a-i** 'he (the man) is eating the berries' vs. (ii) **(angun) atsa-nek ner'-uq** 'he (the man) is eating berries'; (i) **annga-ma angyaqa atur-a-a** 'my older brother is using my boat' vs. (ii) **anngaqa angya-m-nek atur-tuq** 'my older brother is using a boat of mine'. So-called agentive verbs, like these ones, are used in both constructions, while non-agentive verbs have in construction (ii) a so-called half-transitive derivative (see 4.4.4.), e.g. (i) **arna-m kuvyaq allg-a-a** 'the woman tore the net' vs. (ii) **arnaq kuvya-mek allg-i-uq** 'the woman tore a net'.

Both kinds of objects may have a reflexive suffix in reference to a third person subject, to a subject (agent) in the relative case as well as to a subject in the absolutive case, e.g. CAY (i) **(angutem) kuv-a-a qalta-ni** 'he (the man) spilled his own pail (deliberately)' vs. (ii) **(angun) kuv-i-uq qalta-mi-nek** 'he (the man) spilled his own pail (accidentally)' (Miyaoka 1996:344).

The nominal terms are obligatory in neither construction, cf. (i) **tangrr-a-a** '(s)he sees it/him/her', (ii) **tanger-tuq** '(s)he sees something'; (i) **ner-a-a** '(s)he is eating it', (ii) **ner'-uq** '(s)he is eating'; (i) **allg-a-a** '(s)he tore it', (ii) **allg-i-uq** '(s)he tore something'; (i) **kuv-a-a** '(s)he spilled it', (ii) **kuv-i-uq** '(s)he spilled something'.

In Aleut there are two different possibilities: (a) a one-place verb with a specified object in the absolutive case, with a possible nominal subject also in the absolutive case; (b) a two-place verb with anaphoric reference to a third person and a possible nominal subject in the relative case, e.g. (a) **tayaĝu-x̂ qa-x̂ qa-ku-x̂** 'the man is eating a/the fish', (b) **tayaĝu-m qa-ku-u** (< **-a**) 'the man is eating (or just ate) it' (3.2.1-2.). In the case of (b), the referent of the anaphoric verb may be included in the sentence as an outer subject, provided that it is separated from the verb by a focused inner subject, normally a noun in the relative case (3.2.2.3.). Such sentences are only superficially like an Eskimo structure with an initial object of a two-place verb. In Eskimo the word order is relatively free and an object coming before the subject (agent) remains an object, also with a reflexive suffix in reference to the then following subject (agent), while in Aleut a reflexive suffix makes the object fully specified and entails a one-place verb (3.2.5.1.1.), e.g. **tayaĝu-x̂ ada-an kidu-ku-x̂** 'the man is helping his own father' vs. CAY **angute-m ata-ni ikayur-a-a.**

Having a one-place verb, the Aleut construction (a) goes with the Eskimo construction (ii), with the important difference that the Aleut object is in the absolutive case rather than in an oblique case, lost in Aleut. Having a specified object, as opposed to the anaphoric construction (b), the Aleut construction (a) covers also the Eskimo ergative construction (i) with a specified object in the absolutive case. This leaves the anaphoric construction (b) as the Aleut reflex of the ergative construction, e.g. **tayaĝu-m kidu-ku-u** 'the man is helping him/her', actually like CAY **angute-m ikayur-a-a**. While in Eskimo the case marking of the functions of the nominal terms admits a rather free word order, in Aleut the functional interrelation of the two terms in the absolutive case is marked by the order SOV, e.g. **Piitrax̂ Paavilax̂ tugakux̂** 'Peter hit Paul', **Paavilax̂ Piitrax̂ tugakux̂** 'Paul hit Peter'. But a single nominal term is case-marked: (a) **Paavila-x̂ tuga-ku-x̂** 'he hit Paul' vs. (b) **Paavila-m tuga-ku-u** 'Paul hit him'.

Most importantly, while in Eskimo the specified as well as the anaphoric object of the ergative construction is marked by the suffix of the verb, the reference in the Aleut construction (a) is a zero-anaphora, as opposed to the suffixal reference of the anaphoric construction (b).

4.3. First and second person arguments

The first and second persons are marked as subjects in much the same way in Eskimo and in Aleut. The Eskimo endings of one-place verbs in the indicative and participial moods are the cognates of the Aleut enclitic pronouns (2.1.2.1.2., 2.1.9.1.1., etc.), with a more advanced stage of morphological fusion (cf. 1989:15 f.), e.g. CAY **cali-u-ten**, 'you are working', **cali-u-nga** 'I am working', Aleut **awa-ku-x̂-txin** (A **-t**), **awa-ku-qing** (A **-q**) < ***-q-tking(a)** (**-x̂ + ting**). In dependent moods the subject persons are marked by possessive suffixes in the relative case, e.g CAY **cali-ku-vet**, Aleut A **awa-gu-mis**, E **-min** 'when/if you work'. In the former moods the endings of two-place verbs with reference to a third person object (in Aleut anaphoric) are possessive, e.g. CAY **ikayur-a-qa** 'I am helping him/her', **ikayur-a-nka** 'I am helping them', like **irnia-qa** 'my child', **irnia-nka** 'my children' (**irniaq** 'child'), Aleut A **kidu-ku-ng, kidu-ku-ning, aniqdu-ng, aniqdu-ning**. In dependent moods the subject is marked by possessive suffixes in the relative case followed by object suffixes, CAY 3.p.sg. **-ku/-gu**, du. **-kek**, pl. **-ki**, old Atkan sg. **-ka**, pl. **-kis**, in Eastern infixed (see 2.1.9.4.2.1., 2.1.9.8.).

In Eskimo, in accordance with the ergative system, the first and second person object markers are in general the same as the subject endings of one-place verbs in the indicative and participial, e.g. CAY **angute-m ikayura-a-nga** 'the man is helping me', **ikayur-a-m-ken** 'I am helping you' (**-ken** is an allomorph of **-ten**, cf. Aleut **txin**). In dependent moods they are on a par with the 3.p. object suffixes mentioned above, e.g. **ikayu-qu-m-ken** 'if I help you'. Also the "half-transitive" construction is possible, with a free personal pronoun in the ablative (or instrumental) case, e.g. CAY **wangug-neng tangva-ku-neng aavurteciqu-t** 'if they watch the two of us, they will be amused' (Woodbury 1984:135).

In Aleut, the object markers for the first and second persons, as well as for the reflexive third person, are free pronominal forms (2.1.2.2.), which as fully specified in the relevant sense entail a one-place verb, e.g. **tayaĝu-x̂ ting kidu-ku-x̂** 'the man is helping me', **txin kidu-ku-q(ing)** 'I am helping you'. As objects of one-place verbs they correspond to the Eskimo pronouns in the ablative (or instrumental) case, but through the Aleut transformation of the ergative system they may have been dislocated from the suffixal position found in Eskimo (discussion in 1989:36 f.). Anyway, they are on a par with fully specified nouns (except for zero-anaphora, see 3.9.2.1. and 3.11.2.6.1.) and differ fundamentally from the anaphoric third person suffixes, as in **tayaĝu-m kidu-ku-u** 'the man is helping him', **kidu-ku-ng** 'I am helping him', etc. Aleut has no non-reflexive third person pronouns like the Yupik and Inupiaq ones (CAY **ellii**, CSY **(e)llnga**, I **ilaa** 'he, she, him, her', etc.), only demonstrative pronouns, which have the syntactical function of nouns or determiners.

An Eskimo verb in the mood called appositional or subordinative (CAY) or contemporative (Inuit), which like the Aleut conjunctive has mostly the same subject as the associated verb, has only one person suffix, in general either coreferential with the subject of the associated verb or indicating an object. In accordance with the ergative system, the first and second person suffixes are subjective or objective depending on the context. The reflexive third person suffixes, which by themselves indicate coreference with the subject of the associated (superordinate) verb, are naturally subjective, but may also be coreferential with the reflexive object suffix of a subordinate verb (Greenlandic examples in Bergsland 1955:59, Fortescue 1984:147). The non-reflexive suffixes, sg. **-ku**, etc., are naturally objective, but in Alaskan Yupik they may also, under certain conditions, be subjective in relation to an object (Miyaoka 1996:342; 1997:100ff). The subjective or objective function of these suffixes is independent of the transitivity or intransitivity of the associated verb, e.g. CAY **pissuryug-tu-a maligg-lu-ten** 'I (**-a** < **-nga**) want to go hunting following you (**-ten**)', **nere-rrar-lu-ku an-ciq-uq** 'first eating it he will go out' (Miyaoka 1997:72); Greenlandic **Kunuu-p ilaga-lu-git aullar-puq** 'Kunuk (rel. subject of the contemporative) being together with them (**-git**) went out' (Bergsland 1955:58; see also Fortescue 1984:125).

The Aleut conjunctive has a subject marker, an enclitic pronoun, only when used as a final predicate (2.1.9.2.) and with verbs of utterance and thought (3.15.3.1.). As a conjoined predicate (3.9.) with no complement or a fully specified one it has no person suffix but in accordance with the Aleut system of reference has the suffixes **-ka**, etc., in reference to an anaphoric complement. By zero-anaphora a specified nominal complement of the conjunctive may be shared by the following predicate (3.9.2.1.), while an anaphoric reference of the conjunctive continues into the following verb, possibly by an enclitic dative (3.9.2.3.). The Aleut system of reference (specified vs. anaphoric) thus applies to the whole sentence, possibly including both an outer and an inner subject, while the Eskimo ergative system dominates single clauses.

4.4. Verbal valency

Eskimo verbs are either intransitive, admitting only one argument (a subject), or admit both one-place and two-place suffixally marked constructions, while Aleut verbs are intransitive or transitive or both, a transitive verb having either a specified or an anaphoric object (3.2.).

4.4.1. Intransitive verbs

Eskimo and Aleut verbs that admit only one suffixally marked argument, possibly a nominal subject in the absolutive case, are, for example, CAY **tai-** and Aleut **haqa-** 'to come (to the area of the speaker)'; **tuqu-**, **asx̂a-** 'to die' (also 'death'); **qavar-**, **saĝa-** 'to sleep' (also nominal); **qia-**, **qida-** 'to cry'; **palu-**, **haaga-** 'to starve'; **qater-**, **quhma-** 'to be white'; **ange-**, **anguna-** 'to be big, large'.

4.4.2. Agentive verbs

Eskimo agentive verbs may have the same subject in both constructions, possibly a noun in the relative case in the ergative construction, the same noun in the absolutive case in the "half-transitive" construction, while the corresponding Aleut verbs are both transitive and intransitive, e.g. CAY **nere-**, Aleut **qa-** 'to eat'; **nuteg-**, **kalu-** 'to shoot'. Here belong also, as a subtype, verbs with a possible local object, e.g. CAY **mayur-tuq** 'he is going up', **mayur-a-a** 'he is climbing it', Aleut **hanga-** (see 3.2.6.3.).

4.4.3. Eskimo non-agentive verbs

In accordance with the Eskimo ergative system these verbs may in both constructions have the same noun in the absolutive case, as an object in the ergative construction and as a subject in the one-place construction. In the latter case, in relation to the former, the verb is medio-passive or reflexive, e.g. CAY **allg-a-a** 'he tears it', **alleg-tuq** 'it is torn (passive); it tears (medial)'; **iir-a-a** 'he hides it', **iir-tuq** 'it is hidden; it hides'; **erur-a-a** 'he washes it', **erur-tuq** 'he washes himself' (Miyaoka 1996:343).

In the case of the medio-passive subtype, the normal Aleut analogue of an Eskimo non-agentive verb such as **tamar-** 'to lose' (**tamartuq** 'it is lost', **tamaraa** 'he lost it') is the pair **hiki-** 'to disappear; to get lost', **hiki-t-** 'to lose', the latter with the transitivizing suffix **-t-** (see *Aleut Dictionary* pp. 550 f.). The Eskimo non-agentive verb **kuve-** 'to spill' (**kuv'uq** 'it spilled', **kuvaa** 'he spilled it') has an exceptional analogue (probably a relic) in Eastern Aleut: **yu-** *vi.* 'to run out, pour out, spill', *vt.* 'to pour out; to spill', while Atkan has the normal Aleut pair **hyu-** *vi.* vs. **hyu-t-** *vt.* (Aleut **kum-**, the cognate of Eskimo **kuve-**, is only transitive: 'to pour').

The regular Aleut analogue of an Eskimo agentive one-place verb in a reflexive sense is a transitive verb with a reflexive pronoun as an object (3.2.1.2.), e.g. **txin aĝut-iku-x̂** 'he hid (himself)', cf. **iqya-an aĝut-iku-x̂** 'he hid his kayak', **aĝut-iku-u** 'he hid it'; **iqyax̂ txin im-iku-x̂** 'the kayak turns over', **iqyax̂ im-iku-x̂** 'he turns the kayak', CAY **mumigt-uq** 'it turned over' vs. **mumigt-a-a** 'he turned it over'; Aleut (**inaqaam**) **txin asx̂atikux̂** '(he himself) killed himself', (**inaqaam**) **sabaaka-an asx̂atikux̂** 'he (himself) killed his (own) dog', **asx̂atikuu** 'he killed it', CAY **ellminek tuqutuq** 'he killed himself, committed suicide' (CSY without the ablative pronoun) vs. **tuqutaa** 'he killed it/him/her'. The Aleut verbs are simply transitive, admitting any pronoun or noun as an object.

In Aleut, the non-agentive verbs naturally got lost as a category together with the ergative construction, which got lost with the loss of the oblique cases of nouns.

4.4.4. Eskimo half-transitive (antipassive) verbs

An Eskimo non-agentive verb gets the same subject of the one-place construction as that of the ergative construction by the suffixal derivation called half-transitive or antipassive, as in the above-mentioned pair **arna-m kuvyaq all̂g-a-a** 'the woman tore the net', **arnaq kuvya-mek allg-i-uq** 'the woman tore a net' (4.2.); Greenlandic **anguti-p tuttu tuqup-pa-a** 'the man killed the reindeer', **angut tuttu-mik tuqut-si-vuq** 'the man killed a reindeer'.

Aleut, having no oblique cases of nouns, has no half-transitive verbs. The Aleut analogue of the Eskimo oblique object (**kuvya-mek, tuttu-mik**) is simply the specified object in the absolutive case: **tayaĝu-x̂ itx̂aygi-x̂ asx̂at-na-x̂** 'the man killed a/the reindeer' vs. **tayaĝu-m asx̂at-xa-a** 'the man killed it'. An Aleut transitive verb may be detransitivized by the compound suffix -(ĝ)**ka-** passive participle **+ -ĝi-** 'have' (2.2.5.4., 3.4.4.), e.g. **asx̂at-xaĝi-laga-da** 'don't kill (anybody), don't commit murder' vs. **asx̂at-laga-da** 'don't kill it/him/her'. But rather than half-transitive, this derivative is simply intransitive, with no possible object, and is more like a Greenlandic derivative of the passive participle with the suffix **-qar-** 'have'. e.g. **taku-ša-qar-pit** 'did you see anything ?', cf. Eastern Aleut **amaagan ukux̂ta-qaĝi-ku-x̂-txin hi?** 'did you see anything ?' (Mark 8.23).

The Eskimo half-transitive or antipassive verbs are a specialized subtype of experiencer verbs; those with the mentioned suffix are generally adversative in connotation (Miyaoka 1996:343). Alaskan Yupik has the full range of relationships (see Miyaoka 1984) but part of it is known also in Inuit, viz. transitive derivatives of intransitive verbs with the same suffix, as in Greenlandic **arn(a-n)i tuqu-ši-va-a** 'he lost his (3R) mother by death', cf. **arna-a tuqu-vuq** 'his (3A) mother died'. The closest Aleut analogue is the type **ana-a ila-ga-an asx̂a-ku-x̂** 'his mother died from him', with the referent of the anaphoric suffix (**-a**) of the inner subject (**ana-**) as the outer subject of the sentence (3.3.2.3.).

Thus the Aleut transformation of the ergative system through the loss of the oblique cases of nouns changed also the verbal valency system. The transformation appears to have left some specific traces.

A few intransitive verbs with the otherwise transitivizing suffix **-t-** seem to be relics of non-agentive verbs in the reflexive sense, while their transitive counterparts have a suffix **-i-** which may reflect the suffix found in Eskimo as half-transitive, etc., Yupik **-i-** (see Fortescue et al. 1994:396), e.g. **six̂-t-** 'to break, go to pieces' vs. **six̂-i-** 'to break, smash to pieces' (also with an extra transitivizer **-t-** : old Atkan **six̂it-**); **chix̂-t-** 'to become wet' vs. **chix̂-i-** 'to dip', cf. **chiĝ-ni-** 'to wet, make wet', *vr.* 'to get wet'; **hax̂-t-** 'to stand up, get up' vs. **haĝ-i-t-** 'to lift up, to raise'. With a specified object, as in **ukuusxi-x̂ six̂i-na-x̂** 'he broke a/the window', the transitive derivative could possibly reflect a half-transitive use, while the anaphoric version, **six̂i-qa-a** 'he broke it', could reflect some adversative use, cf. Greenlandic **asiru-i-vuq** 'he breaks something (e.g. **titurfim-mik** a cup)' vs. **asirur-pa-a** 'he breaks it', and **asiru-i-va-a** 'it (object) broke for him (the subject)' vs. **asirur-puq** 'it is broken'.

In a number of cases the transitive **-i-** is opposed to an intransitive **-a-** (see *Aleut Dictionary* p. 468). Most of them seem to have a suffix **-sa-**, **-si-**, e.g. **ingsa-** 'to back, move backward', **ingsi-** 'to withdraw (his hands)', cf. **ingt-** 'to move back, flinch' (a relic of the above type); **haxsa-** 'to open, become open (e.g. of door)', **haxsi-** 'to open (e.g. door)', possibly the cognate of Inuit **makitiq-** (< ***maketeq-**) 'to get up (gradually)' (***-te-** > Aleut **-sa-** as in several other cases). Another example is **la-** 'to escape (of air in inflated stomach)', **li-** 'to let out (the air of something inflated)', the cognate of CAY **ler-**, **neler-**, I **niliq-** 'to fart' (also 'fart'), transitive CAY **elte-**, **nelte-**, I **nilit-** 'to deflate, let air out'. In these cases, being opposed to clearly intransitive verbs, the transitive derivatives in **-i-** seem to go syntactically with the Eskimo adversative type **asiru-i-va-a**.

4.4.5. Addition of arguments

The Eskimo suffix **-ute-** '(do) with or for' like the Aleut cognate **-usa-** adds an object and demotes an underlying object into an ablative/instrumental, in Aleut a phrasal dative (see 3.4.1.), but has also one-place, reflexive uses and half-transitive derivatives. According to Miyaoka (1984:212 f.) one of its fundamental functions seems to be to add a favorably affected or benefactive experiencer (in Aleut rather a phrasal dative), while in Aleut the added object may be an instrument, in Eskimo expressed by a nominal or pronominal ablative/instrumental or, in Yupik, prosecutive, the cases lost in Aleut, e.g. A 1860 ... **kadamaĝusi-x̂ uhma-gan-aan chuhnusa-na-x̂** 'stabbed his side with a lance', Greenlandic **sanera-a-gut qalugiusa-mik kapi-va-a**, CAY **caneqr-a-kun pana-mek kap-a-a** 'stabbed him in (prosecutive) his side with a lance' (John 19.34); A **ukina-x̂ ngaan chaxt-usa-ku-ng** 'I split it (**ngaan**) with a knife', CAY **ulua-kun amiir-a-a** 'he is skinning it with (prosecutive) a semi-lunar knife' (Jacobson 1995:220).

The Eskimo suffixes **-tet-** and **-vkar-** 'cause or let' like the Aleut -**(i)chx̂i-** (the Eskimo cognate means mostly 'wait for (it) to') add a subject and, while keeping an underlying object, demote an underlying subject into an allative, in Aleut a phrasal dative (see 3.4.2.), but have also one-place, reflexive uses and half-transitive derivatives. In the appositional (subordinative, contemporative), which has only one person suffix (4.3.), they also serve as coreferentializers, introducing as an object a term on a par with the subject of the associated (superordinate) verb, e.g. CAY **arnani tangrr-a-a qia-vkar-lu-gu** 'he saw his (own) wife crying', lit. 'having her cry' (Miyaoka 1995:342; 1997:95f); Greenlandic **pavani-i-til-lugu tusar-pa-a** 'he (a) heard it while he (b) was up there', lit. 'letting him (b) be up there' (Kleinschmidt 1871:452). In Yupik, with an intransitive verb like **qia-**, the suffix may also be left out, the sentence **tangrr-a-a qia-lu-ku** 'he saw her crying' being unambiguous with its non-reflexive suffix **-ku** as opposed to the reflexive **-ni** in **tangrr-a-a qia-lu-ni** 'he saw her while (he himself was) crying' (Miyaoka l.c.). In Aleut, where the non-final conjunctive has only anaphoric complement suffixes, one would probably have to use linked clauses like **qida-ku-x̂ ukux̂ta-ku-u** 'he saw her crying', **hakang a-ku-ĝ-aan tuta-qa-a** 'he (a) heard it when he (b) was up there' (see 3.11.2.).

The Eskimo suffixes **-ni-** 'say that' and **-yuke-** (etc.) 'think that' are syntactically on a par with the causative suffixes, e.g. CAY **angute-m arnaq ner-yug-ni-[a]-a carayag-mun** 'the man says that the bear (allative) wants to eat the woman' (Jacobson 1984:521). In the appositional these derivatives may be used together with approximately synonymous superordinate verbs, e.g. CAY **tuqu-ciq-ni-lu-ku qaner-tuq** 'he says (lit. utters saying) that she will die', **tuqu-ciq-ni-lu-ni qaner-tuq** 'he says that he (himself) will die'; **kamak-aqa tegle-llru-yuk-lu-ku nutek** 'I suspect (thinking that) someone stole the gun' (Miyaoka 1997:115). In Aleut, the verbs **hi-x̂ta-** 'say, utter' and **anux-ta-** 'to think' are used with the conjunctive when the subjects are different (3.15.3.1.). This very peculiar use of the conjunctive may be due to the deletion of the corresponding suffixes (the Aleut **-ni-** is a simple causative suffix, e.g. **saĝa-ni-** 'to put to sleep', **txin saĝa-ni-** 'to fall asleep'). The underlying type of construction is attested with the suffix **-naaĝ-** 'to try', e.g. A **hunki-naax̂-s taĝa-aqa-an** 'try to tip it over', lit. 'trying to tip [it] over, try it'.

Another important Eskimo suffix with the same syntactic properties is Yupik **-sqe-**, Inuit **-tqu-** (etc.) 'to ask/want - to', e.g. **qanrut-a-i auluke-sqe-llu-a** 'he tells them (asking them) to take care of me' (Miyaoka, l.c.). In this sense the Aleut verbs **hi-x̂ta-** and **anux-ta-** are used with the optative and intentional (3.15.4-5.), probably another innovation along the same lines.

4.4.6. Passive

In Eskimo, as mentioned in 4.4.3., one-place forms of non-agentive verbs may have a passive meaning: CAY **iir-tuq** 'it is hidden'. The only passive found in Greenlandic by the pioneers Albert Top 1727 and Hans Egede 1739 (manuscript) was the reflexive use of the suffix **-tit-** 'let, cause', e.g. **uamnut ermisipok** (= **irmik-sip-puq**) 'he is washed (had himself washed) by me'.

Eskimo also has stative (resultative) verbs marked by certain suffixes, but these go also with intransitive verbs, e.g. CAY **kit'e-** 'to sink': **kisngauq** 'it has sunk'; **nengete-** 'to stretch': **nengesngauq** 'it is stretched'. For Siberian Yupik see Vakhtin 1995:97 f.

Inuit, from Alaska to Greenland, has also a passive participle with the suffix -(**ng**)**u-** 'to be', e.g. Nunamiut 1949 **iñuich tuqunniaġaluaġaġigaat tuquta-u-laitchuq** 'people always tried to kill him, but he could never be killed (never let himself be killed)'.

Greenlandic has in addition a passive formed by the verbal noun **-niq** and the suffix **-qar-** 'to have', with a possible agent in the ablative case, e.g. **nanuq (inunnit) taku-niqar-puq** 'the polar bear was seen (by the people)', passive of **inuit nanuq taku-a-at** 'the people saw the polar bear' (Fortescue 1984:265). It may have become more usual in the course of time and the ablative agent is perhaps due to Danish influence. Poul Egede in his *Grammatica Grönlandica Danico-Latina* 1760 (almost identical with his father's manuscript of 1739) did not mention this passive but actually used it several times in his translation of the Gospel 1744, e.g. in Luke 6.38 'give, and it shall be given unto you': **tunnirsitse tunninnekaisuse tava**, Kleinschmidt ed. 1893 (ss = š, ´s = ss, ĸ = q) **tunissigitse, tauva ilivsísaoĸ tuninеĸásause** (**tuni-** 'give to (person)', half-tr. **tuni-si**). In Luke 4.2 'being ... tempted of the devil' Egede used the reflexive **-tit-**: **ursartillune Tornarsungmut** 'letting himself be tempted by (allative) T.', while the modern translation has the passive with the ablative agent: **Diâvulumit ússerneĸarpoĸ**. The Inupiaq translation of 1966 has here the ergative construction.

The ergative system of Proto-Eskimo could hardly have included any general passive like the Greenlandic one.

Aleut has a stative passive formally reminiscent of the Greenlandic passive, a verbal noun (the general) with the suffix -(**a**)**ĝi-** 'to have' (2.2.5.3.), e.g. **una-ĝi-na-x̂** 'it was cooked'; **qa-ĝi-ku-x̂** 'it has been eaten from, is partially eaten'; **tugi-t-** 'to stretch': **tugich-aĝi-** 'to be stretched'. As shown by the past in **-na-** rather than -(ĝ)**ka-** these forms are intransitive rather than formally passive (see 2.1.9.3.3.).

The Aleut genuine passives contain the copula **a-**, Au **u-** 'to be' and appear to be relatively recent formations within the Aleut sentence structure transformed from the ergative one. The general passive **-lga-** | **-sxa-**, Attuan **-lu-** | **-su-**, may be a compound with a suffix found in place names with the meaning 'provided with', Eskimo Y **-lek**, I **-lik**. The suffix -(**ĝ**)**a-**, Au **-ĝu-**, passive of -(**x̂**)**ta-** 'to have as N' and 'to have V-ed, etc.', is a compound with the absolutive singular of nouns and verbal nouns. **-ula-**, **-ala-**, Au -V**lu-**, the passive of **-usa-**, **-asa-** 'to V with, etc.', is apparently an analogical formation.

The function of these suffixes is to remove the subject, particularly the inner subject (3.4.3.); the use of an agent with the passive (3.4.3.6.2., 3.14.2.3.3.3.) may be due to Russian influence. Very differently from Eskimo, also the subject of intransitive verbs may be removed by the passive (3.4.3.1.), as in Latin, e.g. **itur** 'one goes'. So far, apart from the oblique agent common in Latin, Aleut is an "accusative" language like Latin. But Aleut has also, as relics of the ergative system, anaphoric clauses quite different from Latin clauses, whether active or passive (see for example 3.2.2.3.). This makes understandable also the use of passives with the agent as the stem: **kuusxi-lga-qa-x̂** 'was taken by a/the cat', "was catted", the passive of **kuusxi-m su-qa-a** 'the cat took it' (3.4.3.3.3.). This is a predicate clause with an outer subject ('it'), where the inner subject **kuusxi-m**, in the relative case, is connected tightly with the verb (cf. also 3.3.2.2.2. and 3.3.3.2.).

4.5. Local complements

Eskimo has the choice between a simple local case form of a noun and a phrase with a positional noun in the same case, e.g. CAY locative **ne-m'i** 'in the house', **ne-m ilu-a-ni** 'at the inside of the house, inside the house'. Oblique cases are crucial for verbal valency (4.2., 4.4.) but local terms, simple or phrasal, do not by themselves affect the form of the verb and are separate from the object constructions.

Aleut has only phrases with positional nouns: **ula-m il-a-n** 'in the house, inside the house' (3.3.). But the referent of the positional noun may be specified or anaphoric with the same effect on the following verb as an object, e.g. **tayaĝu-x̂ ula-m il-a-n saĝa-ku-x̂** 'the man is sleeping in the house', **tayaĝu-m il-a-n saĝa-ku-u** 'the man is sleeping in it'; **tayaĝu-x̂ yaasika-m ku-ga-n txin ungut-iku-x̂** 'the man sat down on the box', **tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n txin ungut-iku-u** 'the man sat down on it' (3.3.2.1.2.). The fundamental Aleut opposition of specified versus anaphoric involves any kind of complement and so dominates also the complex sentences (see for example 3.11.2.).

In addition, however, Eskimo has verbalized verbal nouns with a direct object, such as Y **+vi-ke-**, I **+vi-gi-** 'have as place or time of doing', e.g. CAY(**angute-m yaassiik**) **aqum-vik-a-a** 'he (the man) sat down on it (the box)'; CAY -(**u**)**te-ke-** 'to - on account of, concerning', Greenl. **-uti-gi-** 'have as means, reason, etc., of doing'. Such derivatives are treated like other transitive verbs, with participles etc. and further derivatives, and are of great syntactical importance. In Aleut they are unknown, being covered by the above-mentioned constructions with positional nouns.

4.6. Possessive suffixes

In Eskimo, nouns in the three numbers (for the possessed) have possessive suffixes for the first, second and reflexive third person singular, dual and plural; in the relative case and in the oblique cases based on it the singular and plural of the possessed are not distinguished (possibly an old phonological merger). In Aleut, the number of the possessed is unmarked in forms with a non-singular possessor (2.1.1.1.3.). This merger has no further syntactical consequences because these possessive suffixes make the noun fully specified and entail no suffixal reference in the following verb.

For the non-reflexive third person the Eskimo languages have variants of a 3x3 system that can be summarized roughly as follows (with omission of the transitional velar nasal before a vowel and of the Yupik velar fricative before the velar stop of dual suffixes):

possessor		singular		dual		plural	
		abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
possessed	sg.	**-a**	**-an**	**-ak**	**-a(g)nek**	**-at**	**-ata**
	du.	**-k**	**-ken**	**-kek**	**-kenka**	**-ket**	**-keta**
	pl.	**-i**	**-in**	**-ik**	***-inka**	**-it**	**-ita**

(In Central Alaskan Yupik the du.du. has replaced the pl.du. (found in CSY and I). In Central Siberian Yupik the du.du. has replaced the du.sg., in the relative case also the du.pl., and in the relative case the pl.pl. has replaced the sg.pl., du.pl. and sg.du. In Inupiaq the pl.du. has replaced the du.du., and the pl.pl. has replaced the du.pl. in the absolutive case, while in the relative case the du.pl. has replaced the du.du. and the du.sg., and the pl.pl. has replaced the pl.sg., the pl.du. and partly also the du.pl.)

In Aleut the system is reduced to three terms (2.1.1.1.2.). In the absolutive case the singular **-a** reflects the sg.sg., the dual **-kix** the du.du., and the plural A -(**ng**)**is**, E -(**ng**)**in**, the pl.pl. The generalization of the pl.pl. may have had a phonological background. By the apocope of the final vowel **i** (1986:98) a former pl.sg. like ***anag-i** 'his clubs' would merge with the simple singular **anax** 'club', while ***aniqdu-ngi** 'his children' would merge with **aniqdu-ng** 'my child'. In the relative case the singular -(**g**)**an**, the dual **-kin**, and the plural -(**ng**)**in** reflect the suffixes with a singular possessor. The actual functions depend upon the constructions.

With a specified referent (adjunct) in the relative case the Aleut suffixes indicate generally the number of the possessed (3.1.1.6.1.), e.g. A **hla-m ada-a** 'the boy's father', **hla-s ada-a** 'the boys' father', **tayaĝu-m hla-ngis** 'the man's sons', cf. CAY **tan'gurraa-m aatii (aata+a)**, **tan'gurraa-t aatiit (aata+at)**, **angute-m qetunra-i**. Here the Eskimo marking of the number of the possessor, sg. Ø vs. pl. **-t**, agrees with the specified referent, sg. **-m** vs. pl. **-t**, and so is in a sense redundant, while in Aleut only the referent is marked for number. Phrases with a specified adjunct are fully specified and are treated like simple nouns, in Aleut as well as in Eskimo.

Differently from Eskimo, in Aleut the number of an anaphoric possessor is included in that of the possessum: **ada-a** 'his father', **ada-ngis** 'their father (or fathers)', **hla-ngis** 'his (or their) sons', but CAY **aatii**, **aatiit**, **qetunrai**, as with a specified adjunct. Used alone as an object or as the adjunct of a positional noun, the Aleut anaphoric forms, like other anaphoric terms, entail a suffixal reference in the verb (3.2.5., 3.3.2.1.2., 3.3.2.2.2.), e.g. **ada-a kidu-ku-ng** 'I am helping his father', like **kidu-ku-ng** 'I am helping him', vs. **hlam adaa kidu-ku-q**(**ing**) 'I am helping the boy's father'; **ada-ngis kidu-ku-ning** 'I am helping their father', like **kidu-ku-ning** 'I am helping them', vs. **hlas adaa kidu-ku-q**(**ing**) 'I am helping the boys' father'; **ula-gan hadan huya-ku-ng** 'I am going toward his house' vs. **tayaĝu-m ula-gan hadan huya-ku-q**(**ing**) 'I am going toward the man's house', etc. As usual, the anaphoric referent is thus an outer subject of the sentence. It may also be included as an "outer" complement, without reference in the verb, e.g. **ayaga-an** [3R sg. abs.] **kamg-a iqitiku-x̂** 'he cut off his wife['s] head, beheaded his wife' (see 3.2.5.1.3.).

An anaphoric adjunct of the subject is likewise an outer subject, while a specified adjunct does not affect the rest of the sentence: **ada-ngis awa-ku-s** 'their father is working' vs. **hla-s ada-a awa-ku-x̂** 'the boys' father is working' (see 3.1.1.6.), but CAY **aatiit caliuq** like **tan'gurraa-t aatii-t caliuq**. Under certain conditions the referent may also be included as an outer subject in the absolutive case, e.g. **itx̂aygi-x̂ chnga-a usa-ku-x̂** 'the reindeer is shedding its hair', lit. 'the reindeer, its hair is falling off' (see 3.1.1.6.3.). In complex sentences the double subject system plays an essential part, e.g. **vidra-x̂ tasix taanga-a yu-ku-x̂** 'the bucket breaking (broke and) its water (the water in it) is pouring out' (3.9.2.5.); **tayaĝu-x̂ uqit-iku-m hla-a ayugna-x̂** 'the man having come back (when the man came back) his son went out' (3.11.2.2.3.; the **-m** marks coreference); **haman tayaĝu-x̂ ada-a iqyaĝiza-qa-a ayx̂aasim masinaĝil tayaa-amunax̂** 'that man whose father used to paddle in a kayak bought a boat with a motor' (3.14.2.6.1.), etc.

In West Greenlandic Eskimo, such constructions are found with a focusing enclitic **una** and in complex sentences, e.g. (modernized orthography) **Anngaannguujunnguarooq-una anguta-a nakooqaaq** 'A., it is said, his father was very strong'; **niviarsiaq sikker-lu-ni kiinanngu-a nueratannguar-puq** 'the girl giggling, her little face at last appeared'; **nanorsuu-p kiina-a meqqoqanngitsorsuu-p tikeraaqqippasi** 'when a big polar bear with a hairless face (lit. its face being hairless) again comes to you' (Bergsland 1955:49, 58, 65); (phonemic notation) **niuirtuq irnir-a siurna maaniis-sima-suq tuqu-vuq** 'the shopkeeper whose son was here before, died'; **angut aallaasa-a tigu-sa-ni nigur-niar-paa** 'he tried to avoid the man whose gun he had taken' (Fortescue 1984:53). It is uncertain to what extent such constructions are used in the other Eskimo languages.

The peculiar Aleut rules of number agreement are no doubt tied up with the reduction to three of the set of 3x3 suffixes, as well as with the Aleut reference system, which stems from the loss of the oblique cases of nouns.

4.7. Reference in complex sentences

In Eskimo, the dependent (connective, relative) moods have the full range of subject and object suffixes, including reflexive third person suffixes, which refer to the subject of the superordinate verb, to the subject of an intransitive verb as well as to the agent of the ergative construction, e.g. CAY **cikirnga-m-teng quyau-t** 'because I gave presents to them, they (themselves) are glad' (Miyaoka 1996:341); Greenlandic (old orthography) **ĸimangnialera-mi-sigut kavfinik tunivâ-tigut** 'when he was about to leave us he gave us coffee'; **iserfigilermáne [-at(a)+ni] oĸalorujugfiga-i** 'when they were going in to him, he scolded them' (Rasmussen 1888:192 f.). If the subject is a first or second person, the object suffix coreferential with the following subject may frequently be non-reflexive instead of reflexive (Rasmussen 1888:193; cf. Miyaoka 1996:341). In Greenlandic, but not in Yupik, the so-called participial mood (cf. 4.8.) has or had the full range of object suffixes, but no reflexive subject suffixes, e.g. **inugpagssuit patdlinarâtik [-a-tik] asassuatsiángorpât [-a-t]** 'when he only came close up to the crowd (pl.), they became quite loving towards him' (Bergsland 1955:47).

While in Eskimo the suffixal reference obtains whether the referent is specified or not (in the case of a third person), this difference is crucial in Aleut: a specified complement (of whatever form) entails no suffixal reference in the following verb, while an anaphoric complement (or adjunct of complement) does (3.2., 3.3. *passim*). Thus, for example, in the sentence **Piitra-m tuga-ku-u kita-na-x̂** 'when Peter (a) hit him (b), he (b) kicked him (a)' (3.11.2.6.2.3.), the subject of the initial clause, **Piitra-m** in the relative case, must by zero-anaphora be the object of the final verb, which has only a reference to the subject, namely the anaphoric object of the initial clause (**-u** < **-a** 'him he'), the outer subject of the whole sentence. In the sentence **qa-x̂ iim ax̂-s saĝa-qa-a una-ku-u** 'she is cooking the fish he gave her yesterday' (3.14.2.5.1.1.1.), the initial term **qa-x̂** 'fish' is the specified object of **ax̂-s** 'giving (was yesterday)' as well as of **una-** 'cook', while the final suffix **-u** (< **-a**) "him she" refers to the referent of the preceding anaphoric subject (**ax̂s saĝa-qa**)**-a** 'he' (cf. 3.14.0., etc.).

The zero-anaphora, fundamentally different from the Eskimo suffixal reference in the ergative construction, is a simple consequence of the loss of the oblique cases of nouns, for the Aleut specified object of a one-place verb corresponds to an Eskimo oblique object, with no suffixal reference in the verb (4.2.). By contrast, the Aleut anaphoric reference includes also oblique terms, viz. positional nouns with an anaphoric adjunct, which in Eskimo are outside the ergative system.

4.8. Participial constructions

The Eskimo participles, marked by partly different suffixes in the different languages and dialects, have a close affinity to the indicative. Forms that are participial in one dialect (e.g. Greenlandic) may be indicative in another (e.g. Alaskan Inupiaq), and within the same dialect participles may be used as independent predicates, possibly with some special force (e.g. exclamation) or as a simple past (see, for example, Jacobson 1995:382 f. and 1988:57).

Constructions translatable as relative clauses in English have the same structure as indicative clauses, so there is no syntactical relativization, e.g. CAY **qimugta qilu-lria** (**pikaqa**) 'the dog that is barking (is mine)' like **qimugta qilug-tuq** 'the dog is barking' (Jacobson 1995:250); **angun atsa-nek ner-lleq** 'the man who ate berries' from **angun atsa-nek ner'-uq** 'the man is eating berries', **angute-m atsa-t nere-llr-i** 'the berries which the man ate' from **angute-m atsa-t ner-a-i** 'the man is eating the berries' (Miyaoka 1996:349); Greenlandic **nanuq Piita-p tuqu**(t)**-ta-a** 'the bear killed by Peter' from **nanuq Piita-p tuqup-pa-a** or **Piita-p nanuq tuquppa-a** 'Peter killed the bear' (Fortescue 1984:53). These are appositional constructions where the noun corresponds to the argument in the absolutive case in the independent sentence, to the subject of an intransitive verb or to the object of a transitive verb. The noun could not possibly correspond also to the subject (the agent in the relative case) of a two-place verb, only to the subject of a half-transitive verb with a possible oblique object, as in CAY **angun atsa-nek ner-lleq** above and, with a non-agentive underlying verb, Greenlandic **piniartuq nannu-mik tuqut-si-suq** 'the hunter who killed a/the bear' (Fortescue 1984:54). Since there is only one choice, this appositional phrase corresponds both to the independent ergative construction **piniartu-p nanuq tuqup-pa-a** 'the hunter killed the bear' and to the half-transitive **piniartuq nannu-mik tuqut-si-vuq** 'the hunter killed a bear'.

Also the Aleut participles are used both as independent predicates (2.1.9.3.) and in participial constructions (3.14.). With the transformation of the ergative construction into the Aleut system of reference, the subject of transitive verbs has become like the subject of intransitive verbs with their possible oblique complements (positional nouns with a specified or anaphoric adjunct). In both cases a one-place independent (final) verb gets in participial constructions a suffixal ("possessive") subject marker (3.14.0.). But there are three versions: (a) nominal subject (inner or outer) in the absolutive case, (b) nominal subject in the relative case (or a 1., 2. or 3R possessive suffix), (c) the subject (inner or outer) inherent in the participle, a verbal noun.

Aleut participial constructions with an object, straightforward (3.14.2.3.1.) or extraposed (3.14.2.3.2.), actually come close to the Eskimo constructions, e.g. extraposed, version (a) **tunu-x̂ Iisuusa-m hi-qa-a** 'the word that Jesus had spoken' (3.14.2.3.2.1.), cf. Greenlandic **nanuq Piita-p tuqu-ta-a** 'the bear killed by Peter'; straightforward, version (b) **tayaĝu-m sa-x̂ kalu-l angali-i** 'the duck that the man had shot earlier today' (or 'the man who had shot [a] duck earlier today', 3.14.2.3.1.2.), cf. CAY **angute-m atsa-t nere-llr-i** 'the berries which the man ate' above. Version (c) **tuta-qa-ning** 'what (pl.) I have heard' (3.14.2.3.2.3.) is like the CAY type **iqair-a-nka** 'ones I washed' (Miyaoka 1996:349), as indicative predicates with anaphoric reference respectively 'I have heard it (pl.)' and 'I washed them'.

Since, in Aleut, a specified object (or other complement) does not entail any suffixal reference in the verb, the straightforward version (a) with an object goes with version (a) of intransitive participles, e.g. **tayaĝu-x̂ ula-x̂ agu-na-a** 'the man who built the house' (3.14.2.3.1.1.; cf. Greenlandic **piniartuq nannu-mik tuqut-si-suq** above) like **hla-x̂ aygag-na-a** 'the boy who is/was (or while) walking' (3.14.0. and 3.14.2.1.1.). By the same token also intransitive verbs have a version (b), perhaps with more attention to the state or quality: **hla-m aygag-na-a** 'a walking boy', pl. **hla-m aygag-na-ngis** 'walking boys' (3.14.0. and 3.14.2.1.3.), **saahmla-m quhma-ngis** 'white eggs' (3.6.1.4.1.).

Local complements are accommodated in Eskimo with verbal nouns such as **-vik** 'place or time of -', e.g. CAY **allanre-t uita-vi-at-nek taiguq** 'he is coming from where the strangers are staying' (Jacobson 1984:587); Greenlandic **ulluq aallar-vi-ssa-t** 'the day of your (**-ssa-** future) departure' (Fortescue 1984:54).

In Aleut they are naturally parallel with objects, e.g. **kasami-m ila-ga-an iga-qa-a** '(the place) where the eider had flown from' (3.14.2.4.2.4.); **suna-x̂ tayaĝu-m ku-ga-n awa-na-a** 'the ship on which the man is working' (3.14.2.4.2.1.). For other versions see 3.14.2.4.

Also the structure of the Aleut participial constructions appears to stem from the transformation of the ergative system.

4.9. Derivatives and phrases

Derivational suffixes, postbases, are much more numerous and combine much more extensively in Eskimo than in Aleut. In Eskimo, differently in the different languages and dialects, the number of postbases has been greatly increased by composition and differentiation of variants (Fortescue 1985), while in Aleut the use of postbases appears to have been greatly reduced in comparatively recent times, perhaps especially under the Russian rule and later. The great majority of the suffixes found in Aleut, about 570, are attested only in a very small number of words, some just in a single one, so the actual suffixes comparable with the Eskimo postbases number only about 175 (see *Aleut Dictionary* pp. 468-558). The more extensive use of phrases in Aleut, however, may not be entirely innovative.

The Eskimo suffix -(**ng**)**u**- 'to be' was probably once a copula like the Aleut cognate **a-** (E, A) < **u-** (A, Au), as shown by the numbered stems in CAY sg. **kitu-u-sit** 'who are you?', pl. **kinku-u-ceci**; Greenlandic **kina-u-va** (modern **kinaava**) 'who is he ?', **kikku-u-ppat** 'who are they ?'. An Eskimo form like CAY **kuig-u-uq** 'it is a river' thus reflects a phrase of the Aleut type **chiĝana-x̂ a-ku-x̂** 'it is a river' (3.1.2.).

An Eskimo transitive verb with the suffix **-ke-**, I **-gi-** 'to have as one's N' corresponds to (is derived from) a noun with a possessive suffix (adjunct), the subject of the verb corresponding to the possessive suffix, e.g. CAY **aana-k-a-a** 'he has her as mother, she (object) is his (subject's) mother' (Jacobson 1984:465), from **aanii** (**aana-a**) 'his mother'. Aleut has a corresponding suffix -(**x̂**)**ta-** 'to have as', as in **ting uchiitila-x̂ta-ku-s** 'they have me as a teacher, I (rather than another one) am their teacher'. But in Aleut also a predicate noun admits an adjunct, specified or anaphoric, e.g. **wakus aniqdus uchiitila-a a-ku-q**(**ing**) 'I am the teacher of these children (rather than of the other ones)', **uchiitila-ngis a-ku-ning** 'I am their teacher' (3.1.2.4.). In this particular form, as part of the general reference system, the Aleut constructions are no doubt innovative, while a possible Eskimo counterpart perhaps got lost when the copula became a suffix.

In Eskimo, also participles are used with the suffixal copula, differently in different languages and dialects, for example the CAY past, e.g. **ane-llr-u-uq** 'he went out'; **nere-llr-u-a-qa** 'I ate it' (Jacobson 1984:491). The Inuit passive mentioned in 4.4.6. is a passive participle with the suffixal copula, and at least in Greenlandic the intransitive participle (in Inupiaq also an indicative), with or without certain class-free suffixes, makes with the suffixal copula both intransitive and transitive verbs, e.g. **tikit-su-u-vuq** 'is the one (only one) who has come home'; **atur-uma-nngit-su-ršu-u-va-a** (old orthography **atorumángitsorssûvâ**) 'he will absolutely not use it' (Schultz-Lorentzen) (cf. Bergsland 1955:101). Such formations may reflect less rigid phrases comparable with the Aleut ones (3.8.1.1., 3.8.1.4.).

From the suffixal copula is derived CAY -(**ng**)**urte-**, I **-nngur-** 'to become', used with nouns and participles, for example in the Greenlandic sentence quoted in 4.7.: **asa-ssu-atsiá-ngor-pât** 'they became quite loving towards him' (**asa-** 'to love'). The Aleut cognate is the verb **aĝ-**, Au **uĝ-**, as a full verb 'to put' or 'to give', with the intentional an auxiliary for the future (3.8.1.3.1.1., 3.8.1.4.1.3.). The intentional, which has no 3R forms, seems to be innovative but the phrases as such may continue expressions that lie behind the Eskimo derivatives.

Eskimo phrases with the appositional (subordinative, contemporative) and the semantically almost empty word **pi-** have about the same meaning as the simple verbs, in Yupik (Miyaoka 1997:117) as well as in Inuit, e.g. Greenlandic **asa-vdlu-go pí-sa-va-t = asá-sa-va-t** 'you shall love him' (Kleinschmidt 1871:278). The Aleut cognate of **pi-** is **hi-** 'to say, utter; to call', but phrases comparable with the Eskimo ones are formed by the conjunctive with the copula and demonstrative auxiliaries (3.8.1.1-2.).

In Eskimo, phrasal predicates are formed also with verbal nouns in **-neq**, with no suffix (Inuit) or with the ablative suffix (Yupik), and verbs of unability or the like, e.g. Greenlandic **niqi niri-niq ajur-paat** 'they don't eat meat/can't eat the meat' (Fortescue 1984:47; Vakhtin 1995:160). The Aleut cognate of this verbal noun is the participial **-na-**, but the suffixless Aleut verbal noun makes comparable phrases with **ma-** 'to do', etc. (3.8.2.1.).

These Eskimo phrases indicate that the rich variety of Aleut verbal phrases had roots in the proto-language, while some of the phrases were absorbed into the Eskimo derivational system. Eskimo is not quite uniform, however.

In Yupik, clausal complements have to a large extent the form of nominalizations, especially with the suffixes -(**u**)**ciq** and **-neq**, e.g. **nalluaqa ciin qavar-ciigal-uci-n** 'I don't know why you can't sleep'; **angutem arnaq aptaa tan'gurrar-nun angyaq atu-uci-a-nek** 'the man asked the woman whether the boys (allative) are using the boat'; **kuima-neq nalluaqa** 'I don't know how to swim' (Jacobson 1984:443, 507; 1995:367 f.). The suffix **-neq** is also among those used in Inuit. In Greenlandic the clauses in question have largely the form of participial constructions, connected with some term of the superordinate clause, or are like temporal clauses, without such connection. In modern Greenlandic a clause may even be marked in the superordinate verb as a third person singular object (Bergsland 1955:46 ff.; Fortescue 1984:35 ff.), presumably an instance of Danish influence.

In Aleut, many of the report clauses have a participial predicate in **-na-** (3.15.1.2., 3.15.2.1.2., 3.15.2.2., 3.15.3.2-3.), the cognate of the Eskimo **-neq**, e.g. **atxaĝi-na-an idax̂talakaq** 'I know that you are right' (3.15.2.1.2.). The alternative is mostly the present in **-ku-**, which seems to be the cognate of the Eskimo transitive participle (and indicative) **-ke-**, I **-gi-**. Participles of derivatives in **-usa-**, as in **ngus kidu-usa-na-t qaĝaasakuq** 'I thank [you] for (your) helping me' (3.14.4.1.), are comparable with the Eskimo suffix **-uciq**, I **-usiq**, which seems to be related to **-ute-**, the cognate of Aleut **-usa-**.

Thus there appear to be innovations, from a common ground, both in Aleut and within Eskimo. The details remain to be worked out.

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Aleut Grammar

Unangam Tunuganaan Achixaasiх̂

This grammar of the Aleut language is a major landmark in Aleut and Alaska language study. It is the culmination of dedicated research conducted at various times over a period of nearly fifty years by Knut Bergsland (born 1914), the senior scholar of the Aleut language in academe.

Bergsland's *Aleut Grammar* is the first grammar of the language in depth and detail. Along with his unabridged *Aleut Dictionary* (published by ANLC in 1994), this reference work can be used at high school and university levels, and is the basis upon which future scholars and teachers of Aleut will be able to write the lessons and exercises needed to teach the language at all age and skill levels.

Bergsland began his study of Aleut with field work on Atka in 1950 and continued it as time allowed during and after his career as professor of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Oslo, Norway (1947–1981). Together with Aleut linguist Moses Dirks of Atka, he edited a collection of narratives recorded in the Aleutians in 1909–1910 by Russian ethnographer Waldemar Jochelson (published by ANLC in 1991). In addition to his extensive work in Aleut, Bergsland has published studies in Eskimo grammar and comparative Eskimo-Aleut linguistics.

This book will remain the definitive work on the structure and workings of the Aleut language, explaining it in depth and breadth, including prominently the syntax, which has unique properties that challenge current linguistic theory. Its basis includes extensive field work with elders of both Atka and the Eastern Aleut dialect areas.

Thus, Bergsland's contribution to Aleut linguistics—including an edition of narratives, an unabridged dictionary, and now this comprehensive grammar—will be a lasting and invaluable contribution to the world of scholarship, students of the language, and the Aleut people.

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